Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults

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Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults

Continuity and Change from Late Minoan IIIC to the Archaic Period

by

Mieke Prent

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For Stuart

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PREFACE

This book is a slightly reworked version of my doctoral thesis, which was submitted to the University of Amsterdam in December 2003. I would like to express my warmest thanks to my *promotores* Professor Dr. J.H. Crouwel and Professor Dr. H.S. Versnel. Both, in their own characteristic ways, have provided indispensable support. Joost Crouwel, who has supervised my work from the days I was a student, encouraged me to leave the Bronze Age behind and begin exploring the Early Iron Age of Crete. Through the years, he has, with his remarkable energy and enthusiasm, continued to show his interest, always there to help by word and deed. Henk Versnel has been very encouraging and, no matter how long the intervals between submissions, has read every piece with unfailing sharpness and concentration. My work has benefited from their comments and from discussions with both. Meticulous reading of the thesis by Professor J.N. Coldstream, Dr. J.P. Crielaard, Dr. F. Verstraten and Dr. J.Weingarten has saved me from putting into print a number of mistakes and has provided many valuable suggestions. Any remaining errors and omissions are, of course, my own.

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[1] 'Don't Take Yourself Too Damn Seriously.'

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. Background to the Inquiry, Subject and Aim

This study brings together the archaeological evidence from over ninety Cretan sanctuaries that were in use in the centuries from *c.* 1200 to 600 BC. That such an overview, despite Classical archaeology's customary emphasis on temples and religion, has not yet been undertaken reflects the special position which Crete maintains in Aegean scholarship.

The island is traditionally known for its splendid Bronze Age or 'Minoan' palace civilisation. This civilisation has been named after the legendary king Minos, son of Zeus and Europa, to whom the ancient Greek authors ascribed great fame as lawgiver and as a mighty ruler of the seas.[1] Archaeological research since the late 19th century has done much to underline the pre-eminence of the island during the period of the Minoan palaces, which covers roughly the Middle and first parts of the Late Bronze Age.[2] Excavations and survey have revealed a large number of sites dating to those periods, ranging from monumental palatial cities and sanctuaries to 'villas', villages, harbours, isolated farmsteads and road systems.[3] There can be little doubt that the island was then densely populated and knew a highly organised and complex civilisation, with the palaces as administrative, political and religious centres.[4] These palaces, in touch with the older civilisations of the Near East from an early phase in their development (Map 1), exerted in their turn a profound cultural—according to some even political—influence on the rest of the Aegean.[5] Both scholarly and popular works therefore commonly describe the period of the Minoan palaces as the 'Golden' or 'Great Age' of Crete.[6]

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[1] For an overview of ancient literary references to Crete: Hoeck 1823, 1828, 1829; Poland 1932.

[2] See the chronological table on p. 34.

[3] There is no up-to-date gazetteer of BA sites in Crete. An older but still useful overview is that by Pendlebury (1939), while a more recent study by Kanta (1980) lists all LM IIIA-B sites; see also Rehak & Younger 1998. Modern survey reports often give detailed overviews of sites in smaller areas in the island, such as the Lasithi plain (Watrous 1974; *id.* 1982), the western Mesara (Watrous, Chatzi-Vallianou, Pope *et al.* 1993), the areas around Vrokastro (Hayden, Moody & Rackham 1992), Kavousi (Haggis 1992) and Praisos (Whitley, Prent & Thorne 1999).

[4] See, on the function of the palaces: Hägg & Marinatos (eds) 1987; Warren 1989, 67-75, 84-100.

Since its spectacular discovery, a little over 100 years ago, Minoan palace civilisation has tended to overshadow the study of the later history of Crete, during which the island seems never to have regained the position of pre-eminence that it had previously attained. Crete in the later periods has become known as an area whose culture displays distinct idiosyncrasies, the most commonly noted of which is a remarkable degree of continuity with Bronze Age traditions. This sets the island apart from other regions of the Aegean, where emphasis has usually been on the disruptions marking the end of the Bronze Age and on the 'Dark Ages' that followed. Ancient scholars such as Plato and Aristotle had already pointed to the preservation of 'the laws of Minos' among the Classical inhabitants of Crete and ascribed a 'Minoan' origin to certain of the socio-political institutions of the Cretan poleis.[7] Modern scholars, from the late 19th century, have likewise tended to consider the strength of continuity of Bronze Age or Minoan traditions a major factor in the island's material and immaterial culture in the Early Iron Age and succeeding times.[8] A relatively high survival of pre-Greek place, month, personal names and other words has been noted for the island, while in some areas—most notably around the east-Cretan site of Praisos—the language of indigenous Bronze Age groups may have been preserved into historical times.[9] Crete is distinguished by the continued existence of nucleated settlements and cemeteries throughout the transitional period covering the end of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age.[10] The persistence of Bronze Age features and conventions has been recognised in Cretan Early Iron Age pottery styles,[11] in continuously produced terracotta and bronze figurines,[12] in the island's later architecture and house forms,[13] tomb types and burial customs,[14] while some now underline the continuity in contact with the Near East after the Bronze Age.[15]

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[5] Some scholars connect this period of Cretan florescence with the ancient Greek stories of a Minoan thalassocracy, but others disagree and see only cultural influence. The discussion partially focuses on the identification of Minoan colonies in the Cyclades and on the Anatolian coast. For a recent summary of the discussion and extensive bibliography, see: http://devlab.dartmouth.edu/history/bronze_age/lessons/18, esp. 2-8 by J. Rutter. See also the various contributions in Hägg & Marinatos (eds) 1984; Dickinson 1994a, esp. 234-50, 302-03.

[6] E.g. Evans 1896a, 512; *id.* 1921, 27; Hawes & Boyd Hawes 1916, 2, 13-14; Spanakis 1964, 15; Finley 1968, 9; Warren 1989, 91; Detorakis 1994, 4.

[7] For instance that of the daily messes for the male citizens of the poleis. See Plato *Laws* 1.624 a; Aristotle *Politics* 1271 b31; also Van Effenterre 1948a, 96; Huxley 1971, esp. 505-06, 513; see also Link 1994, 32.

[8] Evans 1894a, 359; H.R. Hall 1928, 267; Willetts 1962, 38; Snodgrass 1971, 42, 401; Desborough 1972a, 334-35; I. Morris 1987, 172; *id.* 1998, 59, 63; Coldstream 1991, 289; Musti 1991, 15-16.

Deep-rooted patterns of continuity have been noted especially in the realm of religion and cult.[16] Pre-Greek divine names, such as Diktynna, Britomartis and Paiawon[17] and the epithets Diktaios and Velchanos for Zeus,[18] are well attested and may, as observed by Burkert, be taken as 'evidence for the continuance not only of vague recollections, but of a living cult.'[19] Crete is also distinguished for the longevity of its Bronze Age sanctuaries, with the Idaean cave and Syme—where cult activities began in the Middle Bronze Age and continued into Roman times—as the most frequently cited examples.[20] M.P. Nilsson, in his comprehensive study *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, argued that such sanctuaries present a most favourable environment for the preservation of elements of Bronze Age cult and religion.[21] As to the form of later sanctuaries, it has been noted that the canonical, peripteral temple emblematic of Classical Greek civilisation never found acceptance in the island; instead, there was a continuing predilection for cave sanctuaries, while the ground plans, form and furnishings of cult buildings owe much to Bronze Age architectural traditions.[22] Later votive and cult objects seem to preserve similar links with the Bronze Age. The prolonged dedication in Crete of terracotta female figures with upraised arms and 'snake tubes', for instance, has been interpreted as another sign that basic religious beliefs in the island remained unchanged.[23]

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[9] Nilsson 1933, 64-65; Willetts 1967, 5-6; Huxley 1971, 507; Raubitschek 1972, 15; Van Effenterre 1991, 202. On Eteocretan: Duhoux 1982, esp. 13-24, 55-85. See also cat. entry B.44-47.

[10] Coldstream 1984a; *id.* 1991, 289; Van Effenterre 1985, 287-88; *id.* 1991, esp. 198.

[11] Droop 1905-06, 57; Desborough 1952, 236; Levi 1969, 1-2; Betancourt 1985, 185.

[12] Boardman 1961, 100-04; Naumann 1976, 43; Langdon 1991.

[13] Hayden 1981, 130; I. Morris 1998, 63, 65.

[14] Desborough 1964, 189; Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 171; Coldstream 1977a, 48; I. Morris 1998, 59-60.

[15] Demargne 1947, 100, 329-30; Coldstream 1977a, 289; Burkert 1992, 16; S. Morris 1992a, 150-94.

[16] Evans 1912, 284; Willetts 1962, x-xi, 43; Desborough 1972a, 284; Gesell 1985, 57-60; I. Morris 1998, 61.

[17] Nilsson 1950, 509-12, 464, 553; Willetts 1962, *passim.*

[18] Burkert 1975a, 72; Huxley 1975, esp. 120-22.

[19] Burkert 1985, 48.

[20] Snodgrass 1971, 401; Desborough 1972a, 284; Burkert 1985, 48; I. Morris 1998, 61-62. Other examples consist of the caves of Patsos and Psychro and Mounts Jouktas and Kophinas (see cat. entries A.23/B.51, A.30/B.65, A.25/B.54, A.26/B.58).

Observations of this kind have an immediate relevance for a study such as the present one, which has as its central topic the development of Cretan sanctuaries and their associated cults from the end of the Bronze Age down to the Archaic period. The role of Bronze Age traditions in later times will, perhaps needless to say, form an important and recurring theme. Some critical notes are nevertheless required. One of these is that Crete's reputation as an island with a high degree of continuity of Bronze Age features and traditions was established early in the history of scholarship and since that time appears to have acquired almost a 'gospel' value. With the notion of the continuity of Cretan Bronze Age traditions gradually becoming a matter of fact rather than an object of debate and further study, questions as to why and how these Bronze Age traditions survived in the island have rarely been addressed within the context of modern scholarship.

In general, few monographs have been published on Early Iron Age Crete in recent decades and the joint issues of the formation of Crete's later culture and the continuity of its Bronze Age traditions have received relatively little attention.[24] This neglect may be explained partially by the general dearth of research into periods of

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[21] Nilsson 1950, 457.

[22] Nilsson 1950, 453-56; Snodgrass 1971, 401; Desborough 1972a, 285; Hayden 1981, 152-54; Gesell 1985, 57; I. Morris 1998, 65.

[23] Evans 1912, 284; Nilsson 1950, 447-49; Alexiou 1958; Desborough 1964, 172, 189; *id.* 1972a, 284-85; Snodgrass 1971, 401; Gesell 1985, 58.

[24] Link (1994, 5) likewise comments on the paucity of studies by ancient historians, with the exception of those by Hoeck (1823-1829), Kirsten (1942), Van Effenterre (1948a) and Willetts (1955, 1962). To these should now be added Sporn 2002, on the Cretan sanctuaries and cults of the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Crete's history other than the Minoan. Despite the recent surge in fieldwork projects aimed at Cretan sites of the period 1200–600 BC, thus far few larger studies aimed at synthesis have appeared.[25] Another reason may be sought in the more general shift, during the 1960s and 1970s, of archaeological attention away from issues of continuity. With the rise of the New Archaeology came an enhanced interest in processes of socio-political change, coupled with a concern for greater scientific rigour and objectivity. Attempts were made to reconstruct ancient societies as a whole, by considering them as functionally integrated systems. The study of these systems was based, however, on the use of quantitative methods to outline patterns in social behaviour as they could be deduced from the material evidence. Although the importance of ideological and religious 'subsystems' was not denied, emphasis tended to be on environmental, economic and other material aspects of life more than on ideas, memory, religious beliefs or cultural values.[26]

While the New Archaeology permeated Classical archaeology only slowly and superficially, it is noteworthy that there was at that time an increase of interest in the 'Dark Ages'—an era long neglected because it lacked the high art and literature that formed the traditional focus of Classical scholarship. Beginning with Desborough's *Protogeometric Pottery* of 1952 a number of monographs appeared which synthesised the available archaeological evidence for the period of *c.* 1200 to 800 BC and display an enhanced interest in the more humble aspects of material life in Greek antiquity.[27] This development culminated in the 1970s with the publication of now classic studies such as *The Dark Age of Greece* by Snodgrass, (1971), *The Greek Dark Ages* by Desborough (1972) and *Geometric Greece* by Coldstream (1977).

The interest of these archaeologists in the Dark Ages seems to parallel that of the ancient historian Moses Finley who, in the 1950s, redefined the period as having been truly formative for Classical civilisation. Crucial in this respect was the decipherment in 1952 of

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[25] An exception is the book by Nowicki (2000), which synthesizes the results of recent field work (much of it his own) at defensible sites of the period 1200–800 BC.

[26] Trigger 1989, 294-328. See for examples of the approach Binford & Binford 1968 and Renfrew 1972.

[27] Desborough 1964; Coldstream 1968.

Linear B as a form of early Greek. With scholars being able to read the Linear B tablets, it became increasingly clear that the socio-economic organisation of the Mycenaean palaces differed greatly not only from such organisation in Classical times, but also from that reflected in the works of Homer. While these were generally considered to describe the world of the Bronze Age, Finley argued that the Homeric poems instead reflected the conditions of the Dark Ages. While this conclusion would seem to justify the archaeological study of the Dark Ages even more, it is striking, as I. Morris points out, that there is a curious lack of mention of 'Homeric questions' in the archaeological syntheses. This seems to indicate a loosening of the traditionally strong links of archaeology with philology and ancient history.[28]

Particularly with concern to the religion of the Dark Ages, ancient historians and archaeologists pursued their own lines of research. The decipherment of Linear B may have separated Homer from the Bronze Age, but it also confirmed a basic continuity of both language and religion from the Mycenaean to the Classical period, as suggested by the references to several later Greek deities on the Linear B tablets. This encouraged ancient historians who, in the tradition of M.P. Nilsson (1927), had explored the Bronze Age origins of the names, associated mythology and cults of the Classical gods.[29] The attention of archaeologists, on the other hand, focused more on establishing whether there was material evidence for uninterrupted cult practices at certain sanctuary sites. Perhaps partially in reaction to earlier ill-founded claims of continuity and cautious of projecting ancient historians' ideas of continuity onto the material evidence, they pointed out that the material links between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age were often tenuous and therefore suggestive of transformation.[30] More generally, one can observe that the study of religion, cult and sanctuaries was less popular amongst archaeologists than that of funerary customs and cemeteries, as tombs offered more easily quantifiable data that seemed to provide direct insights into the social structure of past societies.

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[28] I. Morris 2000, 93-94.

[29] See e.g. Farnell 1927; Nilsson 1927; *id.* 1950; Persson 1942; Dietrich 1974, 1986.

[30] E.g. Snodgrass 1971, 394-401. See also De Polignac 1995b, 27-28; Morgan 1999, 295; I. Morris, 2000, 90-98, 275.

In the 1980s and 1990s interest returned to less tangible topics such as cultural and ideological values, symbolic meaning and religious beliefs. Rather than regarding ancient societies and cultures as monolithic entities, the diversity and the complexity of human response, even within the same community, became key concepts. The realisation that individuals may participate in society as members of different social groups has made views of social categories increasingly less rigid. In addition, it is crucial that the relationship of material culture to human behaviour has been fundamentally redefined: instead of considering the first as a direct and passive reflection of the second, material culture is now seen as an active, in some cases consciously manipulated, element in the forging of social relations.[31] In similar vein, archaeologists and historians of the ancient Greek world have devoted more attention to the role of sanctuaries and religion, albeit particularly in processes of early state or polis formation.[32] Issues of religious traditions and continuity are seen in a new light. There has, for instance, been a reassessment of the value of material evidence as an indicator of cult activity through the Dark Ages. The idea that an interruption in archaeological levels 'does not exclude either the continuation of the cult in the same place or near by, in some way not detectable archaeologically, or the continued memory of the place as sacred' is reasserted.[33] Others affirm that 'continuity of practice does not mean lack of change in that practice, and certainly cannot be taken to imply constancy of meaning'.[34] In a conscious effort to avoid mutually exclusive categories, the concept of religious continuity is both widened and refined. Recent case studies explicitly acknowledge potential variety, not only between regions but also within different local environments. Instead of seeking universal scenarios, allowance is made for direct continuity of cult in some cases, for revival and the construction of fictional continuity in others.[35]

Against this background, few scholars will nowadays question that—even in an island distinguished by the strength of its continuity with Bronze Age traditions—some variation must have occurred in the appreciation and application of those traditions, both through time and in different social environments. Still, these recent insights have been applied mostly by scholars concentrating on the Greek mainland.[36] Less attention has been devoted to Crete, primarily because it has long been felt that the island is 'different', with a history and culture not directly comparable to those of the rest of the Greek world.[37] While modern scholarship in general tends to emphasise regional variation, the Early Iron Age in particular counts as a period of regionalism and cultural diversity. Therefore, the need is stressed to consider phenomena in their own regional, social and historical contexts. A few scholars have recently addressed issues of the survival and reinterpretation of Bronze Age traditions for individual Cretan sites,[38] but broader contextual studies have so far not been undertaken. For Crete therefore, the potential variations in the role of the older traditions, which may here, as elsewhere, range from a non-articulated residual influence in one period or social environment, to conscious preservation or to active rediscovery after a period of neglect in others, remain largely to be assessed.

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[31] Trigger 1989, 329-54. See e.g. Hodder 1982, 1986; D.S. Whitley (ed.) 1998.

[32] See e.g. Snodgrass 1986a; De Polignac 1984, 1995b; Morgan 1990; Alcock & Osborne (eds) 1994.

[33] De Polignac 1994, 8 n. 16.

[34] Renfrew 1985c, 3.

[35] De Polignac 1995b, 29-30; Morgan 1999, 295 (with ref. to Rolley 1977, 145), 298.

When studying the development of Cretan sanctuaries and cults from this perspective, several factors must be taken into consideration. First, although the subject lies largely outside the scope of this study, it is important to note that Crete's Bronze Age legacy cannot be equated with a homogenous or unified 'Minoan' legacy. Although it is clear that the great period of the Minoan palaces represented a *koine*, with a homogeneity of culture that was perhaps never surpassed in subsequent periods, a growing trend towards regionalism becomes noticeable from the 14th century BC. In that period, the balance of power shifted from Crete to the Mycenaean mainland. While the nature and intensity of the associated Mycenaean influence on the island is still debated, it is nevertheless clear that the last centuries of the Bronze Age saw both a fragmentation and transformation of the former Minoan *koine*.[39] It may, therefore, be best to reserve the term 'Minoan' for the Proto- and Neopalatial periods before the 14th century BC.[40] As to the religion of the island in the Late Minoan III periods, there is indeed a striking continuity in focus on a female deity, on Minoan symbols such as the double axe and the horns of consecration, bulls and birds, and on elements of the natural world. However, as Peatfield has argued, this 'should not mislead us into believing that their meanings necessarily remained constant.'[41] It is the very continuity of core elements of Minoan religion in the context of profound societal changes that implies the ability for redefinition and therefore change.

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[36] For modifications of the view that the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces around 1200 BC constituted a sharp and abrupt break: http://devlab.dartmouth.edu/history/bronze_age/lessons/29; see also I. Morris 2000, 78.

[37] Fagerstrøm 1988, 16; Osborne 1996, 28; I. Morris 1998, 12; Morgan 1999, 299; J. Whitley 2001, 78, 120-21; Lemos 2002, 2.

[38] I.e. Coldstream (1988, 1998) on the imitation of Bronze Age burial fashions in the EIA cemeteries of Knossos, the analysis of Lebessi (1981a) of the survival and revival of Bronze Age elements in the sanctuary of Syme, and D'Agata (1998, 1999c) on the cults at Ayia Triada.

Second, and of more immediate concern for the present study, are the changing circumstances in the centuries from *c.* 1200 to 600 BC. Despite the usual emphasis on Crete's idiosyncratic history, certain parallels in general development with other regions of the Aegean during this period are clear. Crete shared in the demographic, economic, socio-political and cultural changes that accompanied the demise of the palace-based societies of the Late Bronze Age and ushered in the new era of the Early Iron Age, even if the pace and intensity of these changes may have differed. As with other areas in the Aegean, the end of the Bronze Age brought distinct shifts in settlement pattern and economy, as is most clearly shown by the widespread desertion of coastal areas and the foundation of so-called refuge sites at more defensible locations, usually further inland. Associated, Aegean-wide changes in material and immaterial culture range from the introduction of iron working and new types of weapons and personal ornaments (such as the fibula), to the adoption of new burial customs such as cremation.[42] The fact that Crete emerged as a largely (Doric) Greek speaking region in the historical period supports ancient literary traditions which maintain that the island was affected by migrations similar to those which occurred in other regions of the Aegean towards the end of the Bronze Age and during the first centuries of the Early Iron Age.[43] Against this background of widespread societal and cultural change, questions about survival, redefinition and transformation of older religious customs gain immediacy.

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[39] See e.g. Popham 1970b, 88; Kanta 1980, 288-93, 322.

[40] The further chronological subdivisions of the LM III period and the disputed 'palatial character' of some of them are discussed in more detail in the introduction to Chapter Three, p. 105-09.

[41] Peatfield 1994, 19-20; see also Le Roy 1984, 172.

[42] For concise surveys of these changes: O. Murray 1993, 7-15; De Polignac 1995b, 3-9; Osborne 1996, 19-51; I. Morris 2000, 195-201; J. Whitley 2001, 77-101.

This applies equally to the later part of the Early Iron Age (from the late 9th century BC) when a series of new developments—often referred to as the 'Greek Renaissance'—become apparent. These developments involved, in Crete as elsewhere, an increase of population, improvement of material standards, an intensification of interregional contact and exchange both within the Aegean and with the Near East and the reappearance of writing and other specialist skills, such as the manufacture of precious jewellery.[44] There was a concomitant increase in social complexity, as attested by the progressive articulation in the material record of elite groups with aristocratic life styles. Crete is one of many Aegean regions where the polis became the dominant form of socio-political organisation, the related institutions being akin to those of Greek poleis on the mainland, particularly those of Sparta.[45] Recent scholarship supports the view that community of cult was a major force in defining the various social groups that evolved within the early poleis—something that may be reflected in the foundation of numerous new sanctuaries during the later 9th and 8th century BC. In addition, the rise of interregional sanctuaries such as Olympia and Delphi indicates that community of cult then began to provide a common frame of reference for people from different Greek-speaking regions in the Aegean, thus contributing to the forging of a Panhellenic culture and an incipient sense of Panhellenic identity, at least among certain groups.[46]

Early Iron Age Crete was clearly part of a changing world—and one which in the course of the period was expanding, with points of contact not only in the Greek-speaking or Hellenic realm but also in the Near East. Crete is well known for the relatively early and distinct Orientalizing qualities of its Early Iron Age material culture.[47] The intensification of contact with people from overseas is therefore also an important factor to be taken into consideration when studying the developments of sanctuaries and cult in Early Iron Age Crete. It should be noted, however, that the degree of both the Hellenization and Orientalization of Early Iron Age Crete remain to be assessed rather than assumed. Some recent studies claim priority of 'Eastern influence' in the formation of early Greek culture, but in generalising and unspecified terms.[48] As with the issue of the survival of Bronze Age traditions in the island, much work remains to be done in order to reconstruct and understand the processes and mechanisms of transmission and reception of 'foreign' objects, motifs and customs in different time periods and in different social environments.

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[43] See e.g. Desborough 1972a, 63, 112-14; O. Murray 1993, 9-11. For myths on the Dorian migration: Buck 1969.

[44] See Hägg (ed.) 1983 and n. 42.

[45] As pointed out by both ancient and modern scholars, see e.g. Van Effenterre 1948a, 285; Jeffery 1976, 190; Link 1994, *passim.*

[46] Snodgrass 1971, 419-21; *id.* 1986a; Nagy 1979, 1990; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988a, 1990.

To conclude, it should be emphasised that it is not the intention of this study to argue the strength of continuity of Bronze Age religious traditions in Crete. The aim is to make this the object of further investigation, to assess its nature and extent in more detail and to balance it by placing observed changes in religious customs and in the use of sanctuaries in the broader context of societal change. In this respect, this work has no central thesis to defend. It is meant as an inquiry into some of the many changes that characterise the period of *c.* 1200–600 BC, without loosing sight of the individual character of Cretan culture, nor of its connections with other regions and its place in the wider configuration of the Aegean and rest of the eastern Mediterranean world.

At the base of this inquiry lies the identification of the different types of sanctuaries existing in Crete in the period of 1200–600 BC, using the criteria of location, form, associated cult equipment and votives. An attempt will be made to reconstruct the principal functions of these types of sanctuaries in cultic as well as in social terms. More specifically, questions will be addressed with regard to the principal kind of cult activities conducted at a sanctuary, the identity of the venerated deity or deities and the provenance and social standing of the various groups of cult participants. This will be largely an archaeological endeavour, as ancient literary sources pertaining to the island are scarce, late, or both, and therefore of limited value to the study of the period of 1200–600 BC. The material record for Crete in this period, on the other hand, is relatively rich and indeed allows the discussion to focus on recurring types of sanctuaries rather than on isolated examples. In the absence of recent comprehensive studies of Early Iron Age Crete the emphasis will be placed on establishing the broader functions and patterns of development for these major types of Cretan sanctuaries and associated cults rather than on detailed treatment of each documented sanctuary site.

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[47] E.g. Demargne 1947; Coldstream 1977a, 289; Burkert 1992, 11, 16, 63; S. Morris 1992a, 150-72; *ead.* 1997, 56-58.

[48] See e.g. the critique of the studies of Bernal (1987) and S. Morris (1992a) by Sherratt (1993) and by J. Whitley (2001, 103-06).

First, however, in Chapter Two, an overview is presented of previous scholarship, with specific emphasis on the genesis of views of Crete as an island strongly influenced by its Bronze Age past. This is followed by Chapter Three, on the sanctuaries and cults of the Late Minoan IIIC and Subminoan periods (*c.* 1200–970 BC), and by Chapter Four on those from the Protogeometric, Geometric and Orientalizing periods (*c.* 970–600 BC). Each of these chapters begins with a general introduction, in which an overview is given of main developments. Attention is given to changes of economic and socio-political nature as well as to the development of regional and interregional contact. These introductory sections provide a necessary context and background, against which the function and development of the different types of sanctuaries is to be assessed. They are followed by catalogues of urban/suburban and extra-urban sanctuary sites as known through excavation and survey, and by discussions of the prevailing types of votive and cult objects for each period. These catalogues in turn are followed by a number of sections which treat in detail the development and functions of the different sanctuary types that can be distinguished. Chapter Five presents the conclusions.

2. The Identification of Sanctuaries in the Archaeological Record, Definitions and Terminology

Prior to the publication, in 1985, of *The Archaeology of Cult. The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* by C. Renfrew, no attempts had been made at the systematic identification of sanctuaries or cult places (the terms are here used synonymously) in the archaeological record. As long as emphasis primarily centred on the literary sources and the monumental manifestations of Classical Greek religion, such an exercise seems to have been considered hardly worthwhile. Due to its characteristic architectural form and plan, the Greek peripteral temple is easily recognisable. Temple decoration, votive sculpture and inscriptions further tend to combine in illuminating the associated cult, which can often be ascribed to a deity well-known from literature. Needless to say, however, not all sanctuaries in Greek antiquity were provided with monumental temples of standardised plan. The majority were of different form, as demonstrated most aptly by Crete, where no peripteral temples are to be found at all.[49]

Renfrew developed his model for the archaeological recognition of sanctuaries in connection with excavations of the Late Bronze Age sanctuary at Phylakopi (Melos). In the near absence of written sources on the religion of this period, focus is on the material remains of cult practice (structures and objects) and on iconographical sources (such as depictions of deities or mythical events, or of the cult practices themselves). The model has been successfully applied to a number of other find groups, such as those from Atsipades in Crete and from the strata predating the temples of Aphaia on Aegina and of Poseidon at Isthmia.[50] Although the find assemblages examined at these sites belonged to the Bronze Age (or Bronze and Early Iron Ages), the value of the model is not restricted to prehistoric periods. In view of modern scholarly interest in the full array of ancient cult practice, including non-monumental forms, it can provide an equally helpful tool for the study of sanctuaries dating to later periods. Renfrew's framework of inference will be discussed in some detail, as it is also used as a guideline for the identification of the Cretan sanctuaries included in the present work, albeit perhaps more freely than has been done previously. While the aim here is not to alter the fundamentals of Renfrew's model or to dispute its underlying premises, the work of other scholars is also regularly drawn upon. In this way, additional emphasis is given to non-behavioural and non-material aspects of cult and to cultural specificity.

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[49] Except for the HL-R Diktynneion; see Welter & Jantzen 1951, 115-17.

[50] By Peatfield (1992), Pilafidis-Williams (1998) and Morgan (1999) respectively.

Although there are a number of viable definitions of religion,[51] Renfrew points out that, for the general purpose of identifying cult places in the archaeological record, a rudimentary and comprehensive definition is preferable. He therefore takes the following as a starting point: 'Recognition on the part of man of some higher unseen power as having control of his destiny, and as being entitled to obedience, reverence and worship.' The essence of religion is succinctly but aptly stated as 'some framework of beliefs' relating 'to entities or forces which are not merely those of the everyday material world but which go beyond it, transcend it.' Without considering all religions as unified, consistent systems, the premise is that, despite possible variation in expression, the shared beliefs of a community or society will display a certain coherence and structure.[52] These may be expected to engender patterns in the associated religious practices, the specific forms of which are, of course, culturally determined and hence varied. To underline the latter point, it may be noted that rituals constitute expressive actions, which say something about the (perceived or desired) state of the world. Ritual may therefore be conceived of as quasi-linguistic and semiotic in character, and as having an important function in the negotiation of comprehension between the members of a community, in group formation and social imprinting.[53] However, as far as the archaeological recognition of sanctuaries is concerned, the observation that ritual generally involves formalised and repetitive behaviour bears more relevance, as this implies distinctive traces in the material record. This observation includes rituals of religious nature or 'cult', which is to be defined as 'a particular form of religious worship; especially in reference to its external rites and ceremonies'.[54]

Renfrew distinguishes two defining aspects of religious ritual, which require certain actions and conduct on the part of the cult participants and therefore may result in a number of 'archaeological correlates'. The first aspect concerns the intention of bringing the human participants into a closer relationship with the supernatural or sacred, by inducing a feeling of spiritual unity, divine presence or epiphany. Experiences of this kind, although by their nature difficult to verbalise, can be described in various ways. Renfrew refers to R. Otto, who in *Das Heilige* (1917) speaks of 'the sense of the numinous', and differentiates between ecstatic and contemplative experiences.[55] Ancient Greek terms for religious experiences of both types are more varied and, as pointed out by Burkert, inconsistent. Literary sources, for instance, mention *entheos* ('within is a god'), *katechei* (possession), *ekstasis* ('stepping out'), ritual *mania* (frenzy), but also epilepsy. This is illustrative of some of the possible cultural differences in assigning extraordinary mental states to the realm of the divine. It is also significant, as Burkert stresses, that established cult or organised religion may to a large extent become independent of the actual occurrence of such phenomena. Social reasons to attend communal ritual may be more compelling than the wish for spiritual encounter. Nevertheless, it is clear that 'the overwhelming experiences of a changed and extended state of consciousness are, if not the sole origin, at least one of the most essential supports of religion'.[56]

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[51] See also the discussion in section 3 of this chapter, p. 30-32.

[52] Renfrew 1985a, 11-12.

[53] As briefly discussed by Burkert (1985, 8, 54-55, 268). Renfrew (1985a, 18) places less emphasis on cosmological aspects.

[54] Renfrew 1985a, 14-15, 17.

The second defining aspect of religious ritual as distinguished by Renfrew is that of worship or adoration, which springs from the acknowledgement of the asymmetrical character of the human-divine relationship (as noted in the definition above). This usually entails a perceived need for propitiation and the seeking of divine mediation.[57] Burkert, again from the more specific angle of historical Greek religion, calls attention to the differences with magic, the latter being more exclusively concerned with the attainment of a certain goal and conducted amongst few or in private. In ancient Greek religion, largely a communal or public affair, the outcome of worship and propitiation was generally accepted as being uncertain.[58]

There are various ways in which these two aspects of religious ritual can be brought about and expressed in the material record. Renfrew groups them under four headings: 1) 'attention focusing', 2) 'special aspects of the liminal zone', 3) 'presence of the divine and its symbolic focus' and 4) 'participation and offering' (see also the table on p. 19).[59]

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[55] Renfrew 1985a, 16.

[56] Burkert 1985, 109-11. The appearance of the divine could of course be actively manipulated, as has been suggested for the Classical 'Oracle of the Dead' at Ephyra; see Burkert 1985, 114-15. From the 2nd century AD there is the example of the false oracle of Alexander of Abonuteichos in Paphlagonia; Lucian, *Alexander, passim;* Parke (1976, 142-43)

[57] Renfrew 1985a, 16.

[58] Burkert 1985, 55.

The first, the focusing of attention or creation of a state of altered consciousness, requires the most elaborate measures. These usually involve a whole range of actions and procedures, which have in common their departure from daily routine and change in habitual behaviour and perception. An important way of focusing the mind is to make rituals specific in both time and place.[60] The keeping of religious calendars allows, for instance, a period of mental and physical preparation (fasting, abstinence, pilgrimage) leading up to the ceremony. At the very least, the specific day of the religious ritual is a time without work and of relaxation of normal tasks and sometimes roles. The ritual itself is also marked by a fixed sequence of events (and may include a procession), although this will be very difficult to reconstruct on the basis of archaeological evidence alone.[61]

A more immediate way of heightening the awareness is through stimulation of the senses. This almost invariably involves sight (as in the manipulation of darkness and light), sound, through music and chant or by imposing silence, smell, through the use of special scents (e.g. incense), taste, through the partaking of special foods and drinks and touch, through movement in gesture and dance. The susceptibility of the cult participants may be greatly enhanced as a result of mental and physical preparation and the use of mind altering substances (alcohol and drugs). Such elements of the ritual may find reflection in the use of special devices (lamps, incense burners, drinking cups) and installations (for instance, dancing platforms).[62]

Under the second heading, 'special aspects of the liminal zone', characteristics of the place of cult are discussed. By definition places of cult constitute liminal and mysterious areas, where the human and the supernatural touch and overlap. This is often expressed in the choice of location, especially of sanctuaries in natural settings such as caves, mountaintops, groves and springs. It may seem easy to understand why these places would be seen as points of contact between different worlds.[63] However, opinions vary as to the inherently liminal character of such sites and the resulting likelihood of attracting cult. Thus Edlund, in a study of sanctuaries in Magna Graecia follows M. Eliade and presupposes the existence of 'holy places' in an absolute sense. Their holy nature may or may not be 'revealed' to man through visions and signs. Only in the first case do they become 'sacred'.[64] Others more pragmatically emphasise the element of human decision, arguing that cult is not a reflexive or instinctive response to the experience of the landscape, but that the numinous is evoked by the cult.[65] Clearly, both possibilities, that a site became a cult place because of its inspirational natural setting and features, or because it was set apart and specially constructed for the purpose, should be kept open.[66] Burkert acknowledges the complexities of human spatial organisation by granting importance to 'internal explanations' such as visions and miracles (to which prehistoric archaeologists of course have no access). He concludes that 'chance and choice resulted in the formation of religious landscapes in a comprehensive sense, filling the needs of living people, which are both imaginative and realistic'.[67] This suggests, aside from culturally determined preferences in the selection of cult places, an element of fortuitousness.

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[59] Renfrew 1985a, 18. See also Rutkowski 1986, xix.

[60] Renfrew 1985a, 18 (point 1).

[61] Burkert 1985, 99-101. On the possibility that archaeobotanical and -zoological study of sanctuary material may give a rough idea of the part of the year in which the main festival took place: Bookides *et al.* 1999, 52.

[62] Renfrew 1985a, 16, 18, borrowing from Leach 1976, esp. 81.

The liminal character of sanctuaries, as Renfrew indicates, requires observances and prohibitions related to issues of purity and pollution on the part of those who enter, which may be reflected in the presence of installations such as water basins at the entrance.[68] This also implies that sanctuaries or cult places, as 'locations set aside for the practice of religious ritual',[69] may be expected to have some kind of boundary or signs to indicate that one is entering the consecrated area. In ancient Greek the term for a sacred precinct was 'temenos'. In its most basic meaning this term, which is already attested in the Linear B tablets, denotes 'domain'. In the Homeric epics it is used for both profane and sacred precincts.[70] It may be appropriate here to briefly mention the difference between sanctuaries and 'sacred places', such as 'sacred groves' and 'sacred lands of the god'. While the latter may be connected with sanctuaries, they do not constitute places of active worship and, in contrast to sanctuaries, may lack physical demarcation.[71]

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[63] V. Scully 1962, 3, 132-54 (with ref. to Lehmann-Hartleben 1931; Philippson 1939); also J. Whitley 2001, 147.

[64] Edlund 1987, 30-34.

[65] Burkert 1985, 84-85. Similarly, Nilsson (1950, 56-57) contended that the often awe-inspiring character of caves was not the main reason for their becoming sanctuaries, but the use of such places as habitations in the earlier stages of human history.

[66] See e.g. Schachter 1990; J. Whitley 2001, 147.

[67] Burkert 1996, 29.

[68] Renfrew 1985a, 17, 18 (point 2), 19 (correlate 16); Burkert 1985, 86-87.

The form and spatial organisation of the sanctuary may also make it stand out as a special place because it diverges from secular and funerary architecture, whether this entails an extraordinary elaboration or simplification. Moreover, the lay-out may be such as to help the process of focusing attention and to reflect the special demands attached to cult. Facilities such as benches, offering tables, altars, bothroi, basins and hearths may be present in the form of permanent installations or movable equipment.[72] In principle there is no difference here between built and natural sanctuaries, as the form of the latter may also be modified by the construction of screening walls and other architectural features.

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[69] Renfrew 1985b, 393.

[70] Burkert 1985, 86-87 (with ref. to *Il.* 23.148; *Od.* 12.346). On the Greek temenos also: Bergquist 1967, esp. 5.

[71] E.g. Edlund 1987, 29, 35-37; Burkert 1985, 86.

[72] Renfrew 1985a, 18 (point 2), 19 (correlates 3, 6, 8, 16-18). The more specific forms of sanctuaries cannot be discussed from a cross-cultural angle, as these are determined by the interplay of various factors, from local topography, sociopolitical function (which may explain the degree of elaboration and monumentality), cult requirements (which will, for instance, be very different for public and for mystery cults), to traditional notions on spatial organization. Classifications of specific forms of sanctuaries can therefore only be attempted for given periods and regions, as has been done, for instance, by Rutkowski (1986) for the Bronze Age, by Gesell (1985) for the urban cult places of Minoan Crete and by Mazarakis Ainian (1997) for those of the Early Iron Age; see also the discussion by Morgan (1999, 299-303).

				Archaeological correlates
1) attention focusing	temporal	religious calendar fixed sequence of events in ritual		
	spatial	fixed place	see 2) 'aspects of the liminal zone'	
	sensory stimulation	sight	darkness/light	lamps, torches, bonfires
		sound	silence/sound	musical instruments
		smell	use of scents	incense burners
		taste	eat/drink	crockery, spits, etc.
		touch	movement, dance	dancing areas
	chemical		psychoactive substances	drinking cups
2) aspects of the liminal zone	special place/ setting			awe-inspiring natural spot/building set apart
	boundaries			wall, stones, installations at entrance
	unusual spatial organisation			exceptional ground plan, facilities
	decoration			cult symbols, prophylactic signs
3) presence of the divine	focal point			cult image or symbol/ altar, hearth
4) worship, participation and offering	gestures of respect			
	prayer			
	sacrifice			bones, horns
	votives			all kinds of objects

Ideally speaking, the sharpening or heightening of awareness by ritual action will culminate in a manifestation of the divine. There can be various ways to further ensure this, which Renfrew discusses under the third heading of 'presence of the divine and its symbolic focus'. He notes that in many societies the presence of the deity is indicated in some material form, which may be anything from a very simple symbol or natural object to an elaborate cult statue. Such representations are not, however, prerequisite.[73] Burkert, for instance, comments on the apparent lack of cult images in Cretan Bronze Age peak sanctuaries, as well as in later cults of Zeus and Poseidon.[74]

The iconic or more abstract symbolic representation of the divine can also provide a focus for worship—the fourth aspect of religious ritual as discerned by Renfrew. Acknowledgement of the power of the deity brings with it an obligation to show respect and adoration, through words and gestures of prayer or submission, active participation in the ritual (including the partaking in food and drink) and through the offering of sacrifice, libations and votives. Such expressions of worship are usually directed at a particular sacred spot which, apart from a representation of the deity, may be designated by the presence of an altar or the like.[75] Prayer and the offering of sacrifice and votives are intimately connected, and these latter two activities may result in a host of material evidence.[76]

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[73] Renfrew 1985a, 16, 18 (point 3), 19 (correlates 7, 13).

[74] Burkert 1985, 42.

Based on the components of religious ritual as discussed above, Renfrew has made a list of eighteen archaeological correlates, but both the author himself and those who have used the list after him note that there are certain problems. Some correlates overlap, while others only apply to certain types of sanctuaries.[77] Renfrew himself asserted that he did not mean to provide a set of absolute criteria that, once fulfilled, identify a site as sanctuary, but rather to give a number of the potential material consequences of cult behaviour. For these reasons, the list of correlates by Renfrew is not duplicated here in its original form.[78] Instead, a table is given, which incorporates most of his correlates as examples, but which at the same time retains the various defining aspects and components of cult from which the correlates emanate. This may the best way of avoiding a 'checklist' approach and of remaining alert to other material consequences that may present themselves.

As with the correlates provided by Renfrew, those in the table given here do not supply an exhaustive list, nor can it be said that a correlate is exclusive for cult practice. The latter issue is of course crucial. Archaeological evidence for formalised and repetitive human behaviour on its own is not enough to prove the presence of a sanctuary, as it could equally well reflect funerary or secular ritual (including play and games). Although the demarcation of special places and the objects found at them in many cases hint at cult use, what is really needed is material proof for expressive actions (such as prayer, sacrifice, offering) and some indication that a transcendent being is involved. This requires further analysis along two different lines: by considering the available iconographic and symbolic evidence and by a careful comparison of the assemblage from a potential sanctuary with others deriving from contemporary settlement and funerary contexts.[79]

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[75] Renfrew 1985a, 16 (with ref. to Goody 1961, 157), 18 (point 4).

[76] Van Straten 1981, 65-66; Burkert 1985, 73-75.

[77] Renfrew 1985a, 19-20 (correlates 3, 17-18). Also Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 121-25; Morgan 1999, 299, 303.

[78] Nor is the modified version proposed by Pilafidis-Williams (1998, 121-25), which is followed by Morgan (1999, 303) for Isthmia.

Whenever there are comprehensible cult symbols or iconic representations, they will greatly enhance the understanding of the character and function of the place, potentially illuminating each of the elements in the table. Representations in sanctuaries may take diverse forms, including cult images, architectural decoration (friezes, wall paintings) and votive objects (figurines, plaques, reliefs and vases). They may depict deities, mythical events and cult practices that would otherwise be difficult to reconstruct. Often, however, the evidence from one site will not be sufficient to establish whether the associated depictions indeed have religious significance, making comparison with finds from other sites necessary. There is a certain danger of circular argument here, but Renfrew points out that the effort is methodologically justified, because a basic community of expression is to be expected within a given society. Therefore the relationship between symbol and meaning tends to become conventionalised, in the sense that 'the meaning is repeatedly and regularly represented by the same form, and that form is repeatedly and regularly used to convey that meaning.'[80] It is important, however, to add that such a statement is valid only at a broad and generalising level and should not be taken to imply a static or monolithic *content* of meaning. Even in a religion marked by orthodoxy and fixed codes, daily practice will lead to alternative interpretations and explanations, which may take the form of a localisation or particularisation of more abstract or complex theological concepts.[81]

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[79] Renfrew 1985a, 15, 18-21.

[80] Renfrew 1985a, 12-14, with ref. to Leach 1976, 3.

[81] E.g. Stewart (1991, 10-11) discusses the differences between 'great traditions' or doctrinal religion, leading to universalist abstractions (in Orthodox Christian religion, for instance, on the nature of the Devil) and 'little traditions', which refer to similar concepts through accounts of particular events (for instance in local stories about personal encounters with daemons). Another example from Orthodox Greek religion given by Stewart (*ibid.* 32-33) shows the rise of popularity of the feast of

As far as the identification of cult places is concerned, however, the fact that there are multiple possible readings of a symbol or representation is of less relevance than that its general association with the sacred in a certain society or culture would be widely understood. In other words, to verify a function within the religious framework, it is strictly speaking not necessary to be able to reconstruct the specific meaning or content. Renfrew gives the example of Christian iconography, arguing that an attentive observer will note the recurrent association of images of the cross with a crucified male, and the attendant iconography of the woman dressed in blue (who may appear both at the foot of the cross and with a male infant)—even if he can not reconstruct the full story. The discussion of symbolic content may therefore be left aside, to concentrate instead on the issue of structural relationships. Renfrew observes that symbols are habitually used together within similar contexts. This means that 'if a particular symbol has been identified as of cult significance, through an analysis of context in one assemblage, its occurrence in another may well carry some presumption of a ritual context there also.' To follow through on the previous example, the repeated juxtaposition of the crucifix with the other iconographic elements makes it safe to assume that each of these on their own refers to the same complex of meaning. Inferences of this kind require, however, careful definition of the region and period, or the cultural sphere, from which parallels are to be drawn. When symbols or representations travel from one cultural context to another their meaning may be altered to the extent that they lose any religious connotation.[82]

As a final element of analysis, the comparison of a sanctuary assemblage with others from settlements and cemeteries in the same society is necessary to determine whether its formation could not be equally well explained in terms of secular, funerary or other symbolic behaviour. As far as this places weight on 'negative evidence', it might nourish the old joke that archaeologists identify as 'religious'

St. Pakhomios in a village on Naxos, because folk etymology connected the name of this Saint with the word for 'fat' ('pakhis'). Accordingly, in the 13th century, the custom developed of passing little children (or their clothes) three times through a hole above the icon screen to ensure their well-being. The custom was condemned 'superstitious' by the authorities of that period, but survives to the present day.

[82] Renfrew 1985a, 13-16; *id.* 1985b, 394-95; see also De Polignac 1992, 114-15, 117.

all those things they cannot interpret otherwise. However, the comparative method is justified—providing, of course, that it is combined with the other means of analysis discussed above—because it derives from the idea that religious ritual entails a departure from daily routine and an alteration of habitual behaviour and perception. It also underlines the importance of looking at whole contexts and using quantitative methods. When considered on their own, the possibility that certain items were used in play or as secular prestige symbols cannot be easily dismissed. The analysis of an entire assemblage may reveal specific use patterns, such as those indicated by an unusual frequency of certain vessel types or of bones of a particular kind of animal.[83] This kind of quantitative and comparative analysis has been applied with success to the early material from Aegina and Isthmia. At the first site, Pilafidis-Williams was able to document an actual predominance of Late Bronze Age figurine fragments over pottery, something which is not generally found in settlements of the period (although the numbers of figurines there can be high too).[84] Morgan, in her discussion of the Mycenaean pottery from Isthmia, notes that funerary assemblages are distinct because of the large proportion of fine closed shapes. Settlement and sanctuary groups tend to diverge less, but may nevertheless show significant differences in the proportions of, for instance, coarse against fine wares or of plain against decorated wares.[85]

Despite such encouraging results, it should be emphasised that the success of identifying sanctuaries in the archaeological record will largely depend on the degree of standardisation and articulation of cult practice in a given society. In an ideal case, there are discrete religious forms, with sanctuaries of distinct plan, specially designed cult equipment and votives, and a coherent religious iconography. However, such a situation is far from universal. Standardisation of religious expression tends to be more pronounced in societies with an 'official' or centrally organised religion (and even then will never be absolute). It was probably during the Neopalatial periods that Crete witnessed the greatest homogeneity in religious expression, due to the central role of the palaces. In the Postpalatial phases of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age such central organisation did not exist, making standardisation and specialisation of cult practice less likely. Even later, Classical Greek religion is known for its lack of orthodoxy and universal doctrine: there were no holy scriptures or castes of priests who, as members of a closed, hierarchical group, could lay down the tenets for a Panhellenic religion.[86]

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[83] Renfrew 1985a, 20-21. On the use of figurines as toys, see already Walters 1903, xxvii, who notes their dedication in sanctuaries.

[84] Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 128-29.

[85] Morgan 1999, 305-07.

The problems which a potential lack of 'specialisation and separateness' of cult practice poses for the identification of sanctuaries have been recognised by Renfrew for domestic cult. This type of cult, taking place at the level of 'the basic residence unit' (the nuclear family or other small kin-defined group), may not entirely lack the qualities that are important for its archaeological recognition, but they are probably more diffuse. Renfrew notes that attention focusing devices and some kind of symbolic focus are likely to be used, but may be fairly modest and unarticulated. Identification will depend on the presence of a specific place (a room or part of a room) that served as liminal area and ritual focus, and on that of identifiable types of equipment and offerings, in the form of objects that are not commonly used in secular contexts.[87] However, the question as to whether the use of specialised cult equipment is a prerequisite for a domestic shrine remains essentially open.

It is more important that the possible lack of standardisation and articulation of cult practice—and concomitant archaeological invisibility—is not confined to domestic sanctuaries, but can be more widely manifested. It may, for instance, be found at small natural cult places, which do not need to have stone boundaries to delineate them, nor cult images, nor specialised cult equipment or permanent offerings. One category of votives that tends to leave little material trace consists of 'firstlings' or 'first fruit offerings', which represent the gods' share in the yield of hunting, fishing, gathering and agriculture. They consist of grain, bread and cakes, olives, grapes and other fruits, cheese, bits of meats, wool, oil and wine.[88] The wider relevance of the problem is also implied by Renfrew's discussion of communal cult. The concept of communal cult, as Renfrew rightly points out, does not necessarily mean that participation is 'public' (in the sense of being open to all members of a community), nor is it always conducted in a 'communally recognised sacred area'. Rituals may be carried out by designated individuals on behalf of the rest of the community in privacy, as in the residence, or even in secrecy.[89]

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[86] Burkert 1985, 95.
[87] Renfrew 1985a, 21-22.
[88] Rouse 1902, 41-42, 49-54; Burkert 1985, 66-67.

Underlying these issues of degree of standardisation and spatial articulation of cult practice is, of course, the more fundamental question as to what extent (or in what instances) the sacred would be conceived of as a clearly separate realm, and one that required permanent demarcation. There may be a problem in the premise, which Renfrew adopts from Leach, that 'This World' and 'The Other World' are to be envisaged as separate topographical areas, represented by two circles, with some overlap in the form of a 'liminal zone'.[90] It might be equally or more valid to think in terms of higher and lower densities of liminality—which may be enhanced by acts of cult with more or with less recognisable material traces.

This should serve as an extra reminder that the archaeological record will usually only reveal a fraction of the religious expressions in a society. Cult places used by small groups of worshippers, who may operate outside an established, 'official' religion or may simply not engage in the offering of permanent votive objects, will present problems of archaeological visibility. It also means that the early signs of new forms of religious practices may be difficult to detect (as they may not yet have acquired distinctive traits). This seems to be the kind of situation which Burkert has in mind when he states that 'the sacred spot arises spontaneously as the sacred acts leave behind lasting traces: here sites of fire, there stains of blood and oil on the stone.'[91] There is therefore a clear risk in archaeological studies of an unintended emphasis on public, established and well-defined cult forms rather than on marginal or newly developing ones.

Lastly, problems of identification may occur at the practical level. In theory, the aspects of religious ritual as outlined by Renfrew should be tested for each sanctuary. In reality—and this certainly applies to the sites included in this work—the quality and quantity of the available archaeological data often are simply not up to such a standard of analysis. This applies in particular to older excavations, where whole classes of evidence, most notably bones and incomplete or undecorated pots, were usually discarded without being properly recorded. In many such cases, there was in general no precise recording of find spots, which would enable a reconstruction of behavioural patterns and 'areas of special attention'. Rescue excavations and surveys by their nature present limitations of their own. And even the sanctuary of Phylakopi, which was meticulously excavated and documented by Renfrew himself, with the need for rigorous testing in mind, would not acquire more than the predicate of 'plausible sanctuary' if it were not for the inclusion of evidence from contemporary sanctuaries elsewhere.[92] Many of the sites described in the catalogues of this study could be considered as even less plausible. In practice, their identification relies rather heavily on the presence of significant numbers of votives and sometimes cult equipment. Moreover, without recourse to the use of analogy with other, more completely known Cretan sanctuaries of the same period, these catalogues would be a lot shorter. Some of the rigour ideally required in the identification of sanctuaries in the archaeological record has been sacrificed to the desire to provide a general overview of the cult places *and* possible cult places in the period from 1200–600 BC. The inclusion of a number of borderline cases may in fact help to assess to what extent religious ritual in a given period was differentiated from other activities and, ultimately, if the sacred was conceived of as a clearly separate zone.

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[89] Renfrew 1985a, 21-22.

[90] Renfrew 1985a, 16-17, fig. I.I (with ref. to Leach 1976, 82).

[91] Burkert 1985, 92.

3. Votives

The presence of votive and cult objects is a valuable aid in the recognition of cult places in the archaeological record. Further analysis of votive assemblages, focusing on the types of objects represented and their symbolic content, may supply additional information about both deity and worshippers involved. Such an analysis may elucidate the character of the deity, the orientation of the associated cult, as well as the concerns of the votaries, their social position and aspirations. The 'reading' or interpretation of votive objects, however, is not straightforward, but can be done in different ways, occasionally with very different results.

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[92] Renfrew 1985b, 364-65.

The custom of dedicating (permanent) votives is, as discussed above, by no means universal. However, when the custom is adopted, votives tend to take a variety of forms. This is also reflected by the general nature of the terms used in ancient Greece: 'agalma' ('something pleasing to the god'), 'kosmos' ('ornament') and sometimes 'doron' ('gift').[93] Numerous ancient Greek sanctuaries are indeed known—through excavation, descriptions by ancient authors or through other means—to have attracted large quantities of votive objects of widely different sorts, ranging from natural objects and modest articles used in daily life to very elaborate objects that could be manufactured especially for dedication. At some sanctuaries this even led to attempts at regulation. A Hellenistic decree from the Asklepeion at Rhodes, for instance, curtailed the setting up of more votives in the lower part of the sanctuary, or 'in any other spot where votive offerings prevent people walking past'. Elsewhere, there were rules against attaching votives to the woodwork of the cult buildings for fear of damage and against the setting up of votives that would block the cult image from view.[94]

A good impression of the range of objects thought suitable for dedication and the many occasions on which they might be given can be obtained from the classic study by Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (1902), and from the recent works by Van Straten. Their work combines epigraphic, literary and iconographic sources and, although the majority of these sources are too late to have direct bearing on this study, they are of interest in several respects. They provide insights both into the motives given by the worshippers themselves—thus adding considerable personal detail—and into votive behaviour in general by illustrating some of the basic, underlying concerns.

Van Straten calls both the range of votives and the possible reasons for offering them 'virtually unlimited', as they may relate to the events that are part of the normal course of life as well as to those that are exceptional. The transition of one life stage to the next was almost invariably accompanied by ritual, on the occasion of which one could dedicate, for example, locks of hair, the playthings of one's youth, or, on retirement, the tools of one's trade.[95] The idea of 'first fruit offerings' could be extended almost indefinitely and led not only farmers but also others to dedicate samples of their work. The dedication of arms and other spoils of war is widely attested.[96] Other examples include a potter dedicating his first pot, an architect giving a model bridge, a shoemaker a model shoe, a smith a (miniature) cart wheel, a strigil maker a strigil, and even of writers dedicating poems and books.[97] Winners of games dedicated their prizes (tripod-cauldrons and other vessels, arms, wreaths, crowns, actors' masks) or the instruments used in their sport (chariots, weights, javelins and discs).[98] If faced with illness one could dedicate anatomical models,[99] when saved from shipwreck a lock of hair, clothes or a representation of a ship.[100] Alternatively, one could opt for more generic types of votives, (sometimes) mass produced for the purpose, such as plaques or figurines depicting deity or worshipper. Pieces of jewellery or other personal items thought 'pleasing to the deity' could be offered.[101] On the other end of the scale, things could be dedicated by virtue of their unusual or exotic character. Rouse remarks how 'anything strange or rare would naturally be a fit offering for a god.' He gives examples of offerings of curious bits of stone, a strangely shaped shell and the 'antlers of an Indian ant'. On display in the sanctuary of Asklepios at Megalopolis were the 'bones of the giants who had helped Rhea in her revolt', encouraging a fisherman who accidentally caught similarly large bones in his nets, to dedicate them there as well.[102]

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[93] Van Straten 1981, 75; *id.* 1990, 268-69; Burkert 1985, 94.

[94] See Van Straten (1990, 270-72), who also draws a parallel with modern Greek churches, where miracle-working icons are sometimes covered with small metal votive plates.

Considering this variety, the fact that the same type of object could be dedicated on different occasions and for different reasons, and the sometimes particular (and peculiar) reasons for dedicating certain articles, the attempt to find meaningful patterns in ancient votive behaviour may seem speculative and—when based on archaeological evidence alone—inherently defective and impersonal. It is tempting to agree with Plato, who concluded that people not only jumped at every occasion to make offerings, but also just dedicated 'the first thing that comes to hand'.[103]

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[95] Van Straten 1981, 81, 88-104; *id.* 1990, 260, 270; also Burkert 1985, 68-70.

[96] Burkert 1985, 69.

[97] See e.g. Rouse 1902, 58-71; Burkert 1985, 66-68; Van Straten 1981, 92-96.

[98] Rouse 1902, 149-86; Van Straten 1981, 91.

[99] Van Straten 1990, 260.

[100] Van Straten 1981, 96-102.

[101] E.g. Van Straten 1981, 103-04.

[102] Rouse 1902, 318-21, with ref. to Paus. viii. 32. 5; *Anth. Pal.* vi. 222, 223.

Some modern scholars, however, offer guidelines which may help to understand at least some of the broader social and cultural patterns behind this apparently unruly votive behaviour. Van Straten remarks that there may be a pronounced difference in 'freedom of choice' between dedications made as part of communal ritual and those given privately. He refers to Draco, who prescribed that 'people should worship the gods and the local heroes, communally in accordance with ancestral laws, privately according to their means'.[104] This ties in with the assertion by Renfrew, discussed in the previous section, that in order for a society to function, its members have to share a basic community of expression. This will also be reflected in the choice of votives for certain occasions. Others have gone further and state 'a close relationship between the semantic configuration of cults and the attributes and functions of the intervening deity.'[105] While it cannot be expected that all votives in a sanctuary fit into one neatly unified symbolic or semantic framework, the analysis of recurring or prevalent types of votives may well reveal the relevant underlying social and cultural patterns or 'ancestral laws'. Nevertheless, it remains true that, even when concentrating on recurring and better known forms, there often is room for vastly different interpretations and approaches. A few examples may illustrate this.

A series of miniature terracotta human limbs and bisected figurines, which were found at the Bronze Age peak sanctuary of Petsophas in eastern Crete, are interpreted by some scholars as reflecting the dedications of worshippers seeking cures for ailing body parts.[106] Others, however, have proposed that these figurine fragments be interpreted in the light of associated myths about the dismembering of the god. They would have figured in a proto-Dionysiac ritual or in the worship of a deity akin to the Egyptian Osiris.[107]

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[103] Plato *Laws* 10. 909 e-910, as cited by Van Straten 1990, 270.

[104] Van Straten 1987, 67 (with ref. to Porphyrius, *De Abst.* 4, 22).

[105] Calame 1997, 207.

[106] Bosanquet *et al.* 1902-03, 380-81; Peatfield 1990, 122.

[107] Dietrich 1974, 302; MacGillivray 2000b, esp. 125-27.

The number of possible interpretations increases when a votive is of more common type, as is the case with bull figurines. Because of the bull's Classical association with Zeus and Poseidon, some will take the view that the presence of such figurines demonstrates the worship of these gods.[108] Others however, insist that bull figurines cannot be taken as an indication of the identity of the deity, because they are also found in sanctuaries of other Greek deities.[109] Instead, it is argued, the figurines relate to the act of sacrifice (whether as a memento of the actual sacrifice, or—in line with Draco—as a more affordable substitute).[110] On the other hand, the dedication of bull figurines may be seen as an act through which one commends one's livestock to the deity, the votive, in this interpretation, becoming primarily a reflection of the dedicator, who may have been a shepherd or owner of herds of cattle. If the figurines appear in large numbers, it may even indicate the economic specialisation of a region.[111]

Clearly, questions as to what the particular types of votive objects stand for or represent can be viewed from different angles. Although some of the possible interpretations may become less or more likely when taking into account the broader context in which the votives were found—something which in most recent studies is done as matter of course—ultimately interpretation depends, at least partially, on which definition of religion and which approach to its study one adopts. The major schemes for the interpretation of religion as advanced in the course of modern scholarship have been succinctly discussed by Versnel and may be summarised here, as they also relate to the problems of the interpretation of votives noted above.[112] The preference for one definition over another leads to different kinds of statements about the function and meaning of votives.

The first, or substantivistic approach is associated with the work of the 19th-century cultural anthropologist E.B. Tylor, who employed an elementary definition of religion as 'belief in spiritual beings'. This, or definitions closely akin, were adopted by scholars such as J.G.

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[108] See e.g. Burkert 1985, 65; Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 155.

[109] See also the discussion by Schürmann 1996, 218-19; Zimmermann 1989, 2, 323-25; and the discussion in Chapter Four, section 4, p. 393-94.

[110] See e.g. Rouse 1902, 66, 283, 295-96; Burkert 1985, 93; Pilali 1985, 155.

[111] Schürmann 1996, 218-19.

[112] Versnel 1993, 7-11 (with further refs.).

Frazer, R. Otto and, as seen in the previous section, also by Renfrew (albeit in his case for the specific purpose of formulating a model for the archaeological recognition of sanctuaries). This definition makes central the need for worship (adoration, propitiation) and hence communication with the supernatural. As Versnel points out, the substantivistic approach considers such communication as aimed chiefly at concrete and direct goals, such as the fertility of fields, flocks or the worshippers themselves, and the protection from natural and human threat. There can be little doubt that many votive offerings will have been made out of such basic human concerns. One of the elements of critique that has been voiced against this approach, however, is that it places too much emphasis on utilitarian motives and on individual concerns and therefore should, at the very least, be considered as minimalistic.

The second or functionalist approach is inspired by the work of the sociologist E. Durkheim, in particular his *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (1912). Durkheim's definition of religion places foremost its function in achieving social cohesion: 'A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them.'[113] While this definition includes a concept of 'the sacred', Durkheim makes no reference to a spiritual or supernatural reality, but instead states that 'the reality expressed by religious thought is society'. The Durkheimian approach has been criticised for being reductionist, in that it explains religion one-sidedly by its non-religious functions and may confuse intent with effect. At the same time, attention to the social functions of ancient religion has opened up whole new areas of research. In archaeological studies from the later 1970s on, the study of sanctuaries and cults and their entwinement in the socio-political tissue of society has become a well-established and valuable approach. It has clearly resulted in a greater emphasis on the study of whole assemblages of votives and on contexts (taking into account such aspects as expenditure and investment of wealth, the location of a sanctuary and its place in the configuration of settlements) and on the processes involved in making some sanctuaries more important than others.[114]

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[113] Durkheim 1915, 47; see also Renfrew 1985a, 12.

[114] As exemplified by Morgan 1990.

The third main approach to religion may be termed cosmological/symbolical and is represented by the work of anthropologists such as C. Geertz. The latter defines religion as 'a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence, and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic'.[115] The emphasis is on 'religion as orientation', on semantics and cultural meaning. In the sense that it explores more what religion says about society then what it does for it, this approach adds an important dimension to the Durkheimian one.[116] The definition by Geertz has, however, been criticised for being 'so vague that it could serve to define monetary economy as well as it does religion.'[117] Another problem, as Versnel explains, is that this approach is no less functionalist than the Durkheimian. Religion is seen as 'an instrument for constructing a cosmology "to live by"' and emphasis therefore remains on collective goals and behaviour.

None of these approaches, then, can be considered as exhaustive and there is no reason to sacrifice any one for another. Each of them says different things about religion, myth and ritual, often without being mutually exclusive. Versnel therefore pleads that each be put to the test in the interpretation of any given issue.[118] Such a refusal to adopt single or monolithic clues is also apparent in a number of recent studies of votive assemblages from Crete and has indeed resulted in richer and more complex interpretations. This is best illustrated by the study of the Early Iron Age votive assemblage from the extra-urban sanctuary at Syme. A detailed analysis of the different categories of votives has led to an interpretation in which the many bronze bull figurines are connected with the sacrifice to Zeus by aristocratic young men, on the occasion of their reaching maturity. In this interpretation, the figurines act as mementoes, refer to the social standing of the votaries (their wealth being indicated by the fact that the figurines are of bronze and that the sacrificial animal would be a bull), as well as to a symbolic connection with the foremost of gods, known for his close connection with the aristocratic rulers of the early poleis.[119] The example of Syme underlines how one type of votive object may convey a range of messages and may be imbued with different levels of meaning. At the same time, it does not preclude that bull figurines on other occasions, whether at the same or at a different sanctuary, may be part of a very different symbolic configuration—perhaps one that is indeed aimed more singularly at the fertility of flocks.

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[115] Geertz 1966, 4; see also Renfrew 1985a, 12.

[116] *Cf.* complaints by Burkert (1996, 22) that recent studies of ancient religion seem to ignore the supernatural aspect.

[117] Renfrew 1985a, 12.

[118] Versnel 1993, 13-15.

However, Syme is exceptional for its rich body of evidence and the interpretation is helped by later literary sources on Cretan initiation practices. As will become apparent from the catalogue descriptions in this work, the reconstruction of the cult and the function and meaning of votives in the case of most other Cretan sanctuaries remains less certain. Older interpretations concerning the nature of the votives and cult are included in the catalogues, but in summarised form, since the argumentation proposed in support of these interpretations is often not made explicit or is too much influenced by just one approach. Fuller discussions are reserved for succeeding sections in which the recurring types of sanctuaries, of broadly similar form and location and with corresponding cult assemblages, are discussed. Only in this way can justice be done to the entire find context and use be made of the analogy with other sanctuaries of the same type.

4. Chronology and Abbreviations

The accompanying chronological table follows the one by Cadogan (1992a), which for the Bronze Age incorporates both the 'tripartite system' devised by Evans on the basis of the Knossian pottery sequence and the 'palatial system', which gives a broader historical framework. Also incorporated is the most recent terminology proposed for the different phases within the Late Minoan III period.[120] The absolute dates (all BC, unless stated otherwise) are based on the standard works by Warren & Hankey (1989) for the Bronze Age and on that by Coldstream (1977) for the Early Iron Age. The recently proposed high chronology for the Thera eruption and hence for the Late Minoan I period has not been incorporated, as this is not immediately relevant in the context of this study.

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[119] For a fuller discussion and refs. see Chapter Four, cat. entry B.66 and Chapter Four section 9, p. 580-81.

[120] For a fuller discussion, see the introduction to Chapter Three, p. 105-09.

Main Period	*Subdivisions*		*Absolute dates*	*Abbr.*
Neolithic (N)		A-ceramic	before 7000	
		Early Neolithic	*c.* 7000–*c.* 4750	EN
		Middle Neolithic	*c.* 4750–*c.* 4500	MN
		Late Neolithic	*c.* 4500–*c.* 3750	LN
		Final Neolithic	*c.* 3750–*c.* 3650/3500	FN
Bronze Age (BA)	Prepalatial	Early Minoan I	*c.* 3650/3500–*c.* 3000/2900	EM I
		Early Minoan II	*c.* 3000/2900–*c.* 2300/2150	EM II
		Early Minoan III	*c.* 2300/2150–*c.* 2160/2025	EM III
		Middle Minoan IA	*c.* 2160/1979–*c.* 1900	MM IA
	Protopalatial	Middle Minoan IB	*c.* 1900–*c.* 1800	MM IB
		Middle Minoan II	*c.* 1800–1700/1650	MM II
	Neopalatial	Middle Minoan III	*c.* 1700/1650–*c.* 1600	MM III
		Late Minoan IA	*c.* 1600–*c.* 1480	LM IA
		Late Minoan IB	*c.* 1480–*c.* 1425	LM IB
		Late Minoan II	*c.* 1425–*c.* 1390	LM II
		Late Minoan IIIA1	*c.* 1390–*c.* 1370/1360	LM IIIA1
	Postpalatial *or* Final Palatial	Late Minoan IIIA2	*c.* 1370/1360–*c.* 1340/1330	LM IIIA2
		Late Minoan IIIB	*c.* 1340/1330–*c.* 1190	LM IIIB
	Postpalatial (undisputed)	Late Minoan IIIB 'late'	?–*c.* 1190	
		Late Minoan IIIC	*c.* 1190–*c.* 1070	LM IIIC
		Subminoan	*c.* 1070–*c.* 970	SM
Early Iron Age(EIA)	Protogeometric	Early Protogeometric	*c.* 970–*c.* 900	EPG
		Middle Protogeometric	*c.* 900–*c.* 870	MPG
		Late Protogeometric	*c.* 870–*c.* 840	LPG
		Protogeometric B	*c.* 840–*c.* 810	PGB
	Geometric	Early Geometric	*c.* 810–*c.* 790	EG
		Middle Geometric	*c.* 790–*c.* 745	MG
		Late Geometric	*c.* 745–*c.* 700	LG
	Orientalizing (Daedalic*)	Early Orientalizing	*c.* 700–?	EO
		Middle Orientalizing	?	MO
		Late Orientalizing	?–*c.* 630	LO
Iron Age	Archaic		*c.* 630–*c.* 480	A
	Classical		*c.* 480–*c.* 330	CL
	Hellenistic		*c.* 330–67	HL
	Roman		67–330 AD	R
Medieval	Early Byzantine		380 AD–824 AD	EByz
	Arab		824 AD–961 AD	
	Late Byzantine		961 AD–1204 AD	LByz
	Venetian		1204 AD–1669 AD	
(Early) Modern	Ottoman		1669 AD–1898 AD	
	protectorate		1898 AD–1913 AD	
	Modern Greek		1913 AD –	

* The absolute chronology of the subdivisions within the Orientalizing periods is not clear, due to the regionalism in styles and the scarcity of imports. An alter-

native periodization of the 7th century BC is based on the stylistic development of Daedalic sculpture and Daedalic mouldmade terracottas. The latter, used as votives and as decoration on pithoi, have a relatively wide distribution. The Daedalic style phase has been subdivided in the following phases:[121]

Proto-Daedalic (680-670 BC) – Proto-Daed
Early Daedalic (670-655 BC) – EDaed
Middle Daedalic (655-630 BC) – MDaed
Late Daedalic (630-620 BC) – LDaed
Sub-Daedalic phase (620-600 BC) – Sub-Daed

Other abbreviations used:

EBA	Early Bronze Age
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
LBA	Late Bronze Age
GUA	‘Goddess with Upraised Arms’

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[121] Jenkins 1936, 61-64. The basis of his chronology still applies, though not Jenkins’ characterisation of the style as ‘Dorian’. For some critical comments: Higgins 1967, 26. Rizza (Rizza & Scrinari 1968, esp. 238-44) attaches higher dates to these phases; see also Ridgway 1980, 23; Rolley 1994, 125, 128-32.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The customary scholarly emphasis on the period of the Minoan palaces is not to be explained exclusively by the unique accomplishments of the civilisation in question, but also by the particular way in which interest in the island developed. The following overview of archaeological scholarship in Crete, with attention to the broader political context, may illustrate this, providing at the same time more insight into the foundations and formation of an often undifferentiated and static idea of 'continuity' as a major characteristic of Cretan culture and religion after the BA.

1. Early Scholarship and the Discovery of Minoan Civilisation

Compared with other parts of the Greek world, the systematic archaeological exploration of Crete began relatively late, in the advanced 19th and early 20th century. A number of reasons may be held responsible. At a time when Classical archaeology was largely text-driven and art-historical in inspiration, it was certainly of influence that few works of Cretan ancient authors were known and that the island was not prominent in surviving sources from the rest of the ancient Greek world. Neither did Crete possess truly monumental standing remains of the Classical period. The most impressive ruins visible to early travellers were those at Gortyn, which were of Roman and later date, and the famed fortification walls of Candia (modern Herakleion), which belonged to the Venetian period.[1] A more practical reason for the delayed discovery of Crete is to be sought in the unfavourable conditions for travelling: the island was known for its lack of accommodation, bad and unsafe roads and for its unstable political situation. Foreigners were well-advised to travel fully armed, if only, as remarked by a late 18th-century Frenchman, to be sure of being left alone.[2] There were frequent insurrections and the middle of the 17th century was marked by the decades-long Cretan War (1645–1669), in which the Ottoman Empire put the 400-year Venetian dominion of the island to an end.[3] As a result, until the 19th century Crete served primarily as a halting place on the route from Athens to the Near East, with sea-trade concentrating on the cities on the north coast.[4] The interior of the island remained relatively unknown to foreign visitors.[5] Maps of Renaissance travellers, on which coasts and ports are shown in considerable detail but the interior as an unarticulated mountainous mass, reflect this limited knowledge.[6]

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[1] Disappointment was, for instance, voiced by the French scholar G. Perrot in the middle of the 19th century, when he saw that so little was left to see of Knossos; see Farnoux 1996, 17-18. On the Venetian walls of Candia: Detorakis 1994, 235-36, fig. 15.

Some exploration, however, was done, most notably by Italian scholars during the period of Venetian occupation. A well-known example is the Florentine monk and antiquary Cristoforo Buondelmonti, who visited Crete in the early 15th century as part of his sixteen-year long travels in the Greek islands.[7] In the 16th century, Francesco Barozzi, a resident of the island, and Onorio Belli collected inscriptions and described several of the island's ancient monuments.[8] Although generally educated as natural historians or scientists, Italian scholars also began the association of place names known from ancient literary sources with specific sites in the Cretan landscape. In 1591 the botanist Giuseppe Casabona identified a cave high in the Psiloritis mountains as the Idaean Antron, which was mentioned by ancient authors as the birth place of Cretan Zeus (Plate 13).[9] The Kephala hill in the valley south of Herakleion was pointed out as the probable site of Knossos (Plate 1), the home of the legendary king Minos, by Belli.[10] In the east, the ruins near the Venetian village of Prassus were recognised as those of ancient Praisos (Plate 52).[11] Early learned visitors of other nationalities included the French natural historian Pierre Belon in the 16th century, and the Frenchman Joseph Pitton de Tournefort and the British cleric Richard Pococke in the 18th century. The latter, like his Italian predecessors, displayed a keen interest in the identification of ancient sites.[12]

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[2] Savary 1788, 165. The roads remained ill-kept until well into the 20th century: Hawes & Boyd Hawes 1916, 1, 9; Allsebrook 1992, 87-88.

[3] Dontas 1966, esp. 67-155; Clogg 1986, 26; Detorakis 1994, 226-44.

[4] E.g. on Medieval and early modern British trade contacts: Warren 1972, 65-67; *id.* 2000.

[5] Farnoux 1996, 16, 20. For a bibliography of travellers to Crete: Weber 1952, 1953, *passim.*

[6] Until late in the 19th century there was discussion as to which of the Cretan mountains were highest; see e.g. Raulin 1867, 329ff. For some easily accessible reproductions of early maps: Sphyroeras, Avramea & Asdrachas 1985.

[7] Buondelmonti was also responsible for the discovery of the hieroglyphs in Egypt; Beschi 1984, 19-20; Sphyroeras, Avramou & Asdrahas 1985, 26-28; Schnapp 1996, 115, 296.

[8] Barozzi's discoveries included part of the Gortyn Law Code; Beschi 1984, 19, 21-23.

These early centuries of Cretan exploration also witnessed the publication of a number of scholarly syntheses by non-travelling scholars, who gathered their information from different sources. *Description Exacte des Isles de l'Archipel* by Olfert Dapper (1703), for instance, contained a sizeable section on Crete. As the author had not been to the Aegean himself, his work was based on geographical and physical descriptions by contemporary travellers and seamen combined with the testimonies of ancient authors.[13] The book included an overview of the history of Crete from the earliest down to Turkish times, but was far from critical in its use of the various available sources. Dapper took as literal stories about 'The Old Kings', i.e. Zeus, the Kouretes and Minos and used these as the foundation for his section on 'the earliest history' of the island. His work reflects some of the difficulties which have long been felt by scholars who attempt to write a history of Crete on the basis of the ancient literary sources. References to the island are dispersed through the works of different authors and provide few chronological or historical clues. Although the interest in Crete's social institutions and traditional laws had inspired factual treaties by Plato, Aristotle and Strabo after them, in most ancient testimonies Crete appears as a distant land of age-old cults and divine mythology. Apart from being associated with king Minos, it was mentioned foremost as the birth place of Zeus and the home of such mythical beings as the Minotaur, Kouretes and Daktyls. The scarcity of unequivocal historical sources on Crete was commented on by several early scholars, among them the 18th-century historian W. Mitford and the 19th-century Frenchman G. Perrot. The latter explicitly wondered 'why, when our history books paint the panorama of the divers fortunes of the Greek people and the different forms assumed in turn by its genius, why does Crete appear only as a memory?'[14]

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[9] Beschi 1984, 19.

[10] MacGillivray 2000a, 92.

[11] Bosanquet 1901-02, 231, n. 1.

[12] De Tournefort 1718, 6-37; Pococke 1745; see also Warren 1972, 80-90.

[13] For Crete: Dapper 1703, 385-484. See also Sphyroeras, Avramou & Asdrahas 1985, 159.

The 19th century witnessed important advances in Cretan research, with interest in the island growing markedly. One factor which clearly was of influence was the island's increasing political significance for the rest of the European world. With Greek independence from the Ottoman Empire imminent, Western attention also turned to Crete, where repeated insurrections indicated that many of the inhabitants were eager to throw off the Turkish yoke. While the island's quest for unification with Greece was not formally supported by the European Powers,[15] the number of foreign visitors—whether on official missions or not—grew significantly in the 19th century. In the light of public sympathy for the Greek cause in general, many visitors were zealous to make their experiences in Crete known to a larger audience. The preface of many a 19th-century book on the island betrays the author's political engagement.[16] J.E.H. Skinner, who himself participated in the bloodily suppressed Cretan insurrection of 1867 and wrote *Roughing it in Crete in 1867*, formulated his concerns as follows: 'What is to become of Crete, and of the Eastern Question to which her troubles properly belong, and what is our best policy for counteracting the undue development of Russian power?'[17] Even in the first pages of a historical work such as *Précis de l'Histoire de Crète* (1869) G.-C. Bolanachi and H. Fazy declared that the 1867 insurrection had drawn the attention of all those interested in the 'politics and fate of the Hellenic race' and had also inspired them to write their historical overview.[18] While not all learned visitors had such explicit political motivations, it is clear that the scholarly and political rediscovery of the island went hand in hand.[19]

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[14] The quote is borrowed from Farnoux 1996, 13. For more recent statements of this position: Van Effenterre 1948a, 19-20; Finley 1968, esp. 7-10. For Mitford see Hoeck 1823, v.

[15] Clogg 1986, 87-95; Detorakis 1994, 291-367.

[16] E.g. Perrot 1867, iii-xxxi.

[17] Skinner 1868, vii.

The number of academic works on Crete multiplied in the 19th century and included such major studies as those by the German botanist F.W. Sieber (1823) and the French natural historian V. Raulin (1867). With regard to the island's ancient history, the German philologist Karl Hoeck published *Kreta. Ein Versuch zur Aufhellung der Mythologie und Geschichte, der Religion und Verfassung dieser Insel, von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Römer-Herrschaft*, in the years from 1823 to 1829. Hoeck's work differed from that of Dapper and others before him in that he at least recognised the need to distinguish between myth and history—'Die historischen Resultäte aus den Mythen zu ziehen, den Mythos in seine Schranken zu weisen.'[20] Hoeck restricted himself to a comparatively brief description of the geography of the island, after which he presented a history of the island in three parts. The last of his three volumes discusses *Das Dorische Kreta* on the basis of Archaic and later epigraphic and literary sources, including treatises by Plato, Aristotle and others on the island's social, legal and political institutions. As to Crete's early history, Hoeck had to resort to more ambiguous sources, which he labelled 'historicising myths'.[21] The first volume of *Kreta* dealt with 'the earliest period of development of Cretan culture', which Hoeck saw reflected in the testimony of Homer about five tribes inhabiting the island and in tales of mythical beings such as the Kouretes and Daktyls. The second volume, dealing with a subsequent period in the island's history and significantly called *Das Minoische Kreta*, took as its base later Greek stories about king Minos and his contemporaries. Hoeck emphasised that not everything connected with Minos should be considered as historical reality, as there was a tendency among people to ascribe a range of events from a longer period of time to famous names from the past. Yet, he believed that Minos, like Agamemnon and Menelaus, was a historical figure.[22]

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[18] Bolanachi & Fazy 1869: 'L'émouvant spectacle de la lutte engagée entre l'empire ottoman et les courageux habitants de l'ile nous a suggéré l'idée de retracer l'histoire ancienne et moderne du pays qui donna naissance au culte de Zeus-Jupiter, et qui compta Minos au nombre de ses rois.'

[19] E.g. Postlethwaite (1868, v) who described Crete as 'a land which, besides its own ancient and inherent attraction, is now being invested with new interest from the prominent position it has begun to take in reference to the Eastern question.' See also Hawes & Boyd Hawes 1916, 1, 9.

[20] Hoeck 1823, vi.

[21] See e.g. Hoeck 1823, 143.

Hoeck thereby entered a disputed field, as the issue of the historicity of the earliest literary works that described these figures, the Homeric epics, was much-debated.[23] The 18th-century British historians T. Stanyan and W. Mitford had still accepted Homer as a useful historical source, representing the events of a real, 'Early' or 'Heroic' age, which had to be placed somewhere before the Greek lyric poets of the 7th century BC. Others, however, had become sceptical. In the 19th century sympathy was growing for the standpoints of scholars such as F.A. Wolf (1795) and George Grote (1846), who saw the epics primarily as a reflection of the *ethos* of Homer's time with little historical value. Grote was not opposed to the idea that legends could contain a historical core, but his final judgement was that there was no objective way to reconstruct history from legend and myth.[24] In that vein he also rejected the ancient story of a Minoan thalassocracy. This he called 'conjecture, derived from the analogy of the Athenian maritime empire in the historical times, substituted in place of the fabulous incidents, and attached to the name of Minos'.[25]

Hoeck's *Kreta* received little direct mention in Grote's *History of Greece*.[26] Others, however, were more appreciative, in particular those who continued the topographical work begun by Venetian antiquaries in the 15th and 16th centuries. Among them was R. Pashley, who published his influential *Travels in Crete* in 1837.[27] Another publication that gained general recognition in the field of topographical studies was *Travels and Researches in Crete* (1865) by Captain T.A.B. Spratt, who undertook his work as part of an official mission to survey the Cretan coast for the British Admiralty. In the tradition of earlier travel accounts,[28] these two authors combine the description of ruins and the identification of ancient place names with anecdotes and vivid comments on the customs and *mores* of the contemporary inhabitants of the island. Noteworthy in this context is also the work of several members of the then recently established French School in Athens (1846–), such as M.C. Wescher, B. Haussolier and especially L. Thenon, who published his findings in the form of a series of articles in the years from 1866–68.[29]

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[22] Hoeck 1928, 45-46.

[23] For a synopsis of this debate, see esp. Fitton 1995, 41-44; I. Morris 2000, 80-81, 83-84.

[24] Grote 1846, 321, as quoted by I. Morris 2000, 83-84. See also Snodgrass 1971, 20.

[25] Grote 1846, 311; see MacGillivray 2000a, 85.

[26] Grote 1867, 226-27 n. 4, 230.

[27] See esp. Pashley 1837a, 16 for his indebtedness to Hoeck's work. On Pashley: Finley 1968, 10-12.

The topographic exploration of Crete culminated in the 1880s and 1890s, with growing numbers of scholars participating. One of the most important of these 'pioneers' was the Italian Frederico Halbherr, pupil of the famous epigrapher Domenico Comparetti. Halbherr first travelled the island in 1884 and was soon joined by his compatriots A. Taramelli, L. Mariani, L. Savignoni and G. de Sanctis.[30] Other scholars exploring Crete included the Britons J.L. Myres and A.J. Evans, the German E. Fabricius, the Frenchmen A. Joubin and J. Demargne, the Greek historian Stephanos Xanthoudides and Iosif Chatzidakis, physician and president of the Cretan Syllogos or 'Society for the Promotion of Learning' (founded in 1875).[31] In addition to the identification of ancient sites, an important part of the activities of these explorers consisted of the gathering of inscriptions and other antiquities, which were sometimes bought from locals or acquired by means of small excavations. On the instigation of the Syllogos, scholars in these days refrained from large-scale excavations as it was feared that any important finds would be claimed by the Turkish authorities and shipped to Constantinople.[32]

Although temples or other monumental buildings comparable to those known from the rest of the Greek world failed to appear in Crete, the efforts of the pioneers were rewarded in other ways. One of the most spectacular discoveries occurred in 1884, when Halbherr uncovered the Gortyn Law Code, dating to the early 5th century BC. To the present day, it constitutes one of the longest Greek inscriptions and the oldest legal code of Europe.[33] A year later, in 1885, Halbherr and G. Aerakis explored the Idaean cave and found a group of EIA bronze votive offerings, including the well-known bronze tympanon with a representation of a bearded male god (Plates 56-61), and some Roman votive inscriptions mentioning Idaean Zeus.[34] These finds were seen as a striking illustration of the ancient literary sources that considered Crete the birth place of Zeus. The continuing accumulation of coins and inscriptions and the description of standing ancient remains in the meantime made the ancient topography of the island increasingly better known.

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[28] See, for instance, De Tournefort 1718, esp. 7-13; Savary 1788; Lear 1864 (Fowler 1984).

[29] Thenon 1866; see also Haussoullier 1879; Farnoux 1996, 16, 29.

[30] Di Vita 1984b, 27.

[31] Detorakis 1994, 427; Fitton 1995, 113; MacGillivray 2000a, 87-89. For some of these Cretans' early work: Chatzidakis 1886; Xanthoudides 1898.

[32] See also A. Brown 1986; *ead.* 1993; Hood 1987; Farnoux 1996, 26; MacGillivray 2000a, 89-90.

At the same time, the discovery by Heinrich Schliemann of the impressive remains of a pre-Classical or 'Early' civilisation at Troy and Mycenae had begun to add a new and exciting dimension to Cretan exploration. Schliemann, self-made merchant and scholar, had not followed common 19th-century opinion which, based on Grote, considered the Homeric epics as 'legend and nothing more', but had remained a firm believer in their historical accuracy.[35] He extended to the Epics the topographical approach long applied to later Greek literary works and searched them for clues as to the location of the most prominent cities. With the help of Frank Calvert he identified the citadel of Troy at Hissarlik in 1870. Schliemann then continued his work at Mycenae where, from 1874, he uncovered the gold-laden shaft graves, including the one he poetically called 'the tomb of Agamemnon'.[36] Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae provided a rich group of finds for comparative study, including terracotta vessels, which began to serve as reference material for objects from elsewhere in the Aegean.[37] Finds deriving from earlier chance discoveries and smaller excavations in the Aegean could now be seen as part of a much wider cultural phenomenon. Research into the Early Age proceeded apace, with many scholars directing their full attention to the identification and excavation of Mycenaean remains. Schliemann himself moved on to Tiryns where he and W. Dörpfeld unearthed the first Mycenaean palace in 1884-85. Explorations by the Frenchman A. de Ridder at Gla in 1893 showed that Mycenaean strongholds were to be found as far as Boeotia. In addition, the spread of tombs of Mycenaean type indicated the wide geographic extent of this civilisation, from Dimini in the north to Crete in the south.[38]

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[33] Di Vita 1992, 96-97; Farnoux 1996, 24.

[34] Halbherr 1888b, esp. 766 (for the inscription). See also cat. entries A.24/B.52.

[35] Grote 1867, 321.

[36] On Schliemann: Daniel 1976, 136-44; Fitton 1995, 53-103; Traill 1995.

[37] These were included in a comprehensive publication of 'Pre-Hellenic' pottery from the Mediterranean by Furtwängler and Löschcke (1886, 56-71).

The importance of Schliemann's discoveries in upsetting established scholarly notions has been discussed in several publications. Besides tipping the balance in favour of those arguing for the historicity of the Homeric epics,[39] his results also undermined existing ideas about the origin and genesis of the Classical Greek civilisation. Until then, it was generally believed that Classical civilisation had come into being in a relatively short period of time. Before that had been only a 'single phase from the coming of man to Archaic times', during which Greek lands had lain largely empty.[40] Following ancient authors such as Herodotus, who spoke in admiring terms about the older civilisations of the Near East, Greece was considered to have derived 'almost all of its material culture, and much of its religion' from those regions and in particular from Egypt, which was seen as a kind of 'foster mother'.[41] Such a scenario left little room for the local development of complex early cultures. Even scholars who had been willing to accept the Homeric epics as evidence for a historical 'Early' or 'Heroic Age', generally assumed that this age had to be placed shortly before the 7th century BC, the time of the Greek lyric poets.[42] When artefacts of pre-Archaic date were accidentally turned up, they were classed as 'barbaric' or rude, identified as the remains of Phoenician colonists and traders or assigned very low dates.[43] Thus, a number of Late Geometric vases unearthed in 1812 were ascribed to Oriental colonists[44] and a series of prehistoric tombs revealed in Syros in 1862 to Roman convicts.[45] When part of the BA city of Akrotiri on Thera was exposed by chance in

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[38] Tsountas & Manat 1897, 115-16; Fitton 1995, 100-01, 104-05.

[39] See e.g. Nilsson 1933, esp. 21; Finley 1968, 12-13; I. Morris 2000, 84-85.

[40] I. Morris 2000, 80, with ref. to the 18th-century historians Stanyan and Mitford.

[41] Myres 1933, 281 (with further refs.).

[42] I. Morris 2000, 77.

[43] See also Fitton 1995, 31.

[44] Poulsen 1905, 10; see I. Morris 2000, 82.

[45] Myres 1933, 272.

1866, the date of *c.* 2000 BC suggested by geological evidence was dismissed.[46] Similarly, the finds of what turned out to be Mycenaean tombs excavated in Ialysos on Rhodes in 1868 were classed as 'Graeco-Phoenician' and dated to the 7th century BC, despite the presence of a 14th-century Egyptian scarab.[47] In general, pre-Archaic finds were not differentiated. In the eye of a beholder believing in one brief Early Age stylistic differences such as those between Mycenaean and Geometric pottery were simply not apparent.[48] The realisation that these two styles represented separate phenomena came, as described by R. Cook, relatively slowly. While the excavation of a number of rich graves near the Dipylon Gate in Athens in 1871-72 provided significant new insights, it was not until the publication of Schliemann's Mycenaean pottery by Furtwängler and Löschcke that the Mycenaean and 'Dipylon' or 'Geometric' period were finally distinguished.[49] The absolute chronology of the Mycenaean and Dipylon periods was considerably clarified when Schliemann's results at Mycenae were combined with those of W.M. Flinders Petrie in Egypt. In the course of the 1890s, the latter identified Aegean artefacts, particularly Mycenaean pottery, in well-dated Egyptian contexts of the 2nd millennium BC. On the basis of these 'date-marks', it was possible to reconstruct an approximate date of 1600 to 1200 BC for the Mycenaean civilisation, leaving the subsequent four to five centuries for the Geometric period.[50]

In the wake of these new insights, the exploration of Crete acquired exceptional relevance. It was here that Homer and other ancient authors located the kingdom of Minos and when brief excavations in 1878 by the Cretan Minos Kalokairinos at the Kephala hill at Knossos exposed what had to be the storerooms of an early palace, expectations mounted. The associated pottery was certified as 'Mycenaean' by Furtwängler and Löschcke in 1886,[51] and Knossos began to attract the attention of various foreigners, including Schliemann, who visited the site with an eye to excavation.[52] While preceding explorers such as Pashley and Spratt doubted the factual basis of Cretan myths and followed the practice of describing prehistoric finds as 'Phoenician',[53] pioneers like Halbherr were acutely aware of the importance of 'early' finds and sites. In their description of the antiquities of the island they followed the Mycenaean-Dipylon division and associated absolute dates as established for the Mainland.[54] Chance finds and small-scale excavations increasingly suggested the existence of an early Cretan civilisation akin to that of Mycenae. In 1883, A. Milchhöfer had identified Crete as the probable source of the so-called 'island stones' (prehistoric seal stones that were circulating on the art market) and proposed that the island had played an important role in the development of 'Mycenaean' civilisation.[55] By the late 19th century, the question whether Mycenaean civilisation was introduced from elsewhere or largely 'home-grown' became imperative. Attributions ranged from Phoenicians, Achaeans of northerly Indo-European or 'Aryan' stock, to pre-Hellenic 'Carians' from Asia Minor and an indigenous 'Mediterranean Race' (with early origins in North Africa), which was supposed to have once populated the whole 'Anatolo-Danubian province'.[56] To adherents of the latter theory the large island of Crete, with its bridgehead position towards the older civilisations of the eastern Mediterranean, presented itself as 'the natural source and seminary of Aegean culture'.[57]

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[46] Tsountas & Manatt 1897, 317; Myres 1933, 271-72, 276; Farnoux 1996, 65-66.

[47] Myres 1933, 272; Daniel 1976, 136-44; Fitton 1995, 31-32.

[48] The pottery from Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae was initially classed as 'geometric'; Furtwängler & Löschcke 1886, iii. See also R.M. Cook 1972, 297-99.

[49] Despite the fact that in 1847 Burgon had argued for the existence of a widespread earlier 'Geometric' stage; see Cook 1972, 297-300; also Michaelis 1908, 200-02; Schweitzer 1917, 1.

[50] Petrie 1890, 272-74 (proposing dates of 1400-1100 BC). The period of 1600-1200 BC appears in Tsountas & Manatt (1897, 317-18). See also Myres 1933, 278-79; Fitton 1995, 105; Farnoux 1996, 66.

In the context of these debates the exploration of 'Pre-Hellenic' or 'Mycenaean' Crete became a quest in itself. Most active in this field was Arthur Evans, son of the distinguished British geologist, archaeologist and numismatist John Evans.[58] After meeting Halbherr in Rome in 1892, he made his first of many trips to Crete in 1894 and, in his capacity of curator of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, began to systematically gather information on sites and artefacts.[59] Evans was particularly fascinated by the possibility that the signs on some of the 'island stones' belonged to an early Aegean script, similar to the Hittite script.[60] Evans distinguished himself by a steady output of articles in scholarly and more popular periodicals such as *The Times* and *Illustrated London News*, thus capturing a wide audience.[61] His reports were more than travel accounts and offered comprehensive views on the nature and importance of early Cretan civilisation. Before having put a spade in the Cretan soil, Evans had already differentiated two forms of prehistoric writing used on the Cretan seal stones. Following the ancient Greek authors, he supposed that the earliest, pictographic form belonged to the indigenous 'Eteocretes', one of the Cretan tribes mentioned by Homer and Herodotus. For the second, linear type of 'mysterious characters' he considered the possibility that they had also been used by 'men of Greek speech' and formed the inspiration of the later, Phoenician script.[62] Like fellow explorers such as Halbherr, Evans also engaged in the collection of artefacts of historical date (especially coins), but considered them inferior to those from the prehistoric period:

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[51] Haussolier 1880; Furtwängler & Löschcke 1886, 22-24.

[52] Hood 1987, esp. 85; Hood & Taylour 1981, 1-2; Farnoux 1996, 30-31.

[53] Pashley 1837a, 208; quoted by Finley 1968, 12. Spratt 1865a, 210; quoted by Farnoux 1996, 25-26.

[54] See, for instance, Orsi 1897, 251, 263-64 (*cf.* Schweitzer 1917, 4); Halbherr 1901a; Evans 1894, 359.

[55] Milchhöfer 1883, 46, 124-34; see also Myres 1933, 275; Daniel 1976, 190; Farnoux 1996, 23.

[56] Myres 1933, 280-85. Also: Daniel 1976, 190; Farnoux 1996, 29.

[57] Evans 1896b, 911-15; see also Reinach 1893, 68, 73.

> The great days of Crete were those of which we still find a reflection in the Homeric poems (…).
>
> Nothing more continually strikes the archaeological explorer of its ancient remains than the comparative paucity and un-importance of the relics of the historic period. The monuments and coinage of some few cities—such as Gortyna and Phaistos—supply, indeed a series of brilliant, if fitful, exceptions; but the picturesque originality which is the prevailing feature of such classical art as here flourished is itself a

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[58] For synopses of Evans' life and career: A. Brown 1986; *ead.* 1993; Fitton 1995, 117-22; Farnoux 1996, 36-40. More extensive biographies have been published by Evans' half-sister Joan (J. Evans 1943), by Horwitz (1981) and most recently MacGillivray (2000a).

[59] A comprehensive account of Evans' early travels in Crete can be found in A. Brown 2001.

[60] A. Brown 2001, xxii-iii.

[61] See also MacEnroe (1995, 3) who notes 137 publications from 1882-1941.

[62] Evans 1894, 354-59; *id.* 1897. The difference between Linear A and B was recognised in 1903; see Fitton 1995, 134-35.

> witness to the general isolation of the Cretan cities from the rest of the Hellenic world. The golden age of Crete lies far beyond the limits of the historical period …[63]

This statement, which was published in *The Academy*, reflects a more general diminution of appreciation for the historical periods. Others, for instance remarked that Crete's Geometric pottery was 'infinitely inferior to that of the old Kamares and Mycenaean potters' and its designs 'chiefly remarkable for their grotesqueness'.[64] From the first of his trips, Evans was convinced of 'the proportional importance of Mykenaean remains'.[65] BA ruins are indeed amongst the most prominent surface remains in Crete, but it should perhaps be noted that one of the sites Evans was most excited about and which he discussed at considerable length, was Goulas—the 'Cyclopean' walls of which later turned out to belong to historical Lato (Plate 44).[66]

Larger and systematic excavations were not possible until after 1897-98, when a final revolt led—with the backing of the Great Powers—to the concession of Cretan autonomy, albeit under Ottoman suzerainty. Until Crete officially joined the Greek state in 1913, Prince George of Greece acted as High Commissioner, while supervision of the island was divided between the Italians in the district of Chania, the Russians in Rethymnon, the British in Herakleion and the French in Lasithi.[67] It was then that archaeological claims laid earlier were realised and new ones made, often in accordance with the administrative division of the island.[68] The representatives of the recently established national research institutes or 'Schools' at Athens[69] found themselves competing for the most auspicious sites, in particular Knossos. Both the Americans, Germans (including Schliemann), and the French (who worried that the Germans would

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[63] Evans 1896a, 512; quoted in A. Brown 2001, 217-18.

[64] Welch 1899-1900, 91-92.

[65] Evans' notebook for 1894, 18; published in A. Brown 2001, 49.

[66] See e.g. Evans 1895-96.

[67] Control of the town of Chania, then the capital of the island, was shared; see Clogg 1986, 93-94; Detorakis 1994, 364-67, 405-10; Holland 1999, esp. 254-55.

[68] A. Brown 2001, 255; McEnroe 2002, 62.

[69] The French School was established in 1846, the German Institute in 1874, the American Institute in 1881 and the British School in 1886. The Italian School was not founded until 1910; in order to enable Italian work in Crete an 'Italian Mission' was created in 1898 under the direction of Halbherr; see Di Vita 1984b, 28; Fitton 1995, 108; Farnoux 1996, 26.

'move in') tried to acquire the rights to excavate this site. Finally it was Evans who, supported by Prince George, succeeded in purchasing the land and obtaining the permit.[70] The French felt slighted, but got Goulas instead and focused their research on the surrounding area of Mirabello.[71] Other British scholars concentrated on the far east of Crete and the Italians settled in the Mesara, a core area of Halbherr's earlier explorations. The Americans, who came to the Cretan scene somewhat late and with few funds, occupied themselves with a number of smaller sites in the Ierapetra isthmus,[72] while the Germans abdicated altogether. According to J.L. Myres, 'political consideration for the Turks had held Teutonic diplomacy and excavators alike aloof from the "promised land" of Crete', thus putting it 'at the disposal of British and Italians'.[73]

Arthur Evans, assisted by Duncan Mackenzie,[74] was able to start his excavations at the Kephala hill at Knossos in 1900, simultaneously with those at Phaistos by the Italian Luigi Pernier (Plates 1 and 25). Results at both sites were immediate and stunning. Evans, within weeks of beginning, uncovered the West Wing of the palace, including the magazines, the Throne Room with its wall paintings, and hundreds of inscribed clay tablets.[75] At Phaistos too, large portions of a palace, second in size only to Knossos, were revealed. Other excavations followed suit, most of them aimed at prehistoric sites, some at better-known cities of historical times (Maps 2 and 3). The British scholar Hogarth tried his luck in Psychro (1900) and Zakros (1901), Bosanquet in Praisos (1901-02) and Palaikastro (1902-06). The Italian mission, under the direction of Halbherr, divided its attention between the prehistoric palace of Phaistos and the historical city of Gortyn (1900) and subsequently expanded to Ayia Triada (1902) and Prinias (1906-08). The French, in the Mirabello region, suffered a bit of a setback when Goulas (Lato), which was first probed by J. Demargne in 1899-1900, turned out not to be of prehistoric but of historic date; in 1921 they took over Mallia, where Chatzidakis had excavated part of a Minoan palace in 1915. The Americans were represented by H. Boyd in Kavousi (1900) and Gournia (1901-04), by R.B. Seager at Vasiliki (1903-06), on Pseira (1906-07) and Mochlos (1908), and by E.H. Hall at Vrokastro (1910-12). The Cretans, in the person of Chatzidakis and Xanthoudides, occupied themselves with non-palatial sites at Tylisos (1909-13) and Nirou Chani (1918-19).[76]

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[70] Evans 1899-1900, 4; Hood & Taylour 1981, 1-2; A. Brown 1986, 42-44; *ead.* 1993, 39-40, 80; Hood 1987, 85; Fitton 1995, 122-23; Farnoux 1996, 29-33; MacGillivray 2000a, 92.

[71] See e.g. A. Brown 2001, 269-73.

[72] See Allsebrook 1992, esp. 85-120.

[73] Myres 1933, 294.

[74] On Mackenzie: Momigliano 1999.

[75] See Evans 1899-1900; A. Brown 1983; Fitton 1995, 125-27; Farnoux 1996, 45-49.

The quick succession of discoveries at the prehistoric sites of the island contributed to the overshadowing of research into the later periods as it soon became apparent that Crete had known a civilisation which not only rivalled that of Mycenae in riches and complexity,[77] but was, indeed, much earlier in origin. It was distinguished by at least two palatial phases preceding those on the Mainland. Moreover, Evans and Mackenzie encountered a seemingly uninterrupted sequence reaching back to Neolithic times.[78] For Evans, it became increasingly clear that this locally developed, pre-Mycenaean civilisation warranted its own terminology. In earlier lectures and articles, he had already followed Hoeck by employing the term 'Minoan' as an indication of the general period in which king Minos would have lived,[79] but had still used the term 'Mycenaean' to describe the material remains. In 1902, in the third preliminary report on the excavations at Knossos, the term 'Minoan' was reintroduced with a more specific meaning, as designating a material culture distinct from the Mycenaean.[80] The next year witnessed the presentation of a systematic classification in exclusively Minoan terms of all Knossian BA pottery. Evans and Mackenzie proposed a ninefold division into an Early, a Middle and a Late Minoan phase with three sub-phases each, which broadly covered the period from the third to the late second millennium BC.[81] In doing so, the palace civilisation of BA Crete was formally introduced as a separate and distinct cultural phenomenon. Justice could be done to the individual properties of Cretan material culture and the study of the island as an independent region—rather than as a derivative or province of the Mycenaean mainland—was promoted.

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[76] For the excavation history of most of these sites: Myers, Myers & Cadogan 1992; also Leekley & Noyes 1975; Fitton 1995, 140-45; and the relevant site entries in the catalogues of the present work.

[77] In a speech to the annual meeting of subscribers, the director of the British School at Athens, Hogarth (1899-1900b, 137), announced 'a revelation of the prehistoric Aegean civilization, more momentous than any since Schliemann opened the Royal graves at Mycenae'.

[78] Daniel 1976, 193-94.

[79] See A. Brown 2001, 217 n. 214 for further refs.

[80] Evans 1901-02.

The Minoan classification system was widely followed by fellow excavators in Crete, including the British at Palaikastro, the Italians at Phaistos and Ayia Triada and the Americans at Gournia,[82] albeit not without escaping critique. For one thing, the absolute dates proposed by Evans were too high and needed adjustment.[83] Other scholars of the time voiced more fundamental objections and questioned the appropriateness of choosing a personal name such as 'Minos' for the millennia-long Cretan BA sequence. Justifiable doubts were also raised with regards to the equation of 'styles' and 'periods' and to the validity of the 'Minoan' sequence for sites other than Knossos.[84] In the course of time it was increasingly realised that the theoretical notions underlying the Minoan system had much broader implications. Modern critique focuses on the role of Evans, who soon after his discoveries in Knossos came to be seen as the most important interpreter of Minoan civilisation. Evans' encompassing and authoritative views have long continued to set the stage for the development of views on the Minoan palaces, as well as for those of the later periods, which, significantly enough, are often referred to as the 'Postminoan periods'.

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[81] Mackenzie 1903, esp. 157-58, 200-01; Evans in Radet 1905, 203. In the years from 1904-1906, Evans refined this classification system in a series of lectures and articles: see Fotou 1993, 24-26, 48. The latter author notes that in the same period H. Boyd was working on a similar classification system, parts of which may have prefigured the system developed by Evans and Mackenzie. On Mackenzie's role in devising this system: Momigliano 1999, 45-54.

[82] Dawkins & Currelly 1903-04, 192-96; Burrows 1907, 43-44; Pernier 1935, xiv-xv; Fitton 1995, 133.

[83] Most notably Evans' calculation (on the basis of the thickness of deposits) of a 10,000 year old Neolithic period at Knossos and a beginning of 3400 BC for Early Minoan; see Daniel 1976, 193-94.

[84] E.g. Ridgeway 1909-10, 97-109; Burrows 1907, 41-42. See also Finley 1968, 16-17; Daniel 1976, 192; Farnoux 1995, 324; Fitton 1995, 146.

2. ARTHUR EVANS AND THE EARLY 20TH-CENTURY RISE OF MINOAN CRETE: UNITY AND CONTINUITY

It is commonly recognised that much of Evans' work, including the tripartite division of the Cretan BA, was inspired by the evolutionary theories that had become current in late 19th-century scholarship. After the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859, evolutionism had steadily gained ground, and by the later 19th century it formed an established principle of scholarly thought. From the natural sciences, this theory had spread to the social sciences, most notably anthropology. Through his eminent father (who was personally acquainted with Darwin), Evans had been exposed to prehistory and anthropology from an early age—interests which he continued to pursue as a student. When he graduated from Oxford in 1874, he was convinced that the classicist establishment would keep him from obtaining an academic position and he decided to travel and work in the Balkans as a journalist.[85] Later on, he declined to apply for the newly established Professorship of Archaeology in Oxford, because this was to be confined to Classical Archaeology.[86] His appointment in 1884, at the age of 33, as curator of the Ashmolean Museum, constituted a turning-point and allowed him to put his unorthodox ideas into practice. In his inaugural lecture Evans referred to the 'laws of Evolution' as an object common to archaeology and anthropology and made clear that he envisaged a study of humanity from its origins to the present. In opposition to purely art-historical approaches, he pleaded for an independent form of archaeology, 'based on concrete research of daily life in the ancient world, on ethnology and prehistory, rather than aesthetic appreciation of the beautiful objects of the classical age.'[87] Accordingly, in the presentation of his excavation results at Knossos, Evans drew extensively on prehistory, folklore and ethnology and made frequent reference to widely varying cultures, from the prehistoric Near East to India, Japan and Medieval and Renaissance Europe.[88] As shown by McNeal, the influence of the most important proponents of cultural evolutionism, Edward Tylor and Lewis Morgan, on Evans' work is clear.[89] In his seminal book *Primitive Culture* (1871), Tylor had proposed three stages in the development of human cultures: a savage or hunter-gatherer stage, a barbaric stage marked by the domestication of plants and animals and a civilised stage, which was marked by the appearance of writing.[90] Morgan had subsequently subdivided the first two of these stages into lower, middle and upper portions on the basis of economic and technological criteria.[91] Evans' choice for three major Minoan periods, with three subdivisions each, follows in the same vein,[92] while in his quest for an early Cretan script Evans betrays the notion that civilisation is born with the appearance of writing.[93] Moreover, as pointed out by MacEnroe, Evans, in his *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult and its Mediterranean Associations*, describes prehistoric Aegean religion as a primitive stage of aniconic worship of the kind proposed by Tylor.[94]

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[85] A. Brown 1993, esp. 11; Farnoux 1995, 325; Fitton 1995, 117-19.

[86] Daniels 1976, 178.

[87] See Farnoux 1995, 328-29; also Niemeier 1982, 270.

[88] Horwitz 1981, 64-68; Farnoux 1996, 37-38, 73-76.

Despite recent criticisms of this approach,[95] it is not difficult to understand why the then newly formulated theory of evolutionism would have appealed to a 19th-century scholar who, as in the case of Evans at Knossos, was faced with a hitherto unknown civilisation that had developed over an unexpectedly long period of time. The new findings did not fit into the orthodox model, which allowed only a relatively short period of gestation for Greek civilisation. As in ethnology, cultural evolutionism offered a much-needed principle with which to organise and categorise a fast growing body of data.[96]

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[89] McNeal 1973, esp. 206. Also MacEnroe 1995, 4-5.

[90] On Tylor: Lienhardt 1969; B. Morris 1987, 98-102.

[91] See esp. Daniel 1976, 186-88.

[92] McNeal 1973, 206-11; Farnoux 1995, 326. Evans himself (1921, 25, 28) stressed the 'logical and scientific' basis of a division in three stages and insisted that his ninefold scheme corresponded to the stratigraphical and geological sequence at Knossos. Myres (1933, 288) acknowledged the *a priori* nature of Evans' classification and believed that the division of Egyptian history into an Old, Middle and New Empire and the Greek tradition of the nine-year rule of Minos had equally been of influence.

[93] See e.g. Evans 1894, 270-71: 'it must be allowed that there are strong *a priori* reasons for believing that in the Greek lands where civilization put forth its earliest blossoms on European soil, some such parallel evolution in the art of writing must have been in the course of working itself out.'

[94] MacEnroe 1995, 5.

[95] See, for a most recent example, Hamilakis 2002.

[96] Lienhardt 1969, 103.

In opposition to the traditional theory of creationism,[97] evolutionism argued for a universal progression through different stages, each with its own formal and objectively identifiable characteristics, and in doing so tied in with modern, scientific views. Cultural evolutionism assumed the operation of universal processes and thereby postulated a 'fundamental unity of mankind'. In principle therefore it provided an alternative to contemporary theories that subdivided human cultures into races on the basis of unchanging, innate capacities. In the end, however, evolutionism, with its equation of 'development' and 'progress', could not free itself from value judgements on the 'primitive state' of non-Western cultures. Towards the end of the 19th century, disappointment with the results of industrialisation and 'modern life' grew and affected the outlook and work of artists, literary writers and scholars. Escapist and romantic tendencies were combined with an idealisation of national and ethnic differences.[98] In anthropology and archaeology a clear fusion with culture-historical and racial notions became noticeable, and this, as will be seen below, is also apparent in the work of Evans and his contemporaries.[99] As B. Trigger explains, the transition from Tylor's holistic definition of 'culture' as 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'[100] to 'a partitive one, in which individual cultures were seen as ways of life transmitted by specific peoples from generation to generation' was relatively easy. The next step was the equation of such peoples with ethnic groups or races, which could be justified by assuming that mechanisms of 'natural selection' also applied to cultural evolution and thus led to civilised societies with a higher evolutionary intellectual and emotional status.[101] Yet it seems that the initial attraction of evolutionary theory for people such as Evans was that it offered a more sympathetic stance towards so-called barbaric societies. The study of the origin or early stages of development was deemed worthy of attention—even necessary—to understand the full unfolding of a civilisation.[102] For those involved in the discovery of the early civilisations of the Aegean, this added a second major advantage over older theories: it allowed Aegean prehistory to gain not just *a* place in the general scheme of things, but a crucial place.

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[97] On the persistent influence of Christian creationism on Western science and humanist scholarship: Schnapp 1996, esp. 221-74, 289. Also Daniel 1976, 1-67; Trigger 1989, 102-03; Fitton 1995, 34-37.

[98] Trigger 1989, 111-14; Bintliff 1984, 34-35. See also J.M. Hall (1995, 6-13), who traces this tendency back to the late 18th century.

[99] *Contra* MacEnroe (1995, 5), who believes in the 'nearly complete abandonment of evolutionist theory' by Evans in the years after 1900.

[100] Tylor 1881, 1.

[101] Trigger 1989, 111-14, 161-63; S. Jones 1997, esp. 1-26, 40-46. See also B. Morris 1987, 99; Herzfeld 1987, 9-10; Hamilakis 2002.

However, such a position of pride was not granted voluntarily. In Classical scholarship, the evolutionist approach was confronted by the well-established view according to which Greek civilisation was a unique and largely spontaneous creation of the 5th century BC, the importance of which lay in its accomplishment of unique artistic beauty, democracy and freedom. As shown in recent critical studies by F. Turner, R. Jenkyns, I. Morris and others, this kind of orthodox Hellenism had arisen as an intricate part of the social, political and intellectual processes that formed the European nation-states during the later 18th- and 19th-century,[103] and therefore was not readily abandoned. The rapid urbanisation and industrialisation of those times and the associated dissolution of traditional agrarian societies led to increasing Romantic and often escapist tendencies, in which the 'search of the free soul for truth and beauty in spontaneous, natural creation' became a major theme. Study of the Classics was increasingly seen as an antidote to the 'corruptions of modern life', especially those of industrialism and materialism.[104] Hellenism also acquired political dimensions. It was used as a source of inspiration and legitimisation for—often quite dissimilar—national political systems,[105] while on an international level it played a role in the formation of ideas about Western identity and supremacy. Although competition for hegemony also marked internal relations between the Western states, the greatest divisions were with Russia and with the Ottoman Empire. With the power of the latter weakening and various Balkan peoples striving for independence, a void was developing which different nations were eager to fill. In the process of redefining borders and alliances, Greece, whose strategic importance was recognised by all parties involved, was claimed more and more as part of the Western world. As succinctly put by I. Morris, it was in the context of nationalist disputes between France and the German states, and imperialist aggression by France and Britain (which both had strong economic and political interests in the eastern Mediterranean) against the Ottoman Empire that the idealisation of ancient Greece as the birthplace of a European spirit took place.[106] Defined in opposition to 'the East', Hellenism began to serve as 'a foundation myth for Euro-American civilisation' with concepts of freedom and democracy being monopolised as an exclusively Western heritage.[107] It also led to a privileged position of Classical scholarship.[108]

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[102] See e.g. Lienhardt 1969, 101.

[103] In general on the rise of Hellenism in the Western world: Turner 1981, 1989; I. Morris 1994, 15-23; *id.* 2000, esp. 41-52; Marchand 1996; Schnapp 1996, 179-273. For discussions of the 18th- and 19th-century Greek position: Herzfeld 1987, 18-20; I. Morris 1994, 20-23; Shanks 1996, 53-91; Whitley 2001, 29-32.

[104] Bowen 1989, esp. 161-62; I. Morris 1994, 12, 17, 24 (with ref. to Jenkyns 1980, 133-54).

[105] I. Morris 2000, 82-83.

Art history and philology were the corner stones of Hellenism, the first studying the supreme material expressions or art of the Greek genius, the second providing insights into Classical philosophical and political ideas. Archaeology, however, was problematic. As I. Morris explains, many classicists were uncomfortable with the more humble artefacts turned up in excavation, because these offered insights into daily life and, through their stratigraphic deposition, might indicate change through time. Scientific archaeology, with its emphasis on systematic recording, therefore conflicted with the highly romantic, idealised image of ancient Hellas.[109] Scholars adhering to orthodox Hellenist views experienced great problems in accommodating the BA to their chronological and conceptual frameworks. Not even the 'hard' chronological evidence offered by Petrie's Mycenaean-Egyptian date-marks, indicating dates of 1600-1200 BC for the Mycenaean civilisation, could convince all. It took some time into the 20th century for the idea of the existence of such an early and enduring civilisation to be generally accepted.[110] There are several instances of late and now desperate-looking attacks on the developing BA chronology. A notorious example is the allegation by Penrose that the Mycenaean fortresses at Mycenae and Tiryns were post-Classical in date.[111] C. Torr in 1896 went as far as to invent a new chronology for the 18th to 21st Egyptian dynasties and, as a consequence, down-dated the Mycenaean civilisation to the 8th century BC.[112] When J.L. Myres in his 'Retrospect of Aegean Research' (1933) looked back at the 19th- and early 20th-century discussion on absolute chronology, he called it 'almost incredible that high dates were opposed so fanatically.'[113] The resistance seems a reflection of the difficulties that were felt in accepting evidence against the concept of a short-lived 'Early' or 'Heroic Age', which formed no more than a nebulous background for the 'Greek miracle' of Classical times.

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[106] I. Morris 1994, 11; *id.* 2000, 37.

[107] I. Morris 1994, 20, 34; Shanks 1996, 82-85.

[108] And, ultimately, to what Renfrew (1980, 290-95) has labeled 'The Great Divide' between Classical archaeology and the other archaeological and historical disciplines.

[109] Turner 1981, 61; Bowen 1989, 177; I. Morris 2000, 38, 48, 50-51; *id.* 1994, 23, 25.

[110] Daniel 1976, 136-45; I. Morris 2000, esp. 85-86 (with further refs.).

When Evans and Mackenzie, almost 15 years after Flinders Petrie's first publication of Egyptian-Aegean synchronisms, presented their chronology of the Cretan BA, the debate on prehistoric chronology seems to have largely spent itself.[114] A proposal by Waldheim in 1902 to classify Kamares ware as a type of Orientalizing pottery was quickly dismissed by Fimmen as 'Willkürlichkeiten, die man nicht ernst nehmen kann.'[115] In 1907, Mackenzie gave short shrift to Dörpfeld and Ridgeway who proposed that the Second Minoan palaces had existed until 1100 and 800 BC respectively.[116] The debate on the *relevance* of the Aegean BA civilisations, on the other hand, was far from settled. In a period in which orthodox Hellenist notions prevailed and which largely lacked the cultural relativism with which such prehistoric civilisations could be judged on their own merits, this debate was primarily phrased in terms of *the relationship with and contribution to* Classical Greek civilisation. Central issues, as outlined by Myres in 1933, concerned the language of the prehistoric people of the Aegean, their possible script and the relation of the Mycenaean world to the Homeric poems, which were universally accepted as representative of an early phase of the Hellenic civilisation.[117]

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[111] See Jebb 1887, 176-78; Myres 1933, 274; I. Morris 2000, 86.

[112] Torr's chronology was followed by the excavators of a number of LBA tombs containing Mycenaean objects in Cyprus in 1900 and by others; see Fimmen 1909, 4.

[113] Myres 1933, 279.

[114] This was partially due to the increased clarity on Egyptian absolute chronology; see Myres 1933, 279; Daniel 1976, 191-92.

[115] Fimmen 1909, 6 (with further refs.).

[116] Mackenzie 1906-07, 444; in response to Ridgeway 1907, 306 and to Dörpfeld 1907, esp. 602. Subsequent attempts by Franchet (in Chatzidakis 1934, V-VIII) and by Åberg (see Daniel 1976, 194) to change the ninefold structure of the scheme were also rejected, most notably by Pendlebury (1939, xxxi-xxxii).

As long as the prehistoric scripts remained undeciphered, however, little could be inferred about language and the greatest emphasis of the discussion lay therefore on the Homeric epics. If a relation with the latter was proven, the Mycenaeans could be considered Greek-speaking Achaeans and the kinship of Mycenaean and Classical Greece would be established. From the late 1880s, numerous publications appeared with detailed comparisons of the architecture, weapons, dress *etc.* as described in the Homeric poems to the prehistoric remains revealed in the recent excavations.[118] Some remained extremely critical of the proposed identity of the Homeric and Mycenaean worlds. The classicist R.C. Jebb, for instance, insisted that the discrepancies between Homeric descriptions and archaeological remains could not be overlooked and called the city of Troy (at least in the way it occurred in the *Iliad*) merely a creation of the poet's fancy.[119] This did not keep a growing group of scholars from accepting the equation, not least because of the spectacular BA finds at cities of Homeric fame. Consequently, the period before the 7th century BC came to be divided into a 'historical' Heroic Age, which lasted till 1200 BC and was represented by Homer and the Mycenaean palaces, and a period of 500 years after that, for which there were no literary sources and no monumental art. Homeric scholars no longer argued that the Homeric epics described a historical reality but shifted their attention to questions as to whether he should be considered a BA poet or a 9th-8th century editor of BA lays.[120] Aegean prehistorians encountered problems of a different order, as the emergence of a gap of 500 years made the link between the early Aegean and Greek civilisation tenuous. In 1907 G. Murray called the intermediate period a 'Dark Age', claiming at the same time that it was in that period 'that we must really look for the beginnings of Greece.'[121] The term 'Dark Age' soon found general usage, as did the idea that the period formed a severe breaking point. In 1911, the first Oxford Professor of Classical Archaeology P. Gardner, stated firmly that 'the chasm dividing prehistoric from historic Greece is growing wider and deeper; and those who were at first disposed to leap over it now recognise that such feats are impossible'.[122]

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[117] Myres 1933, 278.

[118] For an overview see e.g Nilsson 1933, 19-26; Wace & Stubbings 1962 (eds), 489-559.

[119] Jebb 1882, 202: *id.* 1886, 188. See also Turner 1981, 180-82; I. Morris 2000, 85-87.

[120] I. Morris 2000, 29-30, 77, 84-89.

[121] G. Murray 1907, 29. See also Snodgrass 1971, 1.

Evans was as aware as anybody else that a failure to somehow bridge the gap of the 'Dark Ages' bore with it the danger of the marginalisation of Aegean prehistory. Possibly he felt that he was up as much against orthodox Hellenists as against fellow prehistorians who differed in their views on the importance of the Minoan civilisation. Tsountas and Manatt, for instance, were not prepared to believe that the early Cretan scripts identified by Evans 'exercised any appreciable influence on the Hellenic peoples of Greece or even Crete itself, or that it had anything to do with forwarding the civilization which the Greeks wrought out.'[123] Evans indeed entered the debate from a peculiar position, as Minoan civilisation differed in significant aspects from the Mycenaean.[124] He realised that for Crete the increasingly accepted connection of the BA with Homer was of limited value, since 'except for the enumeration in the Catalogue of a certain number of cities (all with non-Hellenic names) and the mention of Idomeneus, Crete on the whole lies outside the scope of the Iliad.'[125] Guided by the ancient testimonies of Homer and Herodotus, Evans had long been convinced that non-Greek 'Eteocretans', speaking an unknown language, had initially formed the prevalent population group in Crete.[126] The island's significance could therefore not be explained in terms of linguistic or racial identity with the Classical Greeks.[127] Instead, Evans amplified ideas about the crucial influence of the Minoan on the Mycenaean civilisation and about its enduring importance into Classical times.

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[122] Gardner 1911, lix. See also Fitton 1995, 200-01.

[123] Tsountas & Manatt 1897, 276.

[124] Farnoux (1995, 325) draws a parallel with his earlier zeal in defending ethnic minorities in the Balkans.

[125] Evans 1909, 103.

[126] Evans 1894, 354-56. He saw the statements of these ancient authors confirmed by the depictions of dark-skinned people in the frescoes of the palaces and by the frequent occurrence of non-Greek place-names and non-Greek religious elements.

[127] Some scholars (e.g. Conway 1901-02) had argued that the Minoans spoke an Indo-European language, but Evans never accepted this; see Evans 1912, 278-79; Myres 1933, 286.

Evans' views and line of reasoning are expressed most poignantly in a speech held on the occasion of his election as president of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in 1912. This contained a reply to his predecessor Gardner, who had made his comment on 'the chasm dividing prehistoric from historic Greece' as part of a much broader critique in his farewell speech the year before. Although Gardner professed to grant a certain value to 'the very modern science of ethnography, which deals with the beginnings of civilisation',[128] he also maintained that Aegean prehistorians were losing perspective of what was the 'real' merit of Hellenic studies. He warned them against overvaluing 'mere antiquity, to care more for the root than for the leaves and the fruit' and firmly restated the old Hellenist position:

> I care more for the inner shrine than for the porch; more for the products of the full maturity of the Greek spirit than for its immature struggles. Our debt to Greece lies not in what is common to the Greeks and to all other races at the same stage of development, but to their unique contributions to the progress of the world, the poetry of Homer, the dramas of Sophocles, the philosophy of Plato, the oratory of Demosthenes; and on another side to the great temples and the exquisite statues which were fashioned by the great architects and sculptors. In particular, the succession of Greek artists has fixed for all time a standard of health and of beauty for the human form, which may be approached but cannot be surpassed. [129]

Evans began his speech of 1912 by admitting that Gardner's 'preference for fruits over roots' was 'likely to be shared by most classical scholars', but then countered by underlining that 'one after another the "inventions" attributed by its writers to the later Hellas are seen to have been anticipated on Greek soil at least a thousand years earlier.' The examples given by Evans ranged from the more mundane use of sailing vessels, the seven-stringed lyre and weight-standards to various elements belonging to the 'higher domains of civilized life'. Evans pointed in this context to the tradition of the ancient Greeks themselves about a Cretan involvement in the founding of the cult at Delphi, the occurrence of similar images of a Potnia Theron in Minoan and early Greek times, and discussed the possibility of the circulation of a Minoan epic cycle.[130] He argued that no scholar committed to 'the scientific study of Greek civilization' could permit himself to leave such antecedents out of account and called upon the parallel of biological evolutionism to strengthen his point:

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[128] Gardner 1892, 4. On Gardner: Turner 1981, 56-59.

[129] Gardner 1911, lix-lx. See also Fitton 1995, 38.

> These are the days of origins, and what is true of the higher forms of animal life and functional activities is equally true of many of the vital principles that inspired the mature civilization of Greece—they cannot be adequately studied without constant reference to their anterior stages of evolution. Such knowledge can alone supply the key to the root significance of many later phenomena, especially in the domain of Art and Religion.[131]

In his defence of the study of Aegean prehistoric civilisation and in his acceptance of an evolutionary anthropological form of archaeology, Evans certainly belonged to the more progressive scholars of his time. At the same time, his idea that there could not but have been a meaningful relationship between the two greatest civilisations brought forth by the Aegean, displays a fallacy frequently recognised in 19th-century cultural evolutionism: the tendency for unilinear and teleological thinking, which is encouraged by assuming the operation of self-generated processes that lead 'naturally' and progressively from one stage to the next.[132] In Aegean studies, this way of thinking manifested itself in the conception of an inevitable and undivided development towards the Classical zenith. There are various examples of attempts to place prehistoric and other pre-Classical finds in an orderly and coherent sequence, thereby implying a directional and causal relationship.[133] It is telling that Evans, despite his broader anthropological interests, did much the same thing. Instead of challenging orthodox notions of Classical superiority, he defined the relevance of Minoan civilisation in terms of its

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[130] Evans 1912, esp. 277-78, 285-93.

[131] Evans 1912, 277.

[132] The same reasoning is for instance displayed by Hogarth (1899-1900b, 137-38), director of the British School, who greeted the discoveries at Knossos by saying that 'no barbarians, but possessors of a very high and individual culture—a culture which could not but have affected the Hellenic—preceded the Hellenic period in Greece'; see also Myres 1933, 85-87.

[133] This is particularly noticeable in the study of the architectural forms of the Bronze Age and of the Classical periods, where the issue of the origin of the Greek temple, as an icon of Classical civilisation, took an overwhelming importance; see Chapter Four, section 6, p. 443; also Mallwitz 1981.

contribution to Classical Greek civilisation. In fact, he took the opportunity to take an extra step and raise the island's significance even more: with Minoan Crete's contribution to the Classical Greek world ascertained, it could be argued by extension that the island had been 'the starting point and the earliest stage in the highway of European civilisation'.[134] Evans will have felt supported by the testimonies of the ancient Greek authors, which connected Crete with Europa, the Phoenician princess lured to Crete by Zeus.[135] No less importantly, the adoption of Crete as 'cradle of Western civilisation' fitted in with prevailing 19th-century political sentiments, which sought to secure the relationship of Greece to modern (Western) Europe by stressing differences with 'the East'. Evans' explicit wish to find not just an early Cretan or Aegean but European script is another indication that he, too, unquestioningly considered prehistoric Crete as part of 'Europe'.[136] Telling is also his remark that the observation that 'the art of an European population in prehistoric times should have arisen above that of the contemporary Egypt and Babylonia was something beyond the comprehension of the traditional school'.[137] This does not imply that Evans denied the civilisations of the Near East a role in the development of the prehistoric civilisations of the Aegean,[138] but certainly reflects the influence of diffusionist theories of the kind formulated by Montelius towards the end of the 19th century. According to the latter, the Near East had constituted a prime area of cultural development, whence innovations had spread westward by diffusion and migration. Through the rise of successive civilisations such as those of the Babylonians, Persians, Greeks and Romans 'the centre of power and creativity' had gradually moved to Europe.[139] Evans added another such creative centre to the sequence.[140]

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[134] Evans 1921, 24.

[135] Finley (1968, 10) has pointed out how Classical Greeks, while aware of the presence of autochthonous non-Greek speaking people in Crete, seem to have had few reservations in considering the island's early history as part of their own. More recently, S. Morris (1992a) has interpreted this as an instance of appropriation of a 'glorious past' by Classical Athens. There were rivalling ancient traditions, in which Zeus brought Europa to Boeotia. As a geographical designation, 'Europa' was initially confined to Central Greece, but its extent seems to have been growing in the time of Herodotus: see Hardner & Olshausen 1998.

[136] See e.g. Evans 1894, 270-71. An early contrasting view was put forward by Burrows (1907, 135), who argued against regarding Crete as part of the Western world: 'We are so accustomed to thinking of Classical Greece as the bulwark of the West against the East, that we forget that this attitude of imperviousness is only a short chapter of history. (...) Crete was as much part of the East in the Minoan age as Constantinople is to-day.'

[137] Evans 1896b, 11.

[138] See e.g. Evans 1921.

It was this combination of unilinear evolutionary thinking and the perceived need to tie in the study of Aegean prehistory with the established *grand narrative* of the Classical origins of Western civilisation that resulted in a pronounced stress on two related concepts: that of the 'unity' or homogeneity of 'Minoan' civilisation and its basic 'continuity' both during the millennia-long BA and later periods. The concept of continuity was nourished by the evolutionary emphasis on processes of gradual and internally induced change. At the same time, views of Minoan civilisation as a unified and continuous whole assimilated a developing culture-historical notion that archaeological cultures formed direct material reflections of monolithic ethnic groups. As noted earlier, the gradual replacement of universalist views of cultural evolution by particularist ones was accompanied by a growing tendency to explain differences between cultures in ethnic and even biological or 'racial' terms.[141] In the quotation above, Evans appeals to biological evolutionism to bolster the relationship between the 'antecedent' Minoan and the Classical civilisation. Elsewhere in his work a similar reliance on biological models is noticeable. Evans accedes to the tendency common in those days to equate material cultures with 'races' and refers to the quality of some of these to 'absorb' or assimilate foreign elements to explain the relative stability and continuity of civilisations such as the Minoan. Like most of his contemporaries, Evans accepted the models of diffusion from more highly developed civilisations and of migration to explain changes of more abrupt nature.[142]

This merging of evolutionary and culture-historical principles is apparent in Evans' written work from his first explorations in the island. In 1894, after his first journey, he remarked that, although 'diversity of race may have eventually led to some local differentiation', the general impression was one of 'great homogeneity' throughout the island.[143] To a certain extent the early ideas of a unified and continuous Minoan civilisation may be explained by the novice state of Aegean prehistory. As scholars were just beginning to acquaint themselves with these hitherto unknown civilisations, there was a logical tendency to focus on broad patterns and correspondences rather than on differences and details of variation. More revealing of underlying conceptions is that, when the excavations at Knossos indicated several episodes of abrupt destruction and rebuilding in both the First and Second BA palace, the idea of a homogeneous culture, changing only through internal evolution became ever more dominant. Other scholars proposed that the First and Second palace actually represented two different stages, the First being associated with a pre-Hellenic or 'Carian' population, the Second with a group of Achaean or Greek invaders.[144] However, both Evans and Mackenzie insisted on 'the unbroken continuity' of the stratigraphical record at Knossos and hence of its Minoan civilisation.[145] According to Mackenzie, 'scientific method itself is in favour of exhausting all the possibilities of the internal explanation of pre-historic development, before the processes of elimination themselves compel us to seek an explanation of any residual phenomena inexplicable from within, on the hypothesis of racial influence on race-movement from without.'[146] Their line of reasoning is particularly well illustrated by Evans' discussion in *Scripta Minoa* (1909) of the changes taking place in LM III Knossos. It had become clear that at some point in the first half of the 14th century BC the Second Palace of Knossos had been destroyed by a great fire. This event signalled the onset of the LM III period, which Evans characterised as a time of 'Partial Reoccupation' during which the standard of wealth and art dropped considerably. Nevertheless, the continued production of pottery of Minoan shapes in the LM III period, the survival of local burial traditions in the cemetery of Zafer Papoura near Knossos (excavated in 1904) and the continuous use of the linear script of 'Class B'[147] provided 'conspicuous proof that for a time at least the indigenous tradition remained in the main unbroken'. Evans therefore concluded that even in this late stage of Crete's BA history there was no sign of 'any wholesale displacement of the indigenous stock by foreign invaders.' The centre of gravity of the Minoan world tended to shift to the Mainland side in this period, but it was not until the close of the LM III period that there was a certain 'reflex action' and 'immigration of kindred elements driven South from the Peloponnese or elsewhere by the presence of the Northern invaders.'[148]

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[139] Trigger 1989, 150-63; MacEnroe 1995, 6; S. Jones 1997, 24-25.

[140] See also MacEnroe (1995, 7) who traces diffusionist tendencies back to Evans' earliest work.

[141] See p. 55.

[142] *Cf.* Trigger's discussion (1989, 154) of the work of Flinders Petrie.

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[143] Evans 1894, 358.

[144] On the Carian theory: Mackenzie 1905-06, 216-21; Myres 1933, 282-83. See also Evans 1912, 280.

[145] See e.g. Mackenzie 1903, 157; *id.* 1904-05, 222; Evans in Radet 1905, 203; Evans 1909, v-vi n. 1. See also McNeal 1973, 212.

[146] Mackenzie 1905-06, 225.

Many of these observations and ideas were reiterated in Evans' speech of 1912, but this time in a different and decisive tone, as the notions of unity and continuity were extended to fully embrace the Mycenaean civilisation. Evans went as far as to reverse the older idea—initially followed by all scholars, including himself—that Crete had known a prehistoric civilisation akin to the Mycenaean, by claiming 'absolute continuity' of Minoan and Mycenaean. Instead of having provided an example and source of influence,[149] Crete would have conquered the indigenous mainlanders 'of Hellenic stock'. The Mycenaean civilisation should be considered no more than a 'mainland branch' and 'plantation' of the Minoan palaces. This was indicated, according to Evans, by the predominance in the Mainland palaces of Minoan architectural styles, by the depiction in the frescoes of similar themes and of the same dark-skinned physical human types, and by the use in both civilisations of the same script and religious symbols. Interpreting these parallels in ethnic terms, he concluded that 'down to at least the twelfth century before our era the dominant factor both in Mainland Greece and in the Aegean world was non-Hellenic, and must still unquestionably be identified with one or other branch of the old Minoan race.' The reduction of Mycenaean civilisation to a 'mainland variant' of the Minoan also meant that any take-over at Knossos should be labelled as a 'dynastic' rather than a cultural or 'racial' change. In his speech

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[147] Which at this point in time, of course, had not yet been identified as an early form of Greek and of which only a few examples, consisting of inscribed pots, had been discovered on the Mainland.

[148] Evans 1909, 53-54.

[149] Earlier, Mackenzie (1903, 182, 199-200; *contra* Furtwängler & Löschke 1886) had proposed that all Mainland pottery had been made in Crete. See also Fitton 1995, 132-34.

Evans emphasised once more that the 'final destruction' of the palace at Knossos at the close of the LM II period 'did not seriously break the continuity of local culture'. Noting that 'in every branch of art the development is continuous', he was led to conclude that 'the unity of the civilisation is such as almost to impose the conclusion that there was a continuity of race'.[150]

In a balanced assessment, Fitton shows how many of Evans' hypotheses and theories, while often based on astute and valuable observations, gradually turned into dogma. It may have been a combination of Evans' forceful personality and the perceived high stakes of justifying the study of the prehistoric Aegean civilisations that led him to formulate increasingly extreme and inflexible standpoints. Whatever the reason, the result was a profound form of 'Cretocentrism' or 'Panminoanism', which claimed a Minoan origin 'for just about everything that had happened in Greek lands from the BA to the Classical period'.[151] Thus Evans refused to consider the theory advanced by Alan Wace and Carl Blegen in 1918—and now universally accepted—that the Mainland had known its own 'Helladic' culture, which under no more than Minoan influence had developed into the Mycenaean civilisation of the LBA. Evans was not only biased against this theory because of his Cretocentric attitude, but also because of his insistence on applying the metaphor of evolutionary growth, maturity and decay—including the associated value judgements—to the course of Aegean prehistory. Both Evans and Mackenzie called the EM period the youth of Minoan civilisation, the MM period its maturity and the LM period old or conventional. The third part of the LM period was represented as the ultimate period of decay, characterised by sparse reoccupation at the palace and pottery of 'decadent style'.[152] Hence it was inconceivable for Evans that the monumental circuit wall and tholos tombs of Mycenae, as the new excavations by Wace indicated, belonged to the LBA III 'period of decay'. In following years, however, evidence in favour of Wace and Blegen's ideas mounted and in 1928 the latter even felt justified in proposing that at some point during the LBA Mycenaeans had taken control of Knossos—a suggestion that gradually gained wide acceptance. Evans, however, did not compromise. Most of the views put forward in 1912 were adhered to in his last comprehensive publication, *The Palace of Minos* (1921-35).[153] The debate on the nature of the connections of the Minoan with the Mycenaean civilisation reached feud-like proportions and long tainted relationship between 'Mainland' and 'Minoan' scholars in the British School.[154]

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[150] Evans 1912, 280-83; *ibid.* 1921, x, 24.

[151] Fitton 1995, 115-17, 133-34, 139.

[152] E.g. Mackenzie 1903, 199. See also McNeal 1973, esp. 214, 217; Fitton 1995, 133, 145.

In the light of the fierceness of the debate amongst Aegean prehistorians, Evans' theory of the crucial Minoan contribution to Classical Greek civilisation gives the impression of having raised relatively little dust. This is not to say, however, that some of the claims were any less exaggerated. In the pursuit of Minoan 'antecedents' for celebrated Classical phenomena, Mackenzie had, for instance, argued that black-glazed pottery was a Minoan invention that had survived into Classical times.[155] This claim was not repeated by Evans, but his work postulates several other Minoan 'antecedents' or 'prototypes' that nowadays seem farfetched or at the least insufficiently substantiated. In his plea for the Minoan cause, Evans concentrated on the 'higher domains of civilized life', in particular on 'Religion and the Art of Writing'. In his 1912 address he used the occurrence of similar images or iconographic schemes in Minoan and later art as unambiguous proof for continuity, as in the case of the EIA votive plaques with Potnia Theron discovered at the Artemis Orthia sanctuary in Sparta and in the repetition of heraldic compositions of the kind seen in the Lion Gate at Mycenae and in early Greek temple pediments.[156] Evans further advanced the idea that the Minoan scripts survived the transition of the LBA to the EIA and somehow influenced the later Phoenician and Greek alphabets.[157] A considerable portion of his speech of 1912 is dedicated to the issue of the possible Minoan origin of the Homeric epics. In this, Evans went much farther than the initially posed question as to whether 'a far earlier heroic cycle of Minoan origin might not to a certain extent have affected the lays of the primitive Greek population.' Arguing from the mistaken idea of the identity of the Minoan and Mycenaean civilisation, he compared Homeric descriptions of battle and siege with scenes on prehistoric seal stones and other objects and concluded that the latter should be interpreted as 'pre-Homeric illustrations of Homer'.[158] Evans also ascribed to Crete the rise of 'the earliest Art School that could be called Greek', because of the relative abundance of EIA material remains in Crete, which included assemblages of fine bronzes from sanctuary sites such as the Idaean cave, Psychro and Palaikastro (Plates 56-61, 74). This suggested that 'the artistic products of Crete were ahead of those of the rest of the Hellenic world', something which he explicitly attributed to the 'assimilation of elements inherited from the old indigenous civilization.'[159]

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[153] See e.g. Evans 1921, x, 13, 27-28; *id.* 1935, 376. Evans did not live to see the decipherment in 1952 of Linear B as an early form of Greek, which largely proved the theories of Wace and Blegen.

[154] Waterhouse 1986, 108-09; Fitton 1995, 145-66; MacEnroe 1995, 3 n. 3. Also Myres 1933, 299.

[155] Mackenzie 1903, 200-02; Fitton 1995, 134.

[156] Evans 1912, 285-86.

[157] Evans 1894, 354-59; *id.* 1909, 104-06. For a more cautious discussion: Evans 1935, 755-84.

For many Classical scholars these ideas may have come across as too excessive to be further considered. Only in the field of religion does the discussion seem to have been followed up in a consistent way, as apparent from a continuing series of studies, the first from the hands of Farnell and Nilsson, on 'Minoan-Mycenaean' survivals in the religion of Classical Greece.[160] Evans' idea that a Minoan heroic cycle formed the base of the Homeric epics was, 'with all deference to so great an authority', rejected by Leaf and by Nilsson and appears subsequently to have been forgotten.[161] The question of which Aegean region—or rather which population group or 'race'—had contributed most to Classical civilisation was a topic of debate in the early decades of the 20th century. Scholars were initially guided by the ancient literary traditions, which considered Daedalus as an early inventor of Greek arts and mentioned Crete as the home of the sculptors Dipoinis and Skyllis.[162] Discussion focused in particular on the genesis of sculpture and the black-figure pottery style and was largely phrased in terms of 'Dorian' versus 'Ionian' schools. Around 1910 'Dorian Crete' could indeed boast some important early finds, such as the Eleutherna torso, the 'Dame d'Auxerre', the Prinias sculptures (Plates 23 and 24) and sophisticated early metal work.[163] Strong rival claims were made, however, by proponents of 'the Ionians', who were presented both as the heirs of the Mycenaean civilisation and as the most important or even exclusive disseminators of Orientalizing influence in the 7th century BC.[164] As Demargne points out, in the 1920s Crete began to be seen more as an independent area, with perhaps some influence on the Peloponnese. Despite its remarkable early finds, it became more and more apparent that Crete in the historical periods had known no 'art schools' in the classical sense of the term, producing high quality and stylistically coherent figurative pottery or sculpture. For most Classical archaeologists, whose primary object of study remained the 'high art' of the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, Crete of later periods, poor in Greek temples, sculpture and vase painting, was not really worth discussing.[165]

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[158] Evans 1912, 288-94.

[159] Evans 1909, 104.

[160] See e.g. Farnell 1927; Nilsson 1927; *id.* 1950. Later works include those by Persson 1942; Dietrich 1974; *id.* 1986. These studies, up to the latest work by Dietrich, have in common that they treat the Minoan and Mycenaean religion as practically identical.

[161] Leaf 1915, 43-45; Nilsson 1927, 45-46; *id.* 1933, 28-30. But now see Ruijgh (1995, esp. 91), who proposes that the Mycenaeans borrowed from the Minoans the dactylic hexameter.

[162] See e.g. Perrot 1903, 426-35; for other refs. Demargne 1947, 308.

There are few if any cross references between the work of Evans and that of the authors referred to above, which may well reflect the division growing between Aegean prehistory and Classical archaeology as separate academic specialisations, each with their own subject, focus and methodology.[166] Evans himself may have felt too preoccupied by his ongoing dispute with Mycenaean scholars to fully participate and his interest in the issue seems to have waned. However, his earlier work especially contains some important and detailed observations on the preservation of the BA or 'Minoan' legacy in Crete itself.

Although less at the centre of debate, the idea of the strong survival in Crete of Minoan traits into later, even Classical times makes as early an appearance in Evans' writings as that of its unity and continuity throughout the BA, and was based on similar reasoning.

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[163] See e.g. Homolle 1900, 458-62; *id.* 1909, 9, 14-17.

[164] E.g. Pottier 1908; see Demargne 1947, 308, 310-11.

[165] Demargne 1947, 311-12, with ref. to Poulsen 1912, 161-68; Glotz 1925, 290, 300-04.

[166] A division that in many countries persists to the present day: see I. Morris 1994, 14-15; *id.* 2000, 40.

In his article on the Cretan prehistoric scripts of 1894, Evans already mentioned the 'remarkable continuity' of Crete's BA culture in later times. This he based primarily on the relative scarcity of Geometric style elements in Crete's later art. But while he noted the 'strong Assyrianizing influence' in the bronzes from the Idaean cave and called the art style of the island from *c.* 900 BC 'late Mycenaean crossed by Oriental influences', his main conclusion was that it was 'still essentially continuous' with that of the BA.[167] Similarly, in a study of chance finds in the Candia Museum, published in 1897, S. Wide focused on the relatively great survival of what were then still called 'Mycenaean motifs' in Cretan pottery of the Geometric periods. Wide made his observations at a time when the differentiation of Mycenaean and Geometric was still in the process of being developed. Whereas prior to the publications of Furtwängler, chronological and stylistic differences between Mycenaean and Geometric were not perceived, now the 'Geometric style in Greece' was beginning to be seen as a separate and unconnected phenomenon. Wide described it 'as a reaction against Mycenaean' even if some of the earlier motifs were absorbed. In the islands, on the other hand, and particularly in Crete, the 'Mycenaean' influence lasted longer and was stronger than on the Mainland.[168] Many of the early Cretan explorers, among them Halbherr, Mariani and Boyd, quoted Wide's conclusions with approval.[169]

Scholars to the present day acknowledge the idiosyncratic character of EIA Cretan pottery, which lacks consistent and coherent Geometric styles, as developed most notably in the Attic region.[170] Even Desborough, who employed a flexible definition of the Greek Protogeometric style, wondered if the label was warranted for Crete.[171] In 1957, the date of the publication of the EIA pottery from the Fortetsa cemetery near Knossos, Brock had to define an extra phase, 'Protogeometric-B', to accommodate the Cretan sequence. It was only then that the Oriental influence noted by Evans in the bronzes was also recognised as having been a factor in the development of this particular pottery style. [172]

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[167] Evans 1894, 359.

[168] Wide 1897, 233-34, 247.

[169] E.g. Halbherr 1901a, 260-61, who saw 'Mycenaean reminiscences' in both the pottery and tomb forms of the EIA cemetery of Kourtes; Mariani 1901, 302-03; also Boyd 1901, 147.

[170] E.g. Hartley 1930-31, 103-04.

[171] Desborough 1952, 250.

At the turn of the 19th century, however, the observation of the scarcity of Geometric style elements led to other, more far-reaching conclusions. As part of the growing tendency to interpret archaeological cultures as the direct material reflections of linguistically and ethnically homogeneous groups or 'races', the introduction of Geometric style features, which appeared to coincide with that of iron working, cremation and of new sword types and the fibula, was associated with an invasion of new people 'from the North'—the Dorians.[173] The observation that in Crete at least some of the mentioned archaeological phenomena were underrepresented led to the logical inference that the degree and effects of these migrations had been relatively slight. Here, however, a difference in approach between Evans and other Cretan pioneers becomes apparent. Several of the Italian scholars were cautious in their conclusions, realising that they were dealing with no more than 'first data'. Taramelli, in particular, proposed to first test the idea that the Dorians were 'really the importers of the rite of incineration and of a style exclusively Geometrical' by excavating at 'a real Doric city' such as Lyttos. Any conclusion depended, in his eyes, on the question 'whether at Lyktos will be found a first purely Mycenaean stratum,—a phase of transition,—and then a Geometric period; or whether, instead, the phase of transition lacking, we must attribute the Geometric production to an entirely new race superadded to the original inhabitants.'[174] Evans, who accepted the equation of new material elements with the arrival of new people, was less hesitant in presenting conclusive views, as shown in this statement from 1894:

> The break caused on the Greek mainland by the intrusion of a geometrical style of art fitting on to that of the Danubian valley and the Hallstatt culture of Central Europe is reasonably connected with a tide of invasion from the North, of which the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese represents the southernmost wave. But the Dorian invaders who are supposed to have been hurried on to Crete by the same migrating impulse—where have they left their mark on Cretan antiquities? Certain geometrical elements came in no doubt, fibulae are found identical with those of the Dipylon or Boeotian cemeteries, but the

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[172] Brock 1957, esp. 143, 214; Coldstream 1968, 236-38.

[173] On the rise of this idea: J.M. Hall 1997, esp. 111-28.

[174] Taramelli 1901a, 301.

> evolution of Cretan art is still in the main continuous. That there was at this period a fresh Dorian colonization of parts of Crete is probable: but the new comers were merged in the body of Dorian inhabitants already long settled in the island, and received from them the artistic traditions that they themselves handed down from Mycenaean times.[175]

Evans here refers to an ancient tradition preserved by Diodorus Siculus (4.60) about an earlier migration to Crete of Greek-speaking people from Thessaly. This would have happened under the leadership of the son of Doros, Tektamos, who married the daughter of Kretheus. It was during the reign of their son Asterios that Zeus seduced Europa and begot Minos, Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon. As Asterios himself was childless, he married Europa and adopted her three sons. Evans saw this tradition of early Dorian settlement supported by the mention of Dorians in the Homeric epics as one of five different peoples in the island. As Homer was supposed to reflect the conditions of the LBA, the implication was that the co-existence of Dorians and Achaeans in the island at that time was 'already of old standing'. Evans interpreted the adoption story as an indication that settling had been peaceful. While others considered the tradition preserved in Diodorus as based on an ancient misreading of earlier manuscripts, to Evans it offered a plausible explanation for a non-violent and gradual transformation of pre-Hellenic, Minoan Crete into the Doric-Greek speaking island of the historical period. He further saw the peaceful character of the Greek migrations confirmed by the lack of mention of a military conquest by Herodotus who recounts traditions of two periods of Greek settling—one after Minos' failed expedition to Sicily, the other after the Trojan war.[176]

Evans' heavy reliance on literary sources in this matter is no longer acceptable to modern scholars. Moreover, his insistence on the 'peaceful character' of the Greek settlement may well bear the imprint of his more general disposition, noted by various recent critics, to construe ancient Crete as a harmonious place, without war or violence.[177] The idea of a peaceful take-over could explain the survival of much of Crete's BA legacy better than that of a sudden and cataclysmic Dorian invasion and is therefore in line with Evans' more general theories of continuity in the island. However, his assessment of the effects of EIA migrations cannot simply be attributed to projection, but also shows an appreciation both of the possible processes involved in migrations and of the difficulties in identifying new groups in the material record, aspects of which are close to modern understanding of such problems.[178]

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[175] Evans 1894, 359.

[176] Evans 1894, 354-58, with ref. to Diod. Sic. 4.60; Hdt. 7.171. On the story of Tektamos, see also Poland 1932, 1894, 1926.

[177] See e.g. Bintliff (1984, 35-37), who also discusses the continuing attraction of this model up to scholars of the 1960s and 1970s.

Evans elaborated on the question of Crete's transformation into a Greek-speaking region in *Scripta Minoa* of 1909,[179] where he refers to the same literary sources but in addition offers a detailed and sensitive discussion of the then available archaeological evidence. Evans acknowledged that 'the process by which the greater part of Crete passed into Greek hands is as yet very imperfectly ascertained'. Yet it was clear to him that the evidence would not bear the conclusion of a 'sudden wholesale displacement of an old form of culture by a new' such as was supposed to have resulted from a 'Dorian invasion'. Evans conceded that there had been a partial break of continuity at Knossos, as indicated by the desertion of the palace site and the temporary abandonment of the adjoining part of the town, which in his eyes was not reoccupied until the time in which the use of iron and the 'Geometrical' style were firmly established.[180] However, the evidence supplied by other Cretan sites was seen to bridge over such local gaps, proving the continuity of 'the insular culture' as whole. Evans was in this respect able to make reference to a relatively large body of evidence, as archaeological remains dating to the end of the BA and EIA could then already be seen to be more prolific than on the Mainland. The Italians had explored several cemeteries belonging to this transitional period, such as those at Erganos and Kourtes, while Harriet Boyd had excavated tombs and houses dating to the period of 1200–700 BC at Vronda (Plate

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[178] Snodgrass (1971, 19-20) proposed that for modern scholars who treat the Dorian invasion as 'a kind of a milestone', there may be a lesson in the Greek literary sources that mention the Dorian migration as one among many of similar importance. J.M. Hall (1997, 121) gives examples of scholars in the 1970s who proposed that the Dorians had been so 'Mycenaeanised' as to become archaeologically indistinguishable.

[179] Evans 1909, 100-04.

[180] Subsequent research has in fact shown that there was no gap; see e.g. Hood & Smyth 1981, 11-12, 14; Warren 1982-83; Coldstream 1991.

10) and the Kastro near Kavousi.[181] Evans was therefore able to point to the fairly widespread preservation of BA traditions in the continued use of tholos tombs and, for the pottery, to the continued use of stirrup-vases and of motifs of purely 'Minoan' origin. This, to Evans, suggested 'a comparatively slow progressive transformation' of Minoan Crete into an island with predominantly Greek language and institutions.

As another indication of such slow transformation, Evans perceptively noted that some of the objects generally interpreted as signs of the arrival of 'new people from the North', i.e. new sword types and the 'safety pin' or fibula, 'were themselves of very gradual diffusion and already begin to make their appearance in "Late Minoan" deposits.' Likewise, the new custom of cremation seemed to have been practised concurrently with that of inhumation, as burials of the two types were often found in the same tomb.[182] Evans did not deny the idea that these new objects and customs indicated immigrants, but in this case emphasised that 'whatever ethnic changes may at this time have been working themselves out, this Earliest Iron Age culture of Crete must, from the archaeological point of view, be described as Sub-Minoan'. As part of the explanation for the archaeological invisibility of these new people he proposed a quite complex pattern of mutual influence and 'absorption' in the LBA: the Mycenaean rulers of the Mainland, according to Evans deriving from the old Minoan stock, could already have been partially 'Hellenized' by their 'proto-Greek' subjects; certainly the latter had been influenced heavily by the civilisation of their rulers. This meant that at least the archaeological effects of migrations from the Mainland were considerably softened. This applied, according to Evans, not only to migrations of Mycenaeans, but also of later, Greek-speaking groups who in passing through the Peloponnese would have been exposed to and 'absorbed' the kindred civilisation of Mycenae.[183]

Important for Evans' theories was also the work of linguists such as Kretschmer and Fick, who pointed to the preservation of old, pre-Greek personal names, terms and especially place names in the later

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[181] Evans refers explicitly to Orsi 1897; Wide 1897; Boyd 1901; Halbherr 1901a; Mariani 1901.

[182] An observation confirmed by later research: see e.g. Coldstream 1991.

[183] Evans 1909, 54, 60; *id.* 1912, 282-84.

Greek world.[184] In Crete these were found not only in the far east and west, regions for which the ancient literary tradition suggested an independent survival of indigenous Eteocretans, but also in the central parts of the island. To Evans the perpetuation of stories about the Labyrinth and Minotaur and of the cult of Rhea at Knossos, as mentioned by Diodorus Siculus,[185] likewise indicated 'a very considerable survival of the indigenous Minoan element at Knossos, and in the surrounding district' and the possibility that the people there had long remained in a bilingual stage. This would have led to mutual influence between the autochthonous population and newcomers: on the one hand, Evans noted 'the process of Hellenization', by which the Doric speech and institutions finally attained predominance, but which perhaps was not completed before the beginning of the historic period; on the other hand, the 'adoption and adaptation' by Greek-speaking people of Minoan elements, especially in the field of religion. Evans gave as example of the continuation of the cult of the 'great Cretan Nature-Goddess' in various guises, and that of 'her off-spring', Cretan Zeus, who indeed turned out very different from his Hellenic namesake.[186]

Evans allowed himself less room for such detailed and balanced discussion in his inaugural address as president of the Society of Hellenic Studies in 1912, the main aim of which seems to have been the justification and defence of the study of Aegean prehistory against the classicist establishment. Nevertheless, there are some intimations of the dissolution of the concept of the unbroken continuity of the Minoan civilisation. Thus, Evans cursorily remarked that indeed 'there may have been re-inventions of lost arts' and that in some cases one should speak of revival, as opposed to survival, of Minoan motifs. In that context he discussed the possibility that seal stones, as 'some of the more enduring examples of Minoan art', might have been rediscovered during 'the accidental opening of tombs' and had inspired some of the designs on early Greek coins.[187] These intimations were, however, not followed up and the general tone of his address is more antagonistic and wilful, with the greatest emphasis on the presentation of broad historical conclusions:

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[184] Kretschmer 1895; Fick 1896. See also Myres 1933, 283, 286.

[185] See cat. entry B.18.

[186] Evans 1909, 54-60.

[187] Evans 1912, 278, 294-97.

> Let it be assumed that the Greeks themselves were an intrusive people and that they finally imposed their language on an old Mediterranean race. But if, as I believe, that view is to be maintained it must yet be acknowledged that from the ethnic point of view the older elements largely absorbed the later. The people whom we discern in the new dawn are not the pale-skinned northerners—the 'yellow-haired Achaeans' and the rest—but essentially the dark-haired, brown-complexioned race (…) of whom we find the earlier portraiture in the Minoan and Mycenaean wall paintings. The high artistic capacities that distinguish this race are in absolute contrast to the pronounced lack of such a quality among the neolithic inhabitants of those more central and northern European regions, whence *ex hypothesei* the invaders came. But can it be doubted that the artistic genius of the later Hellenes was largely the outcome of that inherent in the earlier race in which they had been merged? Of that earlier 'Greece before the Greeks' it may be said, as of the later Greece, *capta ferum victorem cepit.*[188]

In thus summarising his observations and views, Evans resorted to the use of a generalising, culture-historical mould. Assuming that civilisation was some inherent, inherited or racial trait and that 'the old Mediterranean element showed the greater vitality',[189] in a way absolved him from the need of further explanation. At the same time, it hardly did justice to his own detailed observations on the matter.

Evans' later work contains some other examples of detailed discussions, comparable to those presented in *Scripta Minoa*, of the ways BA customs and traditions would have been adopted and adapted by newcomers to the island.[190] In general, however, Evans tended to devote less and less room to the discussion of the later periods of Crete's history, including the LM III period. In a recent article, MacEnroe relates this to a growing reluctance on Evans' part to deal with periods of 'decay'. Several commentators, including Evans' half-sister Joan, have pointed to his Romantic and escapist inclinations and his need for a spiritual haven of beauty and peace, which he envisaged in the Minoan world.[191] The relative lack of attention to the LM III period in the four volumes of *The Palace of Minos* is indeed striking when taking into account that Evans initially had planned this publication to consist of three volumes, the last of which was to be dedicated entirely to the LM III period.[192]

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[188] Evans 1912, 278.

[189] Evans 1912, 287.

[190] Evans (1921, 10-12) for instance, called the Tektamos story preserved by Diodorus 'pure myth of the eponymic kind' which was invoked by the newcomers, 'Achaean as well as Dorian', 'as a sanction for their own claims' and as a way of 'annexing' the mighty king Minos. In the Frazer Lecture of 1931, Evans perceptively discusses examples of the syncretism of beliefs centring on beatyls; see Evans 1931, esp. 4-5.

[191] See J. Evans 1943, 173, 350; Bintliff 1984, 35 (with further refs.).

Evans' decision not to extend his discussion of the island's 5000 year long prehistory in *The Palace of Minos* to the EIA is, of course, in itself more than justified. In the first volume he stated that the 'Iron Age, still largely permeated with indigenous elements' was best described as 'Sub-Minoan' but lay 'beyond the immediate scope of the present work.'[193] Yet it was a decision already regretted by reviewers of that time[194] and it remains indeed unfortunate that Evans, especially in his later writings, sacrificed the detailed observations and discussion of developments during the EIA like those found in *Scripta Minoa* to the promotion of grand ideas about the unity and continuity of the Minoan civilisation. This leaves us with repeated, almost formulaic statements about the natural abilities of the island's 'native stock' to assimilate foreign influence and 'intrusive elements' and about the 'singularly continuous and homogeneous' course of Minoan civilisation.

It was the formulaic statements and broad, sweeping conclusions of the kind quoted above that resonated loudest. They are echoed and sometimes almost literally repeated in the work of several of his contemporaries, usually without further attempt to critically assess the archaeological evidence or the underlying premises. Finley has remarked that 'no man has ever dominated an archaeological field so completely' as Arthur Evans[195] and it is true that many Minoan archaeologists of the early 20th century appear to have been more than eager to follow Evans' lead: his influence can be seen both in the descriptive and synthesising parts of their work and in the practice of their excavations. Evans' work provided them with a larger framework for interpretation and—surely no less importantly—helped them to assert the extraordinary significance of their object of study in relation to that of Classical Greece. Thus, in *Crete the*

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[192] According to MacEnroe (1995, 13-14) Evans changed the format after WW I, but Evans still envisaged the third volume in 1921 (see Evans 1921, xii).

[193] Evans 1921, 28.

[194] See Dawkins 1935, 237.

[195] Finley 1968, 13; see Momigliano 1999, xiii. For a similar remark, McNeal 1973, 205.

Forerunner of Greece, first published in 1909 and provided with a preface by Evans, Hawes and Boyd Hawes acclaim in lyrical terms:

> And, observe, we have leapt over the heads of the Greeks; we have excelled even Icarus in audacity. We have committed an affront in the eyes of some conservative Greek scholars, who still cling to the miraculous creation of Greek art. The theme is a fresh one, because nothing was known of the subject before 1900; it is important, because the Golden Age of Crete was the forerunner of the Golden Age of Greece, and hence of all our western culture. The connection between Minoan and Hellenic civilization is vital, not one of locality alone, as is the tie between the prehistoric and the historic of America, but one of relationship. Egypt may have been foster-mother to classical Greece, but the mother, never forgotten by her child, was Crete. Before Zeus, was the mother who bore him in that mysterious cave of Dicte.[196]

Hawes and Boyd Hawes solved the problem of the connection of the prehistoric Aegean with Classical Greece in the accepted culture-historical way, by saying that 'in classical Greece we see the results of the mingling of two unusually gifted races—one autochthonous, the other immigrant—the former contributing the tradition and technical skill of a highly advanced native civilization, especially rich in art; the latter its heritage of Aryan institutions, power of co-ordination, and an all-conquering language'.[197] There were others too, who accepted Evans' equation of the Mycenaean and Minoan civilisation and who saw no real break between the culture of Minoan Crete and that of subsequent centuries. Thus H.R. Hall, Keeper of Antiquities at the British Museum, in his Rhind Lectures published in 1928, spoke of 'the unified civilization of Greece in the Later Bronze Age, which fell before the attacks of the iron-bringing barbarians from the North' and stated that 'a new Greece, formed of the old Minoan and the new invading Hellenic elements, had come into being, and, inspired by the civilized genius of the Minoan strain in its ancestry, strode quickly to the culture-hegemony of the world.'[198]

In several instances, the direct effects of views about the continuity and inevitable dominance of the Minoan civilisation on the practice of excavation and the interpretation of the associated data are obvious. For instance, the periodization proposed by Evans and

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[196] Hawes & Boyd Hawes 1916, 2.
[197] Hawes & Boyd Hawes 1916, 154.
[198] H.R. Hall 1928, x, 239.

Mackenzie for the Cretan BA in theory opened the way for cognisance and independent study of the succeeding EIA. In 1905-06 Mackenzie showed himself to be well aware of a tendency to disregard the length of this period when he stated that:

> the true relation of earlier and later in the Post-Mycenaean period will never be understood unless we see that there is a considerable interval between Late Minoan III and the civilization represented in one of its earlier phases by the Geometric pottery in question. This interval becomes obliterated if we regard Geometric pottery like that from Courtes as immediately succeeding the Mycenaean style of Late Minoan III.[199]

Many of Mackenzie's fellow excavators in Crete, however, continued to display confusion or inability to comprehend the time span of the transition from the LM III to the Geometric period. In fact, Evans himself stated the matter far from clearly in his definition of what constituted 'Minoan' in 1905: 'le terme *minoenne* désigne l'ensemble de la culture préhistorique de la Crète, depuis la période néolithique jusqu'à l'avènement de la colonisation grecque caracterisée par le style géometrique.'[200] At Palaikastro, where the British excavators claimed to follow Mackenzie's nomenclature 'as closely as possible', Geometric pottery was described as if it followed immediately on that of LM III.[201] Likewise, at Tylisos, the presence of Geometric pottery on top of the LM III remains seems to have been considered as a sign of uninterrupted activities at the same spot as late as 1913.[202]

In defence of these early scholars it should be added that the gap between the end of the LM III period and the beginning of that characterised by a fully developed Geometric style was only gradually supplied with its own pottery sequence and dates. The Greek EIA pottery styles showed distinct regional variation, were accompanied by few Egyptian imports that could provide 'date marks' and were therefore difficult to classify. These practical problems were acknowledged by Mackenzie, who added to the observation quoted above that it was not 'as of yet possible to indicate in more than a very general way what were the successive phases in post-Mycenaeo-Minoan ceramic development that preceded the final dominance of the Geometric style in Crete.'[203] The term 'Protogeometric' was not proposed in Greek archaeology until 1910, when S. Wide published the vases and other contents from tombs of that date found on Salamis.[204] The first systematic grouping of then known EIA pottery, including that from Crete, was not published until 1917 by B. Schweitzer.[205]

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[199] Mackenzie 1905-06, 444.

[200] Radet 1905, 203. See also McNeal 1973, 212.

[201] Bosanquet *et al.* 1902-03, 297; Dawkins & Currelly 1903-04, 192-96; Bosanquet 1939-40, 66.

[202] Chatzidakis 1934, 68-69.

It is telling, however, that this work was to remain the only monograph on the Greek EIA until after WW II.[206] It shows most of all that ignorance of EIA pottery sequences was due less to practical problems than to a lack of attention. Both Schweitzer in 1917 and Demargne in 1947 (and still others after them) complained that their studies were hampered by a scarcity of controlled excavations aimed at EIA remains and of adequate publications.[207] Interest in and appreciation for this transitional period between the end of the BA and the Archaic period in general long remained anemic. The traditional emphasis of Classical archaeology on periods for which there were ancient texts and 'high art' continued to bias scholarly attention in favour of BA monuments on the one hand and historically known sites on the other. Snodgrass has shown how earlier scholars, with their inclination to follow the lead of Classical authors, were left with only isolated observations on events and developments in the centuries before 700 BC, of which the sequence and timing was vague.[208] Few scholars therefore looked for material evidence of the EIA. Aside from the scarcity of written sources from the period itself, an additional reason for the neglect of the EIA is to be sought in the fact that its material culture was distinctly poor compared to that of the LBA and historical periods. This led to brief and sometimes dismissive comments on the part of art-historically oriented scholars and to a widespread acceptance of the characterisation of these periods as 'Dark Ages'.[209]

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[203] Mackenzie 1906-07, 441.

[204] Wide 1910, esp. 17, 35.

[205] Schweitzer 1917, esp. 43-50 on Crete. See also Desborough 1948, 260.

[206] I. Morris 2000, 88, 92. Desborough (1948, 260) lists the articles on PG pottery from individual regions that appeared before 1948; see also Kahane 1940.

[207] Schweitzer 1917, 2; Demargne 1947, 28-29.

[208] Snodgrass 1971, 2-10.

[209] E.g. by Beazley and Robertson (1926, 580); see I. Morris 2000, 88.

In Crete the situation initially may have been somewhat different, as finds from the period of the 'Dark Ages' were relatively prolific. The explorations of the pioneers in the later 19th century had led to the discovery of the bronze shields, tripods and vessels from the Idaean cave—finds which were considered as exciting and important. The term 'Dark Ages' nevertheless found common acceptance amongst Cretan archaeologists.[210] As discussed above, it was becoming increasingly clear that Crete after the BA had not been at the centre of developments, but followed a historical course not directly parallel to that of other regions in the Aegean. Ancient historians had long understood the relative silence of the ancient Greek authors as proof of the separation between Crete and the rest of the Greek world.[211] They also noted that Cretans rarely participated in the Olympic Games, that they had not joined the Greek troops assembling to fight the Persians in the 5th century BC and had not been part of the alliances of the Peloponnesian wars.[212] Moreover, as time progressed, Crete turned out to be relatively poor in what were considered the 'classical' expressions of Greek art. The Geometric pottery of the island was considered as extraordinarily unattractive and had clearly never evolved into such creative black- and red-figure styles as are associated with artistic centres such as Corinth and Athens. To the present day no peripteral Classical temples are known in Crete and examples of Archaic and Classical sculpture remain rare. Even more peculiar, the artistic output of the island seemed to come to an almost complete halt in the 6th century BC.[213] In the absence of typically Classical monuments scholarly attention in Crete rested even more than elsewhere on the great civilisation of its BA.

After the work of the great pioneer Halbherr during the late 19th century, until the 1980s, there have been few scholars who chose the EIA in Crete as their primary object of research. It is only since the later 1970s and 1980s that a concerted effort has been made to study the 'Postpalatial' and 'Postminoan' periods in their own right, with research projects aimed primarily at questions concerning the archaeology and history of Crete after the Minoan palaces.[214] Older excavations at EIA or later sites were most of all prompted by the promise of more inscriptions or sculpture, as at Prinias, or by the accidental discovery of important objects such as the bronze statuettes at Dreros (Plate 43).[215] I. Morris has even proposed that the fact that several of the earliest excavations at EIA sites were directed by women, for instance Harriet Boyd at Kavousi, reflects the marginal importance attached to the period in those days.[216] Mackenzie admitted that at Knossos only 'occasional discoveries of an important character in Geometric have been made from time to time while we were on the look-out for Minoan tombs.'[217] In the light of Mackenzie's firm understanding of the work that lay ahead of Cretan archaeologists this remains paradoxical. Similar overshadowing is apparent at other Cretan sites, such as Phaistos, Ayia Triada, Tylisos, Amnisos and at Palaikastro, which, apart from monumental Minoan buildings, also yielded significant remains of EIA and later date. The discovery at these sites of EIA sanctuaries was often no more than the unexpected by-product of large-scale Minoan excavations. As a result, the character of these later remains was not always appreciated at the time of discovery and their presence principally explained by reference to that BA past.[218] At Palaikastro, the discovery of a MM III-LM I 'sacrificial pit' within the area of the Protogeometric and later sanctuary was, for instance, interpreted as 'a striking proof of continuity'.[219] At the other sites too, the one-sided focus on things Minoan tended to reinforce the lack of understanding of EIA remains and this in turn made it easy to draw facile conclusions about their continuity of use. In worse cases, however, where ‘Postminoan’ remains did not belong to sanctuaries but to dwellings, they could be rapidly removed without any form of recording.[220]

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[210] E.g. Bury 1913, 57; Hawes & Boyd Hawes 1916, 20-21; Nilsson 1927, 40; H.R. Hall 1928, 265.

[211] The most extreme viewpoint was that of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1893, 25-26), who believed that Crete's existence had been entirely forgotten only to be rediscovered in the 4th century BC; Van Effenterre 1948a, 21-22; see also above, p. 39-40.

[212] Or, if they participated in the Games, never won, because Cretan names are conspicuously absent from the list of victors; see esp. Kirsten 1942, 6-7, 10-27 (with ref. to Hdt. 7. 145, 169).

[213] Kirsten 1942, 4; Demargne 1947, 348; see also Prent 1996-97.

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[214] See, for instance, studies by Kanta (1980), Hayden (1981), Driessen & Farnoux (eds) 1997; Nowicki (2000) .

[215] See cat. entries B.15 and B.32.

[216] I. Morris 2000, 90.

[217] Mackenzie 1906-07, 443.

[218] An illustrative example is the 'sanctuary of Rhea' at Knossos: see cat. entry B.18. At Palaikastro (B.69), the search for the Temple of Dictaean Zeus, mentioned in epigraphic and literary sources, ranked high among the goals of the first excavator, Bosanquet. A shift of interest took place in the course of the project, when it became obvious that the large and rich Minoan town was far better preserved than the later sanctuary: Prent & Thorne 2000.

[219] Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904-05, 287; Bosanquet 1908-09, 351; *id.* 1939-40, 64.

3. Subsequent Scholarship and Critique

Elementary critique of the theories, views and excavation strategies that developed during the first decades of the 20th century came relatively late in the history of Cretan scholarship, indeed not until long after Evans’ death in 1941. But when it came, it could be very severe. Best-known in that respect are the efforts to drastically revise Evans’ date of the ‘final destruction’ of the Palace at Knossos at the end of the LM II period (*c.* 1400 BC) and his associated downplaying of the LM III period. The first doubts of Evans’ scenario were raised by Blegen in 1958, after his discovery at Pylos of an archive with Linear B tablets (then known to record an early form of Greek) which were comparable to those from Knossos. The tablets from Pylos, however, belonged to a period some 200 years later and Blegen wondered if the destruction responsible for the firing and preservation of the tablets at Knossos should be brought down to 1200 BC as well. The greatest defender of Blegen’s thesis was the philologist L.R. Palmer, who incited a debate that was to last for many years, but which was never finally resolved.[221] In this debate Palmer and some scholars, in what is perhaps best labelled as an overreaction, even accused Evans of deliberate falsification and fabrication of his excavation results.[222]

As to the theories and views on the later periods of the island’s history, it has been contended that the unilateral emphasis placed by Evans and others on the continuity of BA traits and traditions has gone at the expense of a just appreciation of the importance of

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[220] For instance at Phaistos (see Pernier & Banti 1947, 64) and at Knossos where the Roman remains over the Theatral Area were blasted away (Evans 1902-03, 106; see also Evans 1901-02, 3, 4).

[221] For recent overviews of the debate: Fitton 1995, 175-78; Hatzaki 2000.

[222] ‘Any suggestion that Evans was incompetent or dishonest is as preposterous as the myth of his amateurism’; Finley 1968, 20-21.

Oriental influence on the island throughout the period of the LBA and EIA. This standpoint is reflected in the recent criticism by Sarah Morris that:

> A romantic attachment to the unanticipated culture of Bronze Age Crete has exaggerated "Minoan" elements in the material and literary culture of Crete in archaeological scholarship for the sake of continuity, to demonstrate Greece's (and Europe's) link to a glamorous past. Modern affection for prehistoric Crete, whose discovery (just after the liberation of Crete from Turkish rule) took place during a strong drive for Greek roots, has overestimated this past and signs of its "revival" or "renaissance". Moreover, European eagerness to identify roots as old as possible for Greek civilization, as if in competition with the discovery of Mesopotamian prehistory, precipitated notions of cultural continuity.[223]

Morris rightly—albeit briskly—summarises the nature and effects of the grand narrative, adopted by Evans and numerous of his contemporaries, that made Minoan civilisation into 'the cradle of Europe'. The development of this grand narrative was the intricate result of an intertwining of political, academic and personal considerations. On the side of those committed to the study of the newly discovered Minoan civilisation a strong need was felt to justify the object of their study and to give it a place in the greater scheme of things by anchoring it in established patterns of thought. They appealed both to orthodox Hellenist notions about the superiority of Greek and Western civilisation and to 'the modern and scientific' theory of evolutionism to underline the necessity to study 'origins' and prove the vital relationship between the Minoan and Classical civilisations. In addition, culture-historical notions were employed to affirm the uniqueness of the contribution of the 'Minoan race' to the Classical Greek genius. As several of his biographers have noted, the fact that Evans was such a forceful character greatly helped in establishing these views. Due both to personal circumstances and the spirit of the time, Evans was inclined to create by means of his reconstruction of Minoan Crete a peaceful and unspoilt world, untainted by the industrialisation and wars of modern times. Taken together, these considerations converged in a pronounced emphasis on the unity and homogeneity of the Minoan civilisation and on its continuing influence into later times.

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[223] S. Morris 1992a, 183.

It would be unfair, however, not to acknowledge at the same time the great accomplishments of these early scholars, which lie in their pioneering fieldwork, in their numerous valuable interpretations of the archaeological record, and in the fact that they laid the foundations of a broad historical framework. It cannot be expected reasonably that their theories would still appeal to scholars almost a century later. Even in their own time, the established use of evolutionary and culture-historical models to present the data did not do justice to all observations and analyses, many of which can still be of use to the modern scholar.

Likewise, it should not be overlooked that significant modifications of the views of Evans and his contemporaries have been proposed in the course of time, even if this happened in piecemeal and cordial fashion. If such modifications of earlier views have not succeeded in balancing the overall impression of continuity of BA or Minoan traditions, it is at least partially because they have not been presented as part of a grand narrative that fully replaces the older one. For many, it is the older, more sweeping statements that still resonate the loudest.

To sketch some of the most obvious modifications, even before the decipherment, in 1952, of the language of the Linear B tablets as proto-Greek, which vindicated Wace in his theory that the Mycenaean civilisation was inherently different from the Minoan, such ideas had been accepted by several Cretan scholars. Amongst them was M.P. Nilsson, who in his study *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (1927), announced that it was 'with great diffidence' that in this matter he 'must go against the authority of Sir Arthur Evans, with whom most English scholars agree.'[224] John Pendlebury, whose appointment as Curator of Knossos by Evans in 1929 did not stop him from having fierce debates with his employer, took a middle stance. In his diachronic overview *The Archaeology of Crete* (1939), he spoke of the 'considerable domination' of Minoan Crete over the rest of the Aegean, without denying the Mainland its own 'native culture and taste'. In the same context, he fairly discussed Wace's disputed theory of a Mycenaean take-over of Crete in the LM II period.[225]

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[224] Nilsson 1927, 11-24, 41.

[225] Pendlebury 1939, 229-31. See Fitton 1995, 167-68.

Nilsson, who wrote the first comprehensive treatment of pre-Hellenic religion, followed through on the idea of Minoan influence on the religion of historical times. Expressing admiration for Evans' 'intuition of genius', he stated that it was 'an impossible standpoint to deny any connexion' between Minoan and Greek religion, but added that the central question was how this had been achieved. Nilsson stayed within the culture-historical framework by working on the premise of a fusion of racial components, the 'Minoan-Mycenaean and the Greek'. However, in his reconstruction of how Helladic religion 'gradually came to the fore and pressed Minoan religion back', Nilsson also distinguished between the religion of different social groups. While the upper echelons of Mycenaean Greeks had been 'thoroughly Minoized', the common people had adhered to a greater degree to their native Greek religion. The latter had not been artistically expressed and therefore remained largely invisible, but was invigorated by 'the hordes of new immigrants' at the close of the BA. Just as the Greek population was formed by a fusion of immigrants and indigenous population, so was Greek religion a fusion of the pre-Greek and Greek. Such a fusion could not be expected without conflicts, nor could it have resulted in 'a clean victory' by one or the other. Instead, there would have been compromise and blending, with all kinds of different outcomes. A cult place could have stayed in use from the BA into historical times, but a new deity may have replaced or overshadowed the old one, while elements of the cult persisted.[226] Nilsson made it his task to explore these possibilities and to critically assess the material evidence for cult continuity at the many Cretan sanctuaries for which this had been claimed and called the results 'meagre'.[227]

Farnell was equally scrupulous. In his contribution to Evans' *Festschrift* he warned against falsely using the archaeological evidence to prove Cretan influence in Greek religion and set out to submit claims made earlier to 'severe scrutiny'.[228] Like Nilsson, Farnell acknowledged the *a priori* possibility of such influence, but he argued for a careful distinction between the different periods in which this would have been exerted. According to Farnell, there were at least three: an earlier, Minoan period, a middle but still pre-Homeric period and a post-Homeric one, when Crete was already Hellenized. He also pointed to the 'multiform fabric of Greek polytheism', meaning that not all 'pre-Hellenic' peoples should be considered to have spoken the same language or to have had the same religion.[229]

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[226] Nilsson 1927, 2-6, 41-42.

[227] Nilsson 1927, 392-400.

[228] As an example of which he referred to the interpretation of the 'porcelain lion's head at Delphi' as evidence for a Cretan origin of the cult there (e.g. by Evans 1912, 285).

Pendlebury, who accepted the strong BA heritage in later Crete and still saw 'much of the Minoan' in the modern Cretans,[230] in his own work nevertheless placed more emphasis on the Hellenization of the island. He was, for instance, critical of the term 'Sub-Minoan', thought so appropriate by Evans, because it did not take into account the 'very considerable non-Minoan elements which have crept into the architecture and other manifestations of culture'.[231] For him 'the new period' after the BA was characterised 'by the appearance of iron and the increasing absorption of the island both racially and culturally into the general civilization of the Aegean'. When he discussed 'post-Minoan Crete' in *The Archaeology of Crete*, he considered it 'sufficient to point out her local peculiarities' because the island 'at this period shares the general Hellenic culture.' Pendlebury sketched an image of the Dark Ages closely corresponding to that proposed for the Mainland, and believed in the severe depopulation, isolation and insecurity of the island down to the 7th century BC, with 'some slight improvement' in conditions in the 8th century BC. The latter period Pendlebury described as the beginning of the 'true Hellenic period', marked by immigration from the Mainland.[232]

Pendlebury's views on the earlier part of the Dark Ages were propounded in some detail for Karphi (Plates 4-5), the settlement in the Lasithi mountains of which he was the principal excavator. He related the foundation of this site, with its inaccessible location and harsh living conditions, to a 'Dorian invasion' around 1100 BC and labelled it a 'site of refuge'. As to the culture of the inhabitants, Pendlebury noted the 'indisputable' Minoan character of the cultic equipment, as well as 'Achaean' traits in the architecture, pottery and fibulae at the site. This he interpreted as indicative of a population consisting 'of the old Minoan stock with a small ruling caste of Achaeans, who (...) had by now become very nearly absorbed into the Minoan population'. Following Evans' scenario, he placed the coming of the 'Achaeans' late in the LM III period. As these people had initially occupied the Minoan palaces, Achaean traits in architecture and pottery only became apparent when they had to resettle at new sites such as Karphi. The fact that iron technology (considered a northern invention) had been in use at Karphi and the use of certain motifs on the pottery implied familiarity with 'Dorian fashions'. However, Pendlebury believed that this familiarity was 'coupled to distrust' and that Protogeometric decoration had been 'too alien to their mentality to be accepted.' On the whole, therefore, Karphi had to be considered as isolated, its only external contact taking the form of raiding parties. For Pendlebury it was difficult 'to avoid the picture of a brigand city, living largely on the wealth of the lowlands'. He called up an image of Karphiotes as modern and 'true Cretans' who, faced with foreign conquerors, had taken their arms and fled to the mountains.[233] Pendlebury freely employed ethnographic analogies, regularly citing Cretan poems or 'mantinades' and drawing on his personal experience of Cretan village life.[234]

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[229] Farnell 1927, 8-10.

[230] Pendlebury 1939, 267

[231] Pendlebury *et al.* 1937-38, 134.

[232] E.g. Pendlebury 1939, xxiii, 303, 313, 316, 327.

Another eminent scholar active in the 1930s was Ernst Kirsten, who combined an impressive knowledge of the historical geography, archaeology and ancient history of Crete. Like Pendlebury, he emphasised the Hellenization or '*Dorisierung*' of the island. Kirsten believed in a Mycenaean take-over of Crete around 1400 BC, but in a way of reasoning otherwise close to Evans' assigned the Achaeans a particularly important role in the transition from a 'Minoan' to a 'Dorian' Crete. The Achaeans, considered by Kirsten as peripheral Mycenaeans, had left a strong mark on the Cretan place names and dialect. To him it seemed that no other period of Cretan history had yielded so many sites as the one from the end of the BA to the Geometric period, something which he associated with an influx of Achaean settlers. The period also showed a total change in settlement location, with an almost universal preference for elevated and defensible sites. Kirsten explicitly ascribed some of these new foundations, such as Vrokastro (Plate 45), Kavousi and Dreros (Plate 41), to the Achaean newcomers. Others would have housed the displaced Minoans or Eteocretans. Concerns of safety were clearly paramount and danger would have lurked both over sea and over land, from the side of pirates, neighbouring communities and—for the Achaean (and later Dorian) newcomers—the hostile subject population.[235] Having long been exposed to Minoan cultural features, the Achaeans subsequently passed these on to their fellow Greek-speakers. In addition, the Minoan heritage would have been preserved—albeit in a subdued manner—among a large subject population and the 'free Minoan tribes' that maintained an independent existence in the far west and east of the island. Kirsten did not see this Minoan influence as an undivided legacy, but concluded that the various realms of life had been affected in different ways: it was strongest in the island's religion, while its art and especially political institutions—'the centre of Greek life'—were clearly 'Dorian'.[236] The main portion of Kirsten's doctoral thesis, published in 1942 as *Das dorische Kreta*, was dedicated to the institutions of the later Cretan poleis. Their significance, as suggested by the ancient Greek authors, was in their conservatism and authenticity. Cretan institutions were taken to reflect the original customs of the Dorian conquerors more closely than elsewhere in the Greek world.[237]

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[233] Pendlebury *et al.* 1937-38, 138-41.

[234] As an extremely energetic walker, Pendlebury had explored much of the mountainous island and to many Cretans was a well-known and welcome guest. This and his death in 1941 at the hands of the German invaders turned him into a legendary figure; see e.g. Branigan 2000, 30-33.

In his publications before and during the war Kirsten made unabated use of culture-historical and racial concepts and showed the kind of preoccupation with Dorians that in Germany was even stronger than elsewhere.[238] As a corollary of this unbalanced idealisation of pure Greekness, there was little attention for the role of outside influence.[239] Kirsten noted the oriental traits in EIA Cretan art, but seems to have rated these as insignificant. Thus, he considered the decoration of the bronzes from the Idaean cave as affected by Oriental motifs, but uninfluenced in the totality of their 'dorischen Wesen'.[240] The main effect of the Oriental influence was the revival of the Minoan heritage, which, in an uneasy interplay with 'the Greek element', gave early Cretan art 'an inner insecurity'. In reconstructing the course of EIA Crete's history, Kirsten gave most weight to the 'Auseinandersetzung griechischen und ungriechischen Wesens'. He called the 'racial mixing' in the island both 'a blessing and a curse', as it prompted a flowering of the island early in the EIA but then had led to stagnation in the Archaic period.[241] Later, Kirsten distanced himself from this sort of explanation, noting that the circumstances in those days had made it difficult to question racial theories.[242]

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[235] Kirsten 1938b, 308-12, 315; *id.* 1940a, 138-39.

[236] Kirsten 1942, 2-3; *id.* 1938b, 308-10.

[237] Kirsten 1942, 182-83. The idea that in Crete the 'Dorian ideal' was preserved in purer form than elsewhere in the Greek world is also expressed by Pendlebury (1939, 329).

[238] The German identification with especially the Spartan Dorians has been traced back to the publication in 1824 of *Die Dorier* by K.O. Müller; see Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1979, 2-4 (with further refs.)

[239] Bernal 1987, 367-99; Trigger 1989, 159-61, 166; I. Morris 1994, 20-21.

It was not until after the aberrations of World War II that culture-historical and racial interpretations were generally rejected or avoided. As J. Hall points out, the appropriation of the 'Indogermanic Dorians' by the Nazis compelled self-reflection on the part of Classical scholars.[243] The reaction, however, was often more one of avoidance of the topic of ethnicity than of a fundamental reevaluation of the associated concepts and models. A. Schnapp-Gourbeillon notes how the term 'race' was often simply replaced by that of 'linguistic group' or 'archaeological culture'. Although scholars in France had hardly made less use of racial categories (the difference being that they tended to identify with the Ionians), it was perhaps in that country that the validity of ethnic criteria as 'Dorian' and 'Ionian' was questioned most explicitly, with arguments being advanced for the primacy of economic and socio-political factors in creating shared characteristics between people living in the same region.[244] From a broader viewpoint, Trigger mentions the lessening of the connection between archaeological interpretation and nationalism in Europe and a growing political and economic cooperation between countries.[245]

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[240] Kirsten 1942, 2.

[241] Kirsten 1938b, 317-21; *id.* 1942, 3.

[242] Kirsten 1990, 108. Kirsten, like other German archaeologists, was conscripted during WW II and consigned to work in Greece. In Crete, where the task was to locate and excavate a major site, German archaeologists are known to have turned a blind eye when they ran into a cache of weapons and a group of undercover resistance fighters, including well-known colleagues of the British School, such as T.J. Dunbabin. After the war personal relations were cordial; see Dunbabin 1952; Merrillees 2000, 35-36; Hiller von Gaertringen 1995, 475-81.

[243] J.M. Hall 1997, 1-2, 13.

The first book on EIA Crete to appear after the war was Pierre Demargne's doctoral thesis *La Crète dédalique. Études sur les origines d'une Renaissance* (1947), which indeed breathes a different spirit. Demargne had participated in the French excavations at prehistoric Mallia, but after the war (which he spent in a German prisoners-of-war camp), directed his attention increasingly to the period of 'le haut archaïsme' (10th-8th century BC) and to the topic of cultural influence between the different regions of the eastern Mediterranean.[246] Inspired by Poulsen's *Der Orient und die frühgriechischen Kunst* (1912), his thesis entailed an art-historical comparison of the various oriental motifs in use in Crete during the LM III period and EIA. At the same time, however, Demargne presented a broad overview of historical developments in those periods and introduced a number of important new perspectives. In a conscious effort to bridge established chronological and geographical divides, the author treated the whole period extending from LM III to the 6th century BC and advanced the thesis that uninterrupted contact between Crete and the Near East, in particular Cyprus, had been crucial in setting off Crete's EIA 'renaissance'.[247]

Although Demargne acknowledged that Crete in the LM III period had preserved its indigenous culture, he emphasised that the island had been part of a Mycenaean artistic (and possibly also political) *koine*. Following Evans, he saw Greek infiltration in Crete during this period as having been gradual and perhaps involving only small numbers of people, but as sufficiently important to consistently refer to 'Mycenaean Crete'. Fully aware of French sensitivities with regards to German claims of the essential 'Indo-European' contribution to Greek civilisation, he stressed that 'European' or 'Northern' components should not be denied because of recent political abuse. Nevertheless, he proposed that oriental influence had given most colour to Mycenaean civilisation. The premise was that during the LBA the whole eastern Mediterranean, despite regional differences, had tended to a certain unity of civilisation, as was certainly apparent in the artistic realm, but perhaps also involved shared ideas and concepts.[248]

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[244] Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1979, 2-3; J.M. Hall 1997, 13-14; Jones 1997, 3-5, 48-51.

[245] Trigger 1989, 185.

[246] Demargne, who died in 2000 at age 97, was to pursue this interest in the cultural influence between the different regions of the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean for the rest of his life. At Xanthos in Lycia, where he initiated new excavations in 1950, he focused on processes of Hellenization and received praise for his avoidance of Hellenocentric viewpoints; see Le Roy 2000.

[247] See e.g. Demargne 1947, 27-30, 97 (for the term 'renaissance orientalisante').

In identifying the formative factors in Crete's EIA culture, Demargne made several important methodological points, taking important steps in breaking up the concept of undiluted continuity. In the first place, he insisted that it was 'a serious mistake' to relate the pre-Hellenic survivals in later Cretan art—whether 'Submycenaean' or 'Archaic'—to the First or Second palaces. Most survivals would derive from 'the last civilisation of the Bronze Age', i.e. that of 'Mycenaean Crete'. Second, in weighing the respective contributions of the LBA heritage and of new features, distinct regional differences were to be taken into account. Thus, many of the EIA sites further inland had to be considered provincial and 'Eteocretan', while a site such as Knossos had been much more open to outside influences.[249]

Such outside influences would have included a 'Dorian' component. Demargne accepted the historical reality of widespread migrations at the end of the BA, including a good deal of looting and pillaging, but believed these to have been more extended in time and therefore less revolutionary in their effects than often thought. The result would have been a population that was mixed 'in varying proportions'.[250] It remained unclear, however, what this Dorian component entailed. The assimilation of oriental features into the 7th-century Daedalic style was generally associated with the Dorians, but Demargne noted that in Crete this style never evolved into a form of 'real' Greek sculpture. Like other scholars of his time, Demargne did not wholly abandon old similes of Dorians and others being 'of separate blood', but in the main called it 'not useful and even dangerous to link culture and race'.[251]

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[248] Demargne 1947, 48-54 (with ref. to Evans 1928, 351), 86.

[249] Demargne 1947, 98-101, 107, 354.

[250] Demargne 1947, 91-93, 102-03.

[251] Demargne 1947, 134-35, 308-09, 356 ('Au total le Dédale cretois a du sang étéocretois, sang noble, mais appauvri').

Demargne certainly did not accept a connection between the arrival of Dorians and the introduction of iron technology, Geometric pottery styles and cremation.[252] Instead, Demargne pointed to Cyprus, maintaining that communications between this island and Crete may never have been completely severed. He suggested that the knowledge of iron working was introduced from there, with Cretan Geometric pottery also showing a Cypriot connection.[253] Moreover, it was in the Near East that the Mycenaean heritage had been preserved in combination with an ability for innovation that was unparalleled in EIA Crete. Mycenaean survivals were surely to be found in the provincial interior of the Cretan—in the form of monuments and objects, as well as traditions—but these Demargne did not deem capable of having set off the island's 'renaissance orientalisante'. It seemed more likely to him that many BA 'survivals' in fact represent repeated and independent instances of Oriental importation.[254]

Demargne's approach may be placed in the context of a more general growth of interest in the 'wider Greek world' of the EIA, which has its roots in the decade before the WW II. In the 1930s the work of a number of other scholars, while not specifically dealing with Crete, showed a similar focus on expanding trade connections in pre-Classical periods. Among them were Payne, Blakeway and Dunbabin, the latter producing both *The Western Greeks* (1948) and *The Greeks and Their Eastern Neighbours* (1957). On the British side, this development seems to have been cut short by the premature death of all three scholars.[255]

In the following decades, the study of the 'Dark Ages' was nevertheless dominated by the efforts of British scholars, who wrote a number of landmark monographs. I. Morris characterises the period in which these appeared as one of redefinition of both the BA and EIA, which was linked to changes of opinion in Homeric scholarship. In 1950, Hilda Lorimer published *Homer and the Monuments*, in which she compared the available archaeological evidence from both BA and EIA to the Homeric poems. She reached the conclusion that the poems had been composed in the 8th century BC and, rather than providing a unitary picture of the Mycenaean world, reflected much of their time of composition.[256] This was confirmed in 1952, when Michael Ventris deciphered the language of the Linear B tablets as an early form of Greek. While proving a basic continuity of the Greek language and strengthening the idea that the Mycenaeans were ancestors to the Classical Greeks,[257] the tablets also showed the economic and social organisation of the BA palaces to be very different from that depicted in the Homeric poems. This implied radical transformations during the Dark Ages. Although the importance of this period had been pointed out before WW II,[258] it was during the 1950s that the case was brought to full argument by the ancient historian Moses Finley. His interest being in socio-economic issues rather than in the traditional subjects of ancient history, Finley considered the economies of the BA palaces as redistributive and therefore far removed from Classical Greek economy. Instead, he assigned crucial importance to the period of the Dark Ages with its system of gift-exchange as described by Homer.[259]

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[252] Demargne 1947, 95-96.

[253] Demargne 1947, 27, 97, 134, 329-30.

[254] Demargne 1947, 97, 103, 134, 354-55.

[255] Waterhouse 1986, 32-33; Whitley 2001, 14.

The characterisation of the Dark Ages as a period that was truly formative for Classical Greek civilisation also seems to have given it enhanced significance to archaeologists, as indicated by the appearance of a series of important monographs.

The first of these was Desborough's *Protogeometric Pottery* (1952), in which the author states his aim to analyse 'the interrelation of the various Protogeometric styles which spring up more or less throughout the Greek world' and 'their connexion with, or influence over, one another, or the complete absence of any such connexions.' This was, however, not done without attempting also to outline 'from the entirety of the archaeological evidence as available' 'the possible historical inferences which may be deduced.'[260] These were presented under the chapter heading 'General Perspective' and concerned the whole period from 1200 to 800 BC, with special focus on the degree of contact between the various regions of the Aegean. Desborough's reconstruction of events sketches a classic picture of the Dark Ages, the beginning of the period being marked by sudden destruction, disintegration, turmoil, decrease and movement of population, and a general break in communication, which persisted through much of the 11th century BC. The diffusion of the PG pottery style, developed in Athens, was the first sign of improving conditions, indicating 'a new creative spirit' and 'the rebirth of the Athenian trader'. Desborough accepted the ancient literary traditions about 'major movements of population', but discussed the subject of migration cautiously, mentioning the possibility that handmade pottery, straight bronze pins (indicating a change in dress) and certain skeletal evidence pointed to 'the invaders'. In general, he preferred to leave 'the question as to what extent the archaeological picture given above can be related to the notions of the Greeks themselves, from the 5th century B.C. onwards, as to the development of their peoples' to historians.[261]

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[256] Lorimer 1950, esp. 452, 464, 492-93; see also Fittton 1995, 204.

[257] Fitton 1995, 200-02 (with ref. to Wace 1956, xxvii-xxxi).

[258] E.g. Nilsson 1933, 246: 'The period after the breakdown of the Mycenaean civilization is the poorest and darkest epoch in all Greek history except for the Stone Age, but it ought to be added that it was of fundamental importance. During this time the foundations of the future history of Greece were laid.'

[259] I. Morris 2000, 90-92 (with further refs. to Finley).

[260] Desborough 1952, xv-xvi.

Greek Geometric Pottery by J.N. Coldstream (1968) followed comparable lines. The author wanted to give 'a comprehensive treatment of each local school', a purpose for which he supplied a number of reasons. Since pottery formed the main medium of artistic expression during the Dark Ages, for the art-historians the study of Geometric pottery was an end in itself. But it also was a means to an end, since Dark Age pottery, as in all periods lacking historical sources, offered 'the only available means of measuring time'. Therefore, before any historical or social questions could be answered, there was a need to analyse the various local styles and to establish their chronological relationship. Coldstream concluded with a 'historical sketch', which was to indicate 'how the results of the pottery analysis can be combined with other archaeological evidence and with the later written sources, so that more light may be thrown on the political, social and economic development of the early Greek city-states.'[262] Like Desborough before him, the historical conclusions centred on questions of interrelations, communication and trade, with special attention for the phenomena of Greek colonisation and the rise of autonomous city-states.[263]

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[261] Desborough 1952, 296-305; see also Desborough 1964, xvii.

[262] Coldstream 1968, 1-3.

[263] Coldstream 1968, 332-90.

As Morris points out, these and other archaeological studies of the period, such as *The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors* by Desborough (1964), were not explicitly aimed at either Homeric questions or socio-economic issues of the kind formulated by Finley. In contrast to the period before WW II, there appears to have been much less cross-fertilisation between archaeology, philology and ancient history. Morris emphasises that the archaeological studies of the Dark Ages that appeared during the 1950s and 1960s focused heavily on art historical analysis and on 'Panhellenic systematizations' of the until then largely dispersed data. As a possible explanation he refers to the dominance in Britain of the art historical archaeology practised by Beazley (1885-1970).[264] However, the quotations given above show that such studies were certainly intended to lead to historical conclusions, even if at this stage these were not of a kind that could be labelled 'social history'.[265] Perhaps the hardening of boundaries with related disciplines such as philology and ancient history also reflects, apart from a growing academic specialisation, an increasingly felt need for the emancipation of archaeology from its traditional, subordinate position as 'handmaid of ancient history'.[266] Surely, Hellenist notions were still strong enough to justify the publication without further ado of groups of artistic material from the Greek sphere. But the study of the archaeological material as an independent subject and the primacy assigned to the gathering and systematisation of data may also be a sign of a tendency that was to become stronger in the 1960s and 1970s and be epitomised in the New Archaeology. Although there was little direct influence of the latter on Classical Archaeology, there was at this time, to quote Fitton, 'an increased awareness of what constituted archaeological proof' and a concomitant 'minimalist backlash' in relation to attitudes to Homer.[267]

With the emphasis of these Dark Age studies on regional differences, Crete emerged as a clearly separate area, whose history and culture was characterised by a number of idiosyncrasies. Desborough considered Crete to be different because of 'its more ancient civilisation'. In contrast to Demargne, he doubted that the Mycenaeans had had a strong impact during the LBA, either because their authority had not been very strong, or because the Cretans had resisted their cultural influence. In any case, there was a distinct 'persistence of purely Minoan habits'.[268] Similarly, in later times, the influence of the Attic Protogeometric and Geometric styles had been slight. Desborough also emphasised, however, that the island had not escaped the widespread turmoil at the end of the BA. In general, he seems to have followed Pendlebury's views of a severe depopulation of the island and of a break-down in communications and widespread insecurity, which made whole communities go off to the hills 'as though the Devil were behind them'.[269] No mention was made of the differing opinions of Kirsten or Demargne, who in general seem to have had little influence on the work of successive British scholars. Yet there were certain correspondences in views, especially with Demargne, as the studies from the 1950s entail gradual modifications of the idea of total isolation of Dark Age Crete as presented by Pendlebury and Kirsten. Desborough believed, for instance, that knowledge of iron technology had reached Crete from the Near East, indicating overseas contact.[270]

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[264] I. Morris 2000, 92-94; see also Whitley 2001, 15, 36-39.

[265] On the general lack of influence of Finley, including ancient history, until the 1970s: I. Morris 2000, 92.

[266] On the relationship of archaeology and ancient history: Snodgrass 1980, 12-13; *id.* 1987, 9-38.

[267] Fitton 1995, 204.

Coldstream also observed how many 'Minoan customs continued in force', especially in the realm of burial practices and religion. Dealing with a later period than Desborough, he retained the latter's notion that the introduction of long dress pins might indicate newcomers from the mainland, especially as this coincided with 'the several new pottery shapes which, though foreign to Cretan tradition, have been called Subminoan.' As had Desborough, Coldstream noted 'some dealings' between Crete and Cyprus, as apparent from a number of imports and local imitations, but these did not intensify until *c.* 950 BC and then remained concentrated at Knossos. Unlike Desborough, Coldstream was able to refer to the remarkable Cretan PGB style (current in the second half of the 9th century BC, but not fully defined until 1957 by Brock), which further brought out the Orientalizing features of Crete's EIA culture, especially at

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[268] Desborough 1964, 166-67, 189-90, 229.
[269] Desborough 1952, 233, 300, 303.
[270] Desborough 1964, 191, 194, 236.

Knossos.[271] Brock had called attention to the 'distinctive repertoire of patterns' of the PGB style, in which Protogeometric concentric circles and Geometric motifs were combined with new curvilinear ones. The impression of a 'Mycenaean renaissance' given by the latter was, as Brock stated, 'deceptive'. While the Mycenaean character of the motives was undeniable, he argued that they were 'not traditional or revived independently in Crete, but acquired from the eastern Mediterranean, where they had persisted.' They were probably transmitted via Oriental metalwork.[272] Coldstream also related Crete's 'Orientalizing movement' to the presence of Levantine craftsmen and emphasised that Crete's relations with the Near East were due to people from there visiting the island rather then the other way.[273]

Desborough and Coldstream both expanded their studies and followed with broader archaeological surveys, on *The Greek Dark Ages* (1972) and *Geometric Greece* (1977) respectively. Another important synthesising study was *The Dark Age of Greece* (1971) by Snodgrass, who also had published on early Greek weaponry. Although there are differences in approach between these three authors, they convey consensus on the outline of major developments in Dark Ages. The destructions at the end of the 13th century BC constituted a breaking point, with the Mycenaean heritage largely disappearing in the course of the 12th century BC. The period after *c.* 1125 BC in particular was marked by impoverishment, regionalism and isolation, although iron became widespread enough to speak of a iron-based economy. A certain stabilisation took place from the late 10th century BC on, culminating in a true revival or 'renaissance' in the 8th century BC, as indicated by the increase in the amount and artistic quality of archaeological material and in overseas contacts.[274] The possibility of 'an armed invasion' was discussed as a possible cause for the destructions around 1200 BC and the ensuing new conditions, but Snodgrass especially argued that, contrary to widespread belief, there was no clear archaeological evidence for new settlers, bringing with them new cultural traits. Without denying the ancient literary and dialectal evidence for migrations, he stated the crux of the problem most aptly by pointing out that 'the great Doric/Ionic antithesis' arose after the Persian Wars and that this 'does not, to say the least, encourage us to look for a clear distinction in material culture during the dark age between Dorians and Ionians, or any other Greeks.'[275]

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[271] Coldstream 1968, 339-40.

[272] Brock 1957, 143. There is no reference to Demargne.

[273] Coldstream 1968, 347-49.

[274] As discussed by Schnapp-Gourbeillon (1974) for the books by Desborough and Snodgrass (that of Coldstream appeared later and deals with the period from 900 BC); see also I. Morris 2000, 96.

These authors also agreed to a large extent on what made Crete different in the period of their studies. It was clear that the island had not escaped the general turmoil at the onset of the Dark Ages. There had been depopulation and migrations, first of Mycenaeans, later of Dorians, but these, as elsewhere, were hard to detect archaeologically. In general, the effects of the upheavals were considered to be less severe in Crete than elsewhere in the Aegean.[276]

Snodgrass, who was perhaps most inclined to engage in historical interpretation, judged 'the durability of Minoan—and indirectly of Mycenaean—cultural traits in Crete … unusually strong.' This was not to imply, however, an absence of outside influences. Snodgrass gave, for instance, a poised description of Subminoan, which to him appeared as 'a period eminently well-named, in which the Minoan way of life continued, not uninterrupted nor yet undiluted by outside influences, but with the native element heavily preponderant.' Snodgrass noted Mainland as well as early Cypriot influence, the latter granting the island the label of 'senior Orientalizing culture of the Aegean'.[277] That the island throughout the period of the Dark Ages had been less isolated than other regions in the Aegean was also confirmed by the other authors. Desborough called 'the links with the east Mediterranean' 'probably the most significant feature of Crete, as particularly exemplified in the finds from Knossos' and doubted that there had been a break in contact since the 11th century BC. He also saw proof of links with Cyprus at sites such as Karphi, thereby raising, in his characteristically cautious way, doubts about Pendlebury's image of an isolated refuge town.[278] Coldstream, by discussing in detail the archaeological evidence of the 9th and 8th centuries BC, refined his observations on Crete's sustained receptivity to Oriental influence, at the same time providing a balanced picture of the mixture of new and old elements as they occurred in the different regions of the island.[279]

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[275] Snodgrass 1971, 304-13. Schnapp-Gourbeillon (1974, 1469) discusses the differences in interpretation with Desborough as to the issue of the archaeological evidence for new settlers. Also Coldstream 1977a, 17-19, 327.

[276] E.g. Snodgrass 1971, 84, 407; Desborough 1972a, 118.

[277] Snodgrass 1971, 40-42, 340-42.

[278] Desborough 1972a, 118, 128-29, 237-38.

The importance of these archaeological syntheses of the 1970s can hardly be overstated.[280] I. Morris notes how the attention to regional variation and changes within the period for the first time (and in contrast to Homeric scholarship) provided a truly dynamic picture that stimulated further research. The impact of the work of Desborough, Coldstream and Snodgrass can be seen clearly in the number of symposia and publications on the EIA from the 1980s, including one on 'Postminoan Crete' in 1998.[281] It would therefore be an exaggeration to say that recent scholarship has ignored Crete, especially when considering the recent upsurge in fieldwork projects aimed at the EIA there. However, the fact that the island has long been recognised as a region with distinct traditions of its own, both with respect to its BA legacy and its prolonged receptivity to the Near East, has prompted recent authors on EIA Greece more often than not to leave Crete altogether out of their accounts or to relegate it a (brief) separate section.[282] Many of them rightly recognise the need for study of the history and culture of the island in its own regional context.

It therefore remains to reassess many of the broader questions concerning the transformation of the Minoan palace-based societies of the LBA into the largely Doric-Greek speaking poleis of the historical period. Much work still lies ahead in the study of phenomena such as the Mycenaeanization and ensuing Dorification of Crete, the socio-political processes leading to the formation of the Cretan poleis,[283] the appreciation and usage of both locally evolved BA traditions and foreign cultural traits among different social groups, and the nature and extent of Cretan relationships and rapport with the Greek Mainland during the EIA. Although knowledge about EIA Crete is likely to be complemented in coming years, an attempt will be made in the following to review the development of Cretan sanctuaries and their associated cults in the light of the steadily growing insights into the complex and fascinating social and cultural changes that characterise the period from *c.* 1200 to 600 BC.

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[279] Coldstream 1977a, 48-50, 99-102, 271-90.

[280] Both the studies by Snodgrass (1971) and Coldstream (1977) have been republished, in 2000 and 2003 respectively.

[281] Snodgrass 1998b; I. Morris 2000, 97-98; Cavanagh & Curtis (eds) 1998.

[282] As in Fagerstrøm 1988; Osborne 1996; I. Morris 1998, 10-13, fig. 1; *id.* 2000, 195; Morgan 1999; Whitley 2001; Lemos 2002, 2.

[283] Perlman (2000, 59), for instance, notes a lack of recent studies on the early Cretan poleis.

CHAPTER THREE

SANCTUARIES AND CULTS OF THE LATE MINOAN IIIC-SUBMINOAN PERIOD

1. Introduction

The Late Minoan IIIC (LM IIIC) and Subminoan (SM) periods, spanning the years from *c.* 1190 to 970 BC, belong to the first half of that epoch which has become known as the Greek 'Dark Ages'.[1] For Crete, however, the use of the term Dark Ages—which is meant to designate not just a period of illiteracy but one of severe decline, isolation and insecurity—appears less appropriate than it may be for other regions in the Aegean. In the island the period has always seemed to represent less of a break with the BA past than has been found on the Greek mainland.[2] In addition, modern research and fieldwork projects, which received fresh impetus after the landmark studies on the Greek Dark Ages by Snodgrass (1971) and Desborough (1972), have further expanded the material evidence for this period.[3]

Present knowledge of the period in Crete has benefited greatly from the extensive explorations of K. Nowicki, from the survey and excavation projects of American and Greek teams in the area around the Gulf of Mirabello, the longstanding British excavations at Knossos, as well as from the growing number of survey projects, rescue and other excavations by members of the Greek Archaeological Service and other archaeological bodies.[4] More than a hundred settlements of the LM IIIC-SM period have now been documented, most of which are located in the mountainous and less intensively explored regions of the island. For some such areas an actual population increase toward the end of the BA has now been proposed.[5] Ongoing excavations at a number of LM IIIC-SM and later sites promise more detailed information in the near future. Excavations in the North Cemetery near Knossos (Plate 1) have already revealed some unexpectedly rich SM tombs, which point—at least at this site—to a certain amount of wealth and to overseas contacts, particularly with Cyprus.[6] The idea of this era as being characterised by severe depopulation, poverty and isolation is therefore under revision.[7]

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[1] For the rise of this concept and its connotations, see Chapter Two, p. 59-60, 80-81, 88. For the absolute chronology of LM IIIC (*c.* 1190-1075 BC) and SM (*c.* 1075-970 BC): Kanta 1980, 1-5; Warren & Hankey 1989, 88-93, 158-69.

[2] E.g. Snodgrass 1971, 1-2, 21, 42; Desborough 1972a, 118; Coldstream 1991, 280, 289; Whitley 2001, 78.

[3] Desborough (1972a, 12) himself predicted that his book would be out of date within ten years after its publication.

[4] See e.g. Nowicki 2000; Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1983ff.; Haggis 1992; Coldstream & Catling (eds) 1996; Eliopoulos 1998; Lebessi 1972ff.; Prokopiou 1994, 1997; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1991.

At the same time, it is clear that, compared to the preceding centuries of the LBA, the transition to the LM IIIC period witnessed changes in many realms of life—changes that were not endemic to Crete, but which must be connected with the general turmoil and disturbances that affected large parts of the eastern Mediterranean at the close of the BA. In the years around 1200 BC, the LBA palace centres in Greece and Anatolia were effectively destroyed and attacks were launched on Syria, Palestine, Egypt and perhaps Cyprus. In the Near East these events appear to have been accompanied by a widespread dislocation of people, which may have included both peasants in search of land to settle and marauding bands of raiders. These attacks and the movement of peoples seem to have come to a halt in Egypt. Where the problems originated and whence came the different groups of migrants and raiders remains a matter of debate. Egyptian texts of this time refer to a league of attackers called 'Sea Peoples', and this is the generic name by which they have become known in modern scholarship.[8]

In the Aegean, the burning of the Mycenaean palaces around 1200 BC bears most dramatic witness to the turmoil of the time. This was accompanied by the abandonment of some areas and an increase or nucleation of population in others, such as Achaea, the Ionian islands and eastern Attica. The precise sequence of events is not entirely clear[9] and disagreement reigns as to both the immediate causes of the destruction of the palaces and the underlying social and historical reasons for them. For the first, options vary from earthquake to human attack, while for the second climatic changes, economic crisis, social uprisings, war and invasion have been proposed, as well as more complex scenarios, involving a combination of these factors. It is generally agreed, however, that the palatial socio-political structures and overseas trade networks of the eastern Mediterranean had already begun to disintegrate in the course of the LH IIIB period and that this disintegration, if not caused by, was at least paired with some kind of military threat. On the Mainland the first signs of trouble occur in LH IIIB1 with the burning of Zygouries, Gla and houses outside the citadel of Mycenae, and the construction or enlargement of fortification walls at Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea, Athens and the isthmus of Corinth. The later part of the LH IIIB period clearly witnessed a disruption in the long-distance exchange networks so intimately connected with the Mycenaean palaces.[10] The Cyclades seem to have been affected as well, as witnessed by the work done on the fortification wall at Phylakopi on Melos at the end of LH IIIB1 and by a more widespread shift of settlements to defensible hills, as on Paros, Tenos and perhaps Naxos.[11]

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[5] Haggis 1993, 143; see also earlier remarks by Kirsten 1938b, 308-12, 315.

[6] Catling 1995; *id.* 1996d, 645-48.

[7] Not only for Crete, but also for other areas where recent excavations, such as at Toumba Lefkandi, have yielded a wealth of precious objects and imports (e.g. Lemos 2002, 2). See, however, also the recent plea by Snodgrass (2000, xxiv-v) for an adherence to the term 'Dark Age' for the period from the 11th to 8th centuries BC.

[8] Sandars 1978. See also Deger-Jalkotzky (ed.) 1983; Ward & Joukowsky (eds) 1992; Gitin, Mazar & Stern (eds) 1998; Oren (ed.) 2000.

Change and disturbance also characterise the situation in Crete at this time, but the picture remains incomplete because of unresolved questions about the LM III period in general. As outlined in Chapter Two, early lack of interest in the Postpalatial and other 'periods of decay' has left a backlog in their study and, although much has been recently learnt, much still awaits clarification. Sub-phases within both the LM IIIB and IIIC periods, for instance, are still being defined in ceramic terms,[12] making it difficult to establish securely the chronological relationship between various instances of destruction and abandonment that can be observed at different sites during these periods. Moreover, the continuing dissension surrounding the date of the final destruction of the palace at Knossos leaves unsettled not only questions about the loss of centralised political control at this site, but also about the extent of palatial control and the territorial organisation of Crete in general during the LM IIIA-B periods.[13] Directly connected are questions concerning Mycenaean involvement in Cretan affairs: while the discovery of Linear B tablets, recording an early form of Greek, at Knossos and Chania is commonly accepted as an indication of Mycenaean rule, when these Mainlanders arrived and the extent and effects of their presence continue to be subject of debate. Since questions about the political structure and the Mycenaeanization of the island in the LM period also affect an assessment of the intensity and degree of the changes occurring around 1200 BC, the most current scenarios will be briefly reviewed.

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[9] See e.g. Deger-Jalkotzky 1998.

[10] For summaries of the debate and full bibliographies: Shelmerdine 1997, 580-84; Rutter, http://dartmouth. edu/history/bronze_age/lessons/28.

[11] Barber 1987, 226-46; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 82, 189; Kourou 2001; Lambrinoudakis & Philaniotou-Hadjianastasiou 2001.

[12] See e.g. Hallager & Hallager (eds) 1997; Rehak & Younger 1998, 93.

The period after the widespread fire destructions at the end of LM IB is considered by many as the beginning of Mycenaean rule and administration at Knossos. The archaeological record at this site indeed shows some remarkable changes in the subsequent LM II period: apart from the (disputed) appearance at that time of Linear B tablets, there is a formalisation in wall painting and pottery decoration which has been attributed to Mycenaean concepts of style. Most striking are the changes in burial customs. In the LM II period the Mainland custom of burying infants below the floors of houses was introduced. At the same time new cemeteries were founded around Knossos, which contain new tomb types and a number of elite 'warrior graves'. These were lavishly furnished with objects such as weapons and bronze vessels, displaying a martial spirit and opulence not previously found in Cretan tombs, but well-known on the Mainland from the period of the shaft graves. Similar graves have been found at other LM II-IIIA sites, such as Poros-Katsambas (Herakleion), Archanes and Phaistos.[14]

Some have proposed that the Mycenaean invaders took over an already unified state, encompassing most of Crete (with the possible exception of the far east),[15] while others see such unification as imposed by the foreign conqueror.[16] In either case, the possibility should be considered that LM II constituted an initial period of political and cultural transformation or 'Mycenaeanization' of Cretan society. Mycenaean rule would have lasted until the beginning of the LM IIIA2 period, when another large fire destroyed the palace and parts of the town at Knossos. While few dispute that this fire was deliberately set, it remains unclear by whom this was done: some suspect the hand of competing Mycenaean groups from the Mainland, others that of rebelling Cretan subjects. In an altogether different scenario, this destruction is seen as marking the beginning of Mycenaean rule at Knossos, which then continued through much of the LM IIIB period.[17] Adherents to the latter theory also evaluate the evidence for Mycenaean influence very differently from those who believe in the earlier arrival of Mycenaeans. While one group of scholars proposes a kind of 'Minoan renaissance' in the LM IIIA2-B period, the others see this as *the* period of Mycenaeanization.[18] Such differences in opinion underline the difficulties at the current stage of scholarship in appraising the extent of Mycenaean influence in more than general terms and possibilities.

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[13] Rutter, http://dartmouth.edu/history/bronze_age/lessons/18; Rehak & Younger 1998, 160-62.

[14] Cadogan 1992c, 129, 132; Rehak & Younger 1998, 152-53. For a discussion of the methodological aspects of relating these tombs to ethnic and other social groups: Preston 1999 (with further refs.); also Whitley 2002.

Whichever historical scenario one prefers, what is clear is that the LM IIIA2-B period entails a number of distinct changes, within Crete itself and in the Aegean, where the balance of power definitely shifted to the Mycenaean palaces. (A phenomenon that in itself would already account for a certain Mycenaean influence on, for instance, the pottery of the island.[19]) Within Crete, the period in general exhibits such increasing regionalism as to be suggestive of political fragmentation. At the same time, the recent discovery of Linear B tablets in an early LM IIIB context at Chania indicates that at least in some places in Crete a form of (Greek) administration continued to exist longer than has been previously thought. Whether one accepts the dating of (part of) the Linear B tablets from Knossos to the same late period or not, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that if the palace at Knossos continued to function, it did so as a second rate centre, having lost its previous hegemony.[20] Rutter convincingly argues for the existence of several independent 'Mycenaean-style' Cretan polities, of which Chania must have been the most important. Another would have centred on the settlements of Ayia Triada and Kommos in the western Mesara.[21] LM IIIA2-B Chania seems to have constituted a lively trade centre, which maintained relations extending from Sardinia to the Levant, with special emphasis on the Mycenaean mainland.[22] Likewise, at Kommos, recent excavations have provided abundant evidence for overseas exchange in the form of imports from the Mycenaean mainland, the Levant, Cyprus, Egypt and Italy.[23] Earlier views that the LM IIIA2-B period constituted an island-wide 'period of decadence' and decline are thus largely being rectified. Accordingly, a number of recent scholars propose to consider this period, which was traditionally labelled as 'Postpalatial', as part of a 'Final Palatial' era.[24] An advantage of adopting this term is that it places emphasis on the various changes and developments after the cultural (and perhaps also political) *koine* of the LM I palaces and thus helps to modify a picture of unbroken development and 'continuity' for the Cretan LBA. Another advantage is that it provides a useful distinction with the 'truly Postpalatial period', the latter beginning in the LM IIIB-late period when any surviving form of centralised power or administration was finally lost.[25]

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[15] The Linear B tablets from Knossos suggest dealings with areas from Chania in the west to Mallia in the east; see Bennet 1987b; *id.* 1990, 209-10.

[16] Bennet 1990, esp. 209; also Driessen 2000, esp. 126-27.

[17] Rutter, http://dartmouth.edu/history/bronze_age/lessons/18; Rehak & Younger 1998, 150.

[18] Farnoux & Driessen (1997, 1-7) give an overview of recent opinions on this subject. A similar difference of opinion on the absence or presence of Mycenaean traits in LM III Crete was noted for earlier scholarship: see Chapter Two, section 3, esp. p. 92.

[19] See e.g. Andrikou 1997, 21-22; Farnoux & Driessen 1997, 6.

Difficulties remain in defining this newly labelled Postpalatial period in ceramic terms. As to its beginning, the terms 'LM IIIB late' and 'LM IIIC early' are sometimes used for the same pottery style.

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[20] See esp. Popham 1974; Hatzaki *forthcoming*. I thank the latter author for allowing me to read and refer to this manuscript before its publication.

[21] Rutter, http://dartmouth.edu/history/bronze_age/lessons/18; Cucuzza 1997; Shaw & Shaw 1997.

[22] Hallager 1985, esp. 152.

[23] Watrous 1992, 178-83.

[24] See Rutter, http://dartmouth.edu/history/bronze_age/lessons/18; Rehak & Younger 1998, 92, 149.

[25] A disadvantage is that the term is supposed to cover the whole period from LM II to LM IIIB late and therefore does not take into account the differences between the LM II-IIIA1 and the LM IIIA2-B periods.

Questions also exist as to whether the end of the period is marked by a late form of LM IIIC pottery or whether there was a separate SM phase bridging the transition to the PG period and EIA. The SM pottery style as known particularly from Knossos has not been clearly identified in all regions of the island.[26] The American archaeologists currently working in the Mirabello region maintain that there a LM IIIC style was followed directly by PG.[27] This opposes an earlier view of Desborough, recently supported by Tsipopoulou, that in eastern Crete a SM tradition persisted until close to the introduction of the later G style.[28]

Despite these disparities, the distinction between a Final Palatial and Postpalatial period seems useful to indicate the broad historical and cultural changes that occurred in the later part of the 13th century BC. It does justice to the final loss of literacy and centralised power, as well as to the series of related changes, as most visibly expressed by the pronounced shifts in settlement pattern. It is indeed obvious that a major change in the location and use of Cretan settlements and cemeteries took place towards the end of the LM IIIB period, another transition occurring in the PG period, when a new series of such shifts occurred.[29] In most recent archaeological publications the LM IIIC and SM periods are therefore treated as part of the same historical epoch.[30] This can be characterised as a transitional phase, following on the more fixed settlement pattern of the LBA and preceding the development of the EIA city-states or poleis.[31] The present study proceeds along the same lines, giving precedence to changes in settlement pattern over those in pottery styles.

The changes in settlement pattern in Crete around 1200 BC are relatively well documented and bear witness to the disruptions of the time. They appear to have been threefold. In the first place it is striking that many sites with a long history of habitation were abandoned, among them important coastal towns like Chania, Kommos, Poros-Katsambas, Amnisos, Mallia, Gournia and Palaikastro, but also inland sites such as Ayia Triada and Kastelli Pediada. As Kanta has noted in her comprehensive study of the LM III period, the pattern of abandonment is not identical everywhere. Some sites seem to have been deserted before the close of the LM IIIB period, others in the course of the LM IIIC period. Whereas some sites were clearly destroyed by fire, at others such signs of sudden destruction are lacking.[32]

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[26] Even at Knossos, the distinction between SM and EPG pottery is very subtle: see Popham 1992, 59, 65.

[27] Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1992b; *eid.* 1995, 117; Mook & Coulson 1993, 351. Also: Haggis 1993, 167.

[28] Desborough 1952, 260-67; *id.* 1972a, 115, 237; Tsipopoulou 1991; *ead.* 1997b, 482-84.

[29] See the introduction to Chapter Four, p. 223-25.

[30] See e.g. Cadogan 1992a, 38; D'Agata 1999a, 211.

[31] See Nowicki 1990, 161 n. 4. The term 'Intermediate Period' was originally borrowed from Egyptian archaeology by Pendlebury (Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 134), but did not find general acceptance. It was still used in its original meaning by Seiradaki (1960, 1-37), while Boardman (1961) and Desborough (1964, 167) employed it as synonymous with SM.

Several scholars rightly have called attention to the fact that not all major LM IIIB settlements were completely deserted towards the end of the 12th century BC. The notable exceptions are concentrated in central Crete and include the former palatial centres of Knossos and Phaistos, which remained inhabited into HL or R times. The presence of such continuously occupied settlements sets central Crete apart from the eastern and western regions.[33] At the same time it is clear that the history of these sites cannot be described in terms of continuity only, as certain shifts and interruptions of use took place within their confines. These shifts constitute a second, more subtle set of changes, which are nevertheless of significance.

They are best documented for Knossos (Plate 1), where most sections of the LM IIIB town were deserted at the transition to the LM IIIC period. Likewise, the Shrine of the Double Axes in the southeast quarter of the palace area gives the impression of having been abandoned, most of its inventory having been left intact. Extant traces of LM IIIC-SM habitation are concentrated on the hill slope to the west of the former palace. The area around the modern Stratigraphical Museum, where occupation had ceased in LM IIIB, was reoccupied at the transition to the LM IIIC period. The surrounding burial places show a similar interruption in use towards the end of LM IIIB. Some tombs were to be used again, but not until later in the LM IIIC-SM period. At the beginning of the SM period, the North Cemetery, to the north of the palace, developed into the primary burial ground. These changes are accompanied by the appearance of new Mainland traits in the LM IIIC pottery, of Mainland architectural forms such as the apsidal house and of more intramural baby burials at the Stratigraphical Museum site. Considering that these changes took place at a time of diminished overseas trade and exchange, they are probably best explained by another influx of people from the Mycenaean mainland at this time.[34]

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[32] Desborough 1972a, 112-13; Kanta 1980, 324-25; *ead.* 2001, 13; Rehak & Younger 1998, 167. See for Chania also Hallager & Hallager 2000 (eds), 32, 193-94; for Kastelli Pediada Rethemiotakis 1997.

[33] Desborough 1972a, 113; Kanta 1980, 326.

At Phaistos (Plate 25), in the Mesara plain, the picture is more fragmentary, but it is clear that certain parts of the old town remained inhabited into the LM IIIC period. The significant quantities of LM IIIB and IIIC pottery which were found at the fortified middle hill, or 'Acropoli Mediana', suggest an increase in habitation, which may be related to the abandonment of nearby Ayia Triada and Kommos. Later in the LM IIIC period new houses were built to the west of the former palace and these stayed in use through the remainder of the LM IIIC-SM period without major architectural changes.[35] A similar pattern of prolonged habitation, but with localised shifts and interruptions may also characterise other important LM III settlements in central Crete, such as Tylisos and Archanes.[36]

The third and most distinctive change in settlement pattern during the period of transition from LM IIIB to LM IIIC is the islandwide appearance of new settlements, which occupy the summits of high and commanding hills and mountains.[37] The existence of 'Dark Age' sites of this kind has been noted since the beginning of Cretan scholarship, through the early excavations at Kourtes and Erganos by Halbherr (1894), at Kavousi by Boyd (1900), at Vrokastro by Hall (1910-12) and, subsequently, at Karphi by Pendlebury and his team (1937-39).[38] The latter site, situated at an altitude of 1128 m in the northern Lasithi mountains (Plates 4-5), remains to the present day one of the largest and most extensively excavated settlements of its kind and therefore figures large in any discussion of the LM IIIC-SM period in Crete. In the context of early 20th century scholarship, Karphi was interpreted as a place of refuge for 'Minoans' who would have fled the coasts and lowlands in the face of a Mycenaean and subsequent Dorian invasion, giving rise to the commonly accepted name of 'refuge site'.[39] Modern scholarship offers a modified view. The results of the numerous excavation and survey projects undertaken since the late 1970s indicate that, just as the old settlements were not abandoned overnight, the establishment of new places of habitation such as Karphi does not represent one massive movement of people, but a process that may have lasted several generations.[40] Whereas some of the new settlements were probably founded at the transition from the LM IIIB to LM IIIC period, others may not have been occupied until sometime after the onset of LM IIIC.[41] Explanations in terms of a Minoan-Dorian dichotomy are generally avoided, although most scholars will not deny the historical reality of immigration of different groups of Greek-speaking people.

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[34] Warren 1982-83, 69-73; Popham 1964, 7-9; Hood & Smyth 1981, 11-14; Coldstream 1984a, 314-17, fig. 1; Hatzaki *forthcoming*.

[35] See cat. entry A.5.

[36] Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1992a and 1992b. For Tylisos: cat. entry A.2.

[37] Evidence is mounting that the sites of many of these LM IIIC-SM (and sometimes later) settlements had also been inhabited during much earlier periods of Crete's history, in particular the Neolithic, EM II and MM II periods; see Rehak & Younger 1998, 168; Nowicki 2000, 231. The gaps are generally large enough to consider the foundation of these LM IIIC-SM sites as a new phenomenon.

[38] See for Kavousi cat. entries B.38-40, for Vrokastro A.15, B.36-37, for Karphi A.6-14 and B.29. For a more detailed overview of the discovery of Cretan defensible sites: Nowicki 2000, 13.

Differences within the large group of newly founded LM IIIC-SM settlements are also becoming more apparent. While these sites clearly have in common a preference for inaccessible, remote or naturally defensible locations, they vary with respect to the duration of their occupation, their size, location and place within the wider configuration of settlements. Nowicki believes that the largest part of the Cretan population in this period would have lived in large, inaccessible sites or 'cities' of the kind seen at Karphi, Kypia in the eastern Siteia mountains and Erganos in the eastern Mesara. However, such 'cities' existed side by side with settlements of more modest size, such as the Kastro at Kavousi and Vrokastro (Plate 45), and with much smaller and less defensible sites, which Nowicki classifies as 'open rural centres, isolated farms and temporary hamlets'.[42]

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[39] See Chapter Two, p. 88-89.

[40] For some regions, as in the far east of Crete, there are indications that a shift to sites further inland had already begun in the LM IIIA period; see Kanta 1980, 179-83; Tsipopoulou 1997a.

[41] As already noted by Desborough 1972a, 112; see also Kanta 1980, 324-25; Nowicki 2000, 224-30.

This variation calls for more precision in the terminology used with regard to 'refuge sites'. Nowicki proposes to use the term 'defensible site' as a general designation for LM IIIC-SM settlements that were founded on the summits of steep hills and mountains and to reserve that of 'refuge site' for those places that people temporarily fled to in times of acute danger. Such temporary places of refuge have indeed been identified, an extreme example being Katalimata, situated on a series of narrow ledges in the Cha gorge above Chalasmenos, in the northern part of the isthmus of Ierapetra. Other examples, documented by Nowicki, consist of rocky peaks that are very difficult of access and offer restricted space.[43]

In as far as the term 'refuge site' evokes the image of a fearful population hiding in the mountains it may indeed be misleading. Earlier scholars had already tried to balance such connotations, by pointing out the truly commanding position of some. Pendlebury described Karphi as a 'mountain eyrie' or 'robber castle', which exhibited both 'inaccessibility and strength'.[44] Indeed, a striking aspect of the location of the larger defensible settlements is the combination of inaccessibility with visibility. They often occupy very distinctive and easily recognisable peaks. Thus, the contours of Karphi ('nail') can be seen from much of the northern valleys and coast, the latter within four hours' walk. The sites of other settlements are no less characteristic. While they can often be reached only via roundabout or concealed routes,[45] these communities, rather than hiding, seem to make clear statements of their presence. In the light of the pronounced shifts in settlement locations in the period, such commanding presence may have been a way of emphasising territorial claims.[46]

The observed differences among the group of LM IIIC-SM defensible sites also raise questions as to possible functional differentiation and interrelationships. These issues are, however, disputed and hard to separate from a discussion of the initial reasons for their foundation. While the idea has been contemplated that the choice of lofty locations in the LM IIIC-SM period was religiously inspired (particularly since several of them housed remains of BA peak sanctuaries), the recent growth in the number of known settlements of defensible type and the lack of evidence that cult was resumed at these peaks, make this less likely.[47] Recent discussion follows two lines of reasoning, which—though in principle not mutually exclusive—emphasise different factors: one gives precedence to subsistence strategies and land use, the other to safety concerns.

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[42] Nowicki 1987b, 222-24; *id.* 2000, 14. For Kypia: Whitley, Prent & Thorne 1999, 238-42.

[43] Nowicki 2000, 14; for other definitions: Kanta 2001, 14; Haggis 2001, 52.

[44] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 140; Pendlebury 1939, 303, 305; *cf.* Haggis 2001, 53.

[45] For descriptions see e.g. Whitley, Prent & Thorne 1999, 238; Nowicki 2000, 231.

[46] See also Haggis 2001, 53.

The idea that the upland location of so many of the new LM IIIC-SM settlements had economic reasons goes back to the excavators of Karphi. These, having gained first-hand experience of the harsh weather conditions at the site, thought of it as a seasonal habitat, connected with summer pasturage. During the winter, which in antiquity generally constituted a period of relative safety because war and seafaring were suspended, the inhabitants would have been safe to move to lower areas.[48] The idea of seasonal occupation was accepted by Watrous, who in his survey of the Lasithi plateau compared such a pattern of habitation to that of the modern inhabitants. Since olive cultivation is not possible at the altitude of the Lasithi plateau and remains of olives had been found at Karphi, Watrous concluded that the inhabitants of Karphi, like the modern Lasithiotes, in wintertime descended to various villages in the northern hills and valleys. He extended the model to other LM IIIC-SM settlements that existed in close proximity to one another, but were located at different heights, such as Embaros below Erganos and Vronda and Azoria below the Kastro at Kavousi.[49]

The more recent survey and site analysis of the area around Kavousi by Haggis elaborates on the analogy with traditional agricultural systems, as practised until the 1950s, and also sheds more light on patterns of land use and settlement distribution in the LM IIIC-SM period. Traditional agricultural systems are characterised by subsistence and a large degree of autonomy, with a social organisation based on clan or family units. According to Haggis, at Kavousi this meant that, until recently, 80 to 90% of the population of the 'main' village resided in small 'satellite' villages or hamlets for much of the year. These hamlets are found in close proximity to springs and are situated at the edges of the fields, in order to make optimal use of the sparse deposits of arable soil. Together they form 'site clusters', which are economically and socially interdependent, as they share the land and water resources of their locale, but are independent from other clusters, which occupy separate topographic areas. For the LM IIIC-SM period Haggis notes a similar 'site clustering' in the Kavousi area. He adds that this kind of settlement pattern only changes in times of more complex socio-political organisation and 'mobilised market economies', as attested for the palatial Bronze Age, the Classical to Roman periods and recent times. Only in such periods, when the economy centres on large-scale surplus production and external trade, a nucleation in central villages occurs, these being located for easier access to major routes, including marine ones.[50]

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[47] See Kanta 1980, 324 (with further refs.); Cadogan 1992b, 116-18. Nowicki (2000, 231) calls the presence of a MM peak sanctuary at Karphi a matter of coincidence.

[48] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 139.

[49] Watrous 1974, 321-25; *id.* 1982, 19-20.

Haggis' results have been adduced to support the idea that the abandonment of the coastal areas towards the end of the LM IIIB period happened for purely economic reasons.[51] This has incited a strong reaction from Nowicki. While the latter acknowledges that people living in the mountains would naturally choose sites that are close to water sources and arable land, he rightly emphasises that the precept of a traditional agricultural economy does not explain why so many steep and inaccessible sites were chosen as places of habitation.[52] Nowicki believes that sites such as Karphi and the Kastro were chosen for reasons of security and that they formed part of larger 'defensive systems'. He proposes that Karphi formed the central and largest site in a chain of settlements controlling the Lasithi plain and the points of entry along the northern slopes.[53] Similarly, the Kastro at Kavousi would have guarded the valley leading up to the area of Thripti-Oreino. In addition to these 'castles', the defensive systems comprised villages of various sizes, small and inaccessible outlying sites serving as look-outs, allowing the existence of more 'open' hamlets and isolated houses within the 'line of defence'. Nowicki stresses that these settlement systems would not withstand siege warfare, but certainly offered protection against sudden attacks and raids by 'people coming from the sea'. The concentration of people in the upland areas gave them strength in numbers, while the strategic location of settlements and look-outs on routes leading to the hinterland would give advance warning of intruders. This, coupled to the fact that they had better knowledge of the inaccessible terrain, would give the inhabitants of the mountains time to prepare their defences. In addition, there always was the possibility of even further retreat into the mountains.[54] Nowicki sees Karphi as the 'local capital of its own independent territory, with a series of satellite villages and hamlets'[55] and does not endorse the idea of seasonal habitation for this or the other larger defensible settlements. He argues that Karphi was occupied on a permanent basis and that the perception of the location of Karphi as extraordinary and unliveable during the winter, may well be coloured by modern values. The houses at Karphi seem too elaborate and too numerous to be temporary dwellings and lower lying settlements that could have housed the thousand or more Karphiotes in winter have yet to be identified.[56]

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[50] Haggis 1992, 311, 318-19, 323-24, 331-33; *id.* 1993, 138-39, 143-44, 159-60. For another recent study on land use in EIA Crete see Wallace 2003.

[51] Haggis 1992, 300-01; Coulson in Prokopiou 1997, 397-99; Mook & Coulson 1997, 369.

[52] Nowicki 2000, 231-33, 258; see also Haggis & Nowicki 1993, 335-36, n. 48.

[53] Nowicki 1987a, 247-50; *id.* 1987b, esp. 230-32. For smaller sites in the Lasithi plain, possibly dating to LM IIIC: Watrous 1974, 316.

Obviously, the two models, as proposed by Haggis and Nowicki, illuminate different aspects of the same problem and should therefore be combined. Haggis' analysis focuses on the 'accommodation to the mountainous and varied environment of Kavousi' in the period from *c.* 1200–700 BC. The author thereby explicitly avoids discussion of 'historical scenarios of invasion and intrusion' and of 'historical cause of the emergence of Dark Age settlements'.[57] Haggis' model illustrates how the return to a traditional agricultural economy after the collapse of the international, centrally organised trade networks of the LBA contributed to the abandonment of the coastal plains and co-determined the location and orientation of the new settlements. This is especially relevant when considering that in some regions, such as eastern Crete, a partial abandonment of coastal sites and concomitant shift inland seems to have already been under way in the LM IIIA2-B periods.[58] Yet, while it is true, as the proponents of 'economic explanations' maintain, that a concentration of settlement in the often more water-rich hills and mountains in fact constitutes 'the normal pattern' of Cretan habitation, it seems equally true that these areas were often not settled for purely economic reasons. As Nowicki emphasises, historical and ethnographic parallels indicate that they also served as a retreat in unsettled and unsafe times. Apart from a change in economy, the disappearance of central political organisation resulted in a lack of military protection and greater insecurity, including a rise in raids by brigands and pirates. While threat of such raids may not be within living memory, the reports of early travellers indicate the reality of the danger. In the beginning of the 20th century, Bosanquet, while excavating at Palaikastro, noted how this part of the east coast of Crete had lain largely deserted since the LBA and only began to be re-inhabited in the course of the 19th century. Both Venetian population surveys of the 17th century and local tradition gave as reason for this avoidance the troublesome presence of corsairs. Stories about different kinds of raids, the kidnapping of people for ransoms or to sell them into slavery, can be found in the reports of 19th century travellers such as Pashley.[59]

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[54] Nowicki 2000, 238.

[55] Nowicki 2000, 233.

[56] Nowicki 1987b, 229-30; *id.* 2000, 238. Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts (1937-38, 65) estimated the population of Karphi even higher, at 3500 inhabitants. It should be noted, however, that the analogy proposed by Watrous supposes a descent to different villages in the valleys north of the Lasithi plateau, which have not been intensively surveyed.

[57] Haggis 1993, 132-33.

While this supports Nowicki's conclusion that the defensible nature of many LM IIIC-SM settlements reflects a threat of human aggression,[60] questions should be raised as to the proposed extent of the 'defensive settlement systems'—the term implying a functional relationship between constituent parts—and the way they operated. According to Nowicki, such systems extended far beyond the local valleys and were primarily aimed at keeping at bay pirates and other 'people coming overseas'. He believes the threat was acute enough to determine the setting of sites as far inland as Karphi, excluding the possibility that conflicts between the communities of Lasithi played a role as well. In the case of Karphi, the associated settlement system is thought to have encompassed the Lasithi plain and northern valleys as far as Mochos, implying a radius of some 12 km from the central site.[61] Thus Nowicki calls up an image of local communities tightly working together in the face of a common (foreign) enemy. This, however, would seem to require considerable coordination, both in the decision as to where to establish the various sites, in manning them and in maintaining communication between them. It is not entirely clear how this could be accomplished, if not for the presence of some kind of central organisation. It is has been proposed that lower-tier officials of the old palatial order (the *qa-si-re-we* of the Linear B tablets) maintained some of their power and influence at the local level after the disappearance of the Mycenaean palaces, their office eventually developing into that of the *basileis* known from historical sources.[62] Nowicki interprets the construction of fortification walls at some late LM IIIB/early LM IIIC defensible sites as a sign that the social structure in Crete, at least at this time, still included chiefs and their armed troops. However, as on the Mainland, their power would soon have dissipated.[63]

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[58] See n. 40 above.

[59] Bosanquet 1901-02, 289. Pashley 1837a, 302-03; *id.* 1837b, 104; for other examples: Nowicki 2000, 228; Chapter Two, 22.

[60] Nowicki 2000, 231.

For LM IIIC-SM Crete, scholars generally envisage a relatively loose, 'egalitarian' or even 'unstable' socio-political organisation, the basic unit being the household or extended family.[64] On the whole, the architecture and the evidence from burials in this period appear typical of village organisation, although there may have been some differentiation in wealth between families. This is suggested by the fact that, at sites such as Karphi and Vronda (Plates 4 and 10), certain houses (and sometimes tombs) are larger than others.[65] As to the funerary evidence, a recent overview by Kanta discusses some six

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[61] Nowicki 1987b, 230-33; *id.* 2001, 24.

[62] Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 381-82; Weingarten 1997, 528-532 (who also discusses a possible Minoan origin of the title and office).

[63] Nowicki 2000, 226-27, 250.

[64] Including Nowicki 2000, see previous note; also Haggis 1993, 151; *id.* 2001, 53.

[65] For Karphi and Vronda, see cat. entries A.6-14 and A.20-22 respectively. Also Mazarakis Ainian 1988, 106; *id.* 1997, 295-96; Whitley 1991b, 349; Haggis 1992, 309-10; *id.* 1993, 151, 156.

LM IIIC-SM tombs that are remarkable for their precious grave goods. Among these are two late LM IIIC tholos tombs at Mouliana, the LM IIIC Photoula tholos at Praisos in eastern Crete, two SM rock-cut tombs ('pit-caves') at Knossos in Central Crete and the SM tholos at Pantanassa in the western part of the island. These tombs, which may contain both inhumations and cremations, are characterised by the presence of bronze vessels and weaponry (mostly swords), gold rings and occasionally gold death masks and some ivory. These grave goods indicate the special position of the incumbents, by expressing their wealth, overseas relationships and a militaristic or warrior ethos.[66] At the same time, the evidence for the existence in this period of an established warrior aristocracy with hereditary power remains elusive, as is best illustrated by a discussion of the SM 'pit caves' in the North Cemetery at Knossos.[67]

One of these SM 'pit caves' contained the cremated remains of a man, the other those of (probably) a man, two women and a child. The accompanying grave goods are exceptionally rich for this period and include bronze and some iron weaponry (including two *phalara* or shield bosses, a sword and spear- and arrowheads), the remains of a by then already antique helmet of boar's tusks, a bronze open-work stand of probable Cypriot origin and precious jewellery (such as a necklace of solid golden beads, beads of glass and faience, a gold ring, two gold discs with rosettes, bronze and iron dress pins and an ivory comb). The special status of the incumbents is underlined by the fact that their tombs probably marked the first use of the North Cemetery.[68] Yet, according to Catling, the (probable) presence of the two women and the child does not necessarily constitute proof of the existence of *hereditary* status or leadership at SM Knossos. He believes the burials were made all at one time, the presence of the women and child representing a possible instance of human sacrifice during the burial rite. Unlike the chamber tombs in the same cemetery, which were repeatedly reopened and received burials for several generations, the SM pit caves may not constitute the family tombs of an established, hereditary elite. Catling instead characterises the deceased more neutrally as 'grandees' and 'men-at-arms'.[69]

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[66] Kanta 2003, 180-82.

[67] As discussed by Haggis 1993, 151.

[68] Some scholars believe there may have been LM III tombs in the area, which fell in disuse; Catling 1995, 123-27; *id.* 1996d, 640, 645–46, 648.

As to the socio-political organisation in LM IIIC-SM Crete, most scholars think in terms of a transient and fluid form of leadership, where differences in wealth may have arisen, but where political power and influence remained unconsolidated. The most explicit discussion is by J. Whitley, who draws upon the work of the anthropologist Binford on 'big men societies'.[70] The latter defines the social position and authority of 'big men' as based on their personal qualities as community leaders, in particular on their ability to provide economic security. During their lives, they are obliged to continuously maintain and reinforce their position. Ethnographic parallels indicate that this often involves a certain display and distribution of wealth among their followers, particularly in the form of feasting. On the death of a 'big man' his authority and prestige are not automatically transferred to his heirs, but will have to be renegotiated.[71] From the archaeological point of view it is important that the 'big-man' system implies limited differences in wealth and social status, a characterisation that seems to accord well with the LM IIIC-SM period. Additional indications may be found in the existence of dwellings with facilities for feasting or dining.[72]

For Crete, the big-man model as presented by Whitley may be criticised because of its emphasis on the provision of economic security and its lack of attention to aspects of physical and military protection. The implications of the model, however, are helpful for an understanding of the broader settlement patterns and organisation in the LM IIIC-SM period. Whitley argues that 'big man' societies are relatively unstable, which may lead to the dissolving of some communities and their settlements and to the simultaneous development of more permanent kinds of leadership in others. Ethnographic case studies give examples of pre-literate and pre-state societies in which communities with a different degree of socio-political complexity indeed exist side by side. Therefore, the co-existence in one region of settlements of different size in itself forms no proof of a hierarchy of settlements or of functional interdependence.[73] For the LM IIIC-SM period Whitley explicitly challenges ideas about the existence of any kind of functionally integrated settlement systems,[74] which may be taken to include such defensive systems as reconstructed by Nowicki. Instead, based on the 'big man' model, a more dynamic picture may be proposed, in which settlement configurations and relationships between communities may have changed because of shifting alliances, allowing both for co-operation between neighbouring communities and for competition and conflict.

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[69] Catling 1995, 125.

[70] Whitley's idea that the big-man system found material expression in an 'unstable settlement' system, in which people moved as their alliances changed, has not found much support. In the first place, there seems little physical evidence for such 'wandering settlements'. (Whitley's argument rests on the two cases of Lefkandi and Vronda.) Secondly, the concepts of 'stable' and 'unstable' settlements seem relative. As Haggis (1993, 133, 156, 164-65) points out, habitation around Kavousi seems stable, when the whole site cluster is taken into account and not just Vronda. On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that 'shift in alliances' would not take place in such 'stable' settlements as Knossos. For other discussions of Whitley's model of stable and unstable settlements: Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 375; Nowicki 2000, 238-39.

[71] Whitley 1991b, 348-52, with ref. to Binford (1983, esp. 219-20) and Murray (1983).

[72] A point elaborated on by Mazarakis Ainian (1988; 1997); see also section 5 of this chapter, p. 192-93.

As to the nature of the relationships between different communities in LM IIIC-SM Crete, it is necessary to distinguish different levels of interaction, beginning at the broader, interregional level. Nowicki, who rightly places the foundation of defensible settlements at around 1200 BC in the general historical framework of the disruptions and attacks that then took place in the eastern Mediterranean, focuses strongly on a threat posed by 'people coming over sea'. These would include Mycenaeans leaving the Mainland, 'Sea Peoples' and pirates. Another broad opposition thought to have influenced relationships within Crete is that between the central and other regions of the island, especially those in the east.[75] This opposition would have been caused by an increased influx to central Crete of people from outside the island, most likely the Mainland. These would have settled in particular in the former palatial towns with an earlier history of Mycenaean presence, such as Knossos. Scholars have long proposed that the indigenous Cretans in response withdrew to defensible settlements in mountainous areas. Desborough, for instance, who also noted a divergence in burial customs between the eastern and central parts of the island, envisaged Karphi as a stronghold of the native population, which guarded their region against the inhabitants of the central part of the island.[76]

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[73] Whitley 1991b, 344-46, 348-49. Mazarakis Ainian (1997, 381-82) considers the same possibility.

[74] See esp. Whitley 1991b, 346.

[75] See e.g. Warren 1982-83, 83; Catling 1995, 128; *id.* 1996d, 648-49.

Issues of ethnic identity in Crete, after a period of avoidance,[77] are gradually receiving more attention, particularly with a focus on the different episodes of Mycenaean migration to the island. Several scholars have approached the subject with considered and explicit theoretical notions, but it nevertheless proves to be extremely difficult to identify such new groups in the archaeological record. The problem has vexed Cretan scholarship from early in its history and it is probably fair to say that there is as of yet no model that argues the case *pro* or *contra* immigration in a decisive manner.[78] The various theoretical problems inherent in equating material culture or language groups with people of specific geographical or biological origin have been sufficiently pointed out. Language, religion and aspects of material culture may serve as *indicia* of ethnicity, but there rarely is a neat, one to one relationship between these.[79] An added problem for the LBA Aegean is the long history of mutual contact and influence between the various regions, which may make ethnic distinctions less visible to archaeologists. On the other hand, the difficulties of recognising newcomers in the Cretan material record should not lead to a denial of the possibility of migrations, nor of the possibility of dissension, even if there are no signs of war or violent destruction. As stressed by Renfrew, the fact that the island in the centuries from the LBA to the historical periods experienced a 'wholesale language replacement', needs further study and explanation.[80] It is unlikely that this happened without any strife or tension.

Despite the present lack of a commonly accepted socio-linguistic model for the migration into Crete of Greek-speaking groups, the available archaeological evidence from Knossos certainly suggests the possibility. As partially discussed above, the shifts in the location of the settlement, the interruption in the use of the cemeteries, changes in burial customs and pottery styles may indicate immigration, first of Mycenaeans, then of Doric-Greek speaking people.[81] As a result of such immigration, notions of authenticity amongst indigenous or longer established Cretans could indeed have been reinforced, even if some of them were themselves already partially 'Mycenaeanized' in preceding centuries. The influx of new people may have contributed to a feeling of threat, compelling indigenous Cretans—rightly or wrongly—to withdraw to more remote mountainous areas.

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[76] Desborough 1973, esp. 68.

[77] See the discussion in section 3 of Chapter Two, p. 91.

[78] Thus Preston (1999, 131) emphasises that her study on 'mortuary practices and the negotiation of social identities at LM II Knossos' does not intend 'to set forward arguments to support or to refute the mainland invasion hypothesis'. For other recent studies discussing aspects of ethnicity in BA and EIA Crete: Renfrew 1996; Whitley 1998; D'Agata 1999b.

[79] J.M. Hall 1995a, 1997; S. Jones 1997.

[80] Renfrew (1996, 11-12) notes the lack of discussion of Dorians in recent studies such as those by Whitley (1991a) and Dickinson (1994a).

On a broad level, therefore, the older opposition drawn between newcomers and established Cretans, the former concentrated in the central part of the island, the latter particularly in the remoter east, is still useful in trying to understand the relationships and differences between the various regions. At the same time, it is important not to consider the relationships between the different communities in Crete exclusively in terms of solid, immutable regional or ethnic 'blocks', but to acknowledge other, intersecting levels of interaction. The proposed contrasts between mountain Cretans, lowlanders and people from outside the island are useful in their generality, but the situation is bound to have been more complex and variegated at the sub-regional and local level. For instance, LM IIIC-SM defensible settlements are also to be found in central Crete, examples including Prinias, Krousonas, Gortyn and Smari.[82] In addition, several scholars have mentioned the possibility that some of the east-Cretan coastal settlements occupied around 1200 BC do not represent the remaining inhabitants of the large and deserted coastal towns nearby, but foundations of people from elsewhere.[83] This would also have brought indigenous Cretans and newcomers into juxtaposition in east Crete, with different potential outcomes. Contact may have been peaceful, perhaps resulting in a mixing or merging of communities, or (ethnic) differences may have hardened, leading to the expulsion of some groups. The LM IIIC site of Kastri on the east coast, for instance, was soon abandoned, while other coastal sites, such as Vrokastro (Plate 45), developed into communities of considerable proportions.[84] Moreover, it should be emphasised that tension and conflict may have been far from restricted to different ethnic groups. There is no reason to assume that Cretan pirates and brigands would have spared their fellow Cretans, or that there would be no conflict over land, water or other issues between neighbouring communities. Pendlebury's designation of Karphi as a 'robber castle' already indicated the possibility of intercommunity hostility.[85] Likewise, Haggis suggests that the inhabitants of Katalimata may have engaged in raiding the lowlands.[86] This means that the defensive qualities of the LM IIIC-SM defensible settlements would have been directed against the outside world in general and not exclusively against pirates or other people coming from the sea.

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[81] Hood & Smyth 1981, 14, 27; Warren 1982-83, 83; Coldstream 1984a, 317; Catling 1995, 128.

[82] See cat. entries A.3/B.14-16, B.11-13, B.23-25, B.27.

[83] Kirsten 1938b, 308-12, 315; *id.* 1940a, 138-39; Nowicki 2000, 170-71, 251; Karageorghis 2001.

In general, the new settlements of the LM IIIC-SM period appear much more isolated than those of preceding periods. However, some contact is indicated by a certain amount of cultural homogeneity, especially in the 12th century BC. An important example is the progressive adoption of the new technology of iron-working, especially for weapons and tools.[87] Desborough further pointed to the development and broad spread in central and eastern Crete of the so-called 'Fringed pottery style'. This led him to speak of a period of 'partial recovery' in 1200-1150 BC.[88] It has also long been noted that certain objects found at individual sites indicate contact with different areas outside Crete. The recent excavations at Chania show that during the early LM IIIC period, just before the site was abandoned, there still was overseas contact, albeit much less lively then before. While evidence for contact with the Mainland is drastically reduced, some obsidian was imported, as well as copper or bronze (from Lavrion, Cyprus or Sardinia) and perhaps some pottery from the Western Mediterranean and Cyprus.[89] Even at a site as remote as Karphi, there were terracotta imitations of Cypriot bronze stands (Plate 8), a fragment of a bronze tripod stand, and a bronze fibula of Italian-Sicilian origin.[90] More generally, a relationship has been noted between Cypriot 'Proto-White Painted Ware' and LM IIIC-SM decorated pottery.[91]

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[84] For Kastri: Sackett, Popham & Warren 1965, 277, 281-82; for Vrokastro cat. entry B.36-37.

[85] Pendlebury 1939, 303.

[86] Haggis 1993, 156.

[87] It had been used earlier for ornaments: Kanta 1980, 326.

[88] Desborough 1973, 65-66; see also Nowicki 2000, 236.

[89] Hallager & Hallager (eds) 2000, 32, 193-94.

As to the form of such outside contact, the exceptional presence of the rich SM graves at Knossos permits some detail. Catling has noted Cypriot parallels for many of the grave goods enclosed in these tombs. He therefore considers it a distinct possibility that the 'grandees' buried in these tombs were Cretans or children of Cretans who had returned to their island, after having been brought up or having spent considerable time in Cyprus.[92] At Pyla-Kokkinokremos in Cyprus, signs of 'an unusually strong Minoan element' around 1200 BC have been noted in the pottery and terracotta figurines, which may suggest the presence of Cretan settlers.[93] Catling also points out the similarities between the tombs at Knossos and other rich tombs of the period at Toumba (Lefkandi), Tiryns and Kaloriziki in Cyprus, indicating the development of 'heroic' cultural idioms and lifestyles comparable to those described in the Homeric works.[94] In a synthesis, Crielaard proposes the existence during the 11th and 10th centuries BC of 'interlocking elite networks', which together covered much of the Mediterranean world and drew small groups of a select few into an 'international' milieu.[95] Within Crete, the SM tombs of Knossos certainly remain exceptional and it may well be true that for most other communities in the island communication with the outside world was irregular, sporadic or indirect, perhaps taking place mainly in the form of piracy.[96] There are very few SM imports known from other sites on the island.[97]

To conclude, it is against this background of radical changes in settlement patterns, the possible migration of people both to and from

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[90] Desborough 1972a, 122-25, 127-28; *id.* 1973, 67-68.

[91] Catling 1995, 125-28, with ref. to Desborough 1972a, 49-63. See also Demetriou 1989, 75-77.

[92] Catling 1995, 128; *id.* 1996d, 647.

[93] Catling 1995, 128, with ref. to Karageorghis & Demas 1984, 54. See also Popham 1979; Yon 1979; Kanta 1980, 386.

[94] Catling 1995, 126-28; *id.* 1996d, 645-48.

[95] Crielaard 1998.

[96] Watrous 1974, 326.

[97] Jones 2000, 113 table 2.

Crete, the forming of new regional divisions and local affiliations that the history of LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries must be considered. The movement away from the coastal plains which had housed large parts of the population in preceding centuries, implies a concomitant shift in land use, economics and arrangement of territories and communities. This must have had repercussions for the accessibility, function and control of sanctuaries located outside settlements. The foundation of new settlements necessitated the construction of new communal and domestic shrines, which therefore form a good reflection of contemporary religious concerns, promising at the same time insights in the social organisation of cult.

2. Catalogue A (part one): LM IIIC-SM Urban and Suburban Sanctuaries

Compared to other regions of the Aegean, Crete has yielded a relatively large number of cult places that were in use during the period from the 12th to 10th century BC. Catalogue A lists 32 examples of sanctuaries or possible sanctuaries of LM IIIC-SM date (Map 2). Of these, 28 may be considered to provide convincing evidence for cult activities. This inference is largely based on the presence at these sites of cult objects and/or votives, whose iconography or symbolic content and quantity suggest (repeated) ritual activity addressed to a supernatural or divine being.[98] In four of the listed instances evidence that activities were aimed at a supernatural or divine being is missing or weak,[99] but the performance of some kind of rituals may nevertheless be assumed. The reason for listing these sites anyway is that the inclusion of a number of 'borderline cases' such as Thronos Kephala (A.1) may illuminate to what extent religious ritual in a given period was differentiated from other activities.[100] In addition, it should be noted that at five of the 28 sites where cult activities are more securely attested, the location, form or spatial delineation of the sanctuary remains unknown.[101]

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[98] For the archaeological recognition of sanctuaries: Chapter One, section 2, p. 12-26.

[99] At Thronos Kephala (A.1); Karphi, Area 76 (A.8); Vronda, Building A/B (A.20); the Arkalochori cave (A.28).

[100] See Chapter One, section 2, p. 24-25.

[101] I.e. at Tylisos (A.2); Prinias (A.3); Phaistos (A.5); Vrokastro (A.15) and Kastri Viannou (A.32).

The 32 (possible) sanctuaries to be described in the following are not evenly distributed over the island or over the known settlements. There is a concentration of sites in the (more intensively explored) central and eastern parts of Crete, while the regions west of the Amari valley are still largely *terra incognita* for this period. The sample is further skewed towards a limited number of settlements, the good preservation of their sanctuaries being due to the fact that the sites were abandoned at the transition to the PG period and never reoccupied or overbuilt. Karphi (A.6-14), Kephala Vasilikis (A.16), Chalasmenos (A.17-19) and Vronda (A.20-22) together account for 16 of the 32 known LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries. It is of interest that these range from independent or freestanding cult buildings to domestic shrines and thus provide insight in the variety of cult expressions current in such communities. Other settlements, which include both newly founded sites of defensible type and older BA sites, remained inhabited through subsequent centuries and as a result the picture for the LM IIIC-SM period is much more fragmentary. Of these there are six examples, each providing (probable) evidence for a cult place. The remaining ten sanctuaries were located outside the contemporary settlements and are presented in Part Two of this catalogue.

There are various possible ways of subdividing these different kinds of sanctuaries, each presenting its own problems of definition and each inevitably producing a number of borderline cases. In her study of sanctuaries in Magna Graecia, Edlund offered one of the most detailed and well-defined classifications, which combines criteria of location and setting with an evaluation of function. She distinguishes between 'urban sanctuaries' (i.e. located within the city), 'extra-mural sanctuaries' (immediately outside the city wall or an equivalent boundary), 'extra-urban sanctuaries' (outside the city, but with a function in the religious and political life of the community), 'political sanctuaries' (providing neutral meeting places for a number of communities), 'rural sanctuaries' (which, in contrast to extra-urban sanctuaries existed independently of the cities and served the interests of the rural population) and, lastly, 'sanctuaries in nature'.[102] Despite the merits in employing such well-defined categories, Edlund's example of presenting a detailed *a priori* classification will not be followed here. This is mainly because the functions of certain kinds of sanctuaries (apart from the fact that they may overlap, as perhaps in the case of 'political' and 'rural') may not be immediately apparent and require further exploration, which is relegated to subsequent sections. The catalogues in the present work are primarily meant to identify the (probable) sanctuaries of a given period and to place these in a broader archaeological context, by including, where appropriate, an overview of evidence from associated settlement and cemeteries. To that aim, the catalogues propose no more than a basic division into two groups: one of sanctuaries situated inside or in close proximity to contemporaneous settlements, the other of sanctuaries located outside them—which are designated as 'urban/suburban' and 'extra-urban' respectively.[103]

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[102] Edlund 1987, 28, 41-43, 125. For a similar definition of urban and extra-urban sanctuaries: Mazarakis Ainian 1988, 105 n. 2.

Even such a simple framework is, of course, not without pitfalls. In some cases, the available archaeological evidence cannot establish whether a sanctuary is associated with a settlement or not. Moreover, distance is a relative consideration and the difference between 'suburban' and 'extra-urban' sanctuaries can be vague. There are further obvious disadvantages in calling 'urban' any sanctuary that is located within the built-up area of a settlement, because this term may imply an advanced degree of urbanisation. The justification for the use of this term is of practical nature, as there is no adjective expressing the association with settlements that is without such connotations.

The order of the sites described in the catalogues is roughly from west to east and from north to south, following as much as possible the natural divisions in the landscape. Discussion of various identifications of the associated deities and cult are kept to a minimum, primarily because the propositions on which these identifications are based may in themselves be questioned.[104] This subject will in any case receive fuller treatment in ensuing sections.

For those sites that have also produced evidence for cult use in the succeeding EIA the numbers of corresponding entries in Catalogue B of Chapter Four are given in parentheses.

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[103] The term 'suburban', while synonymous with the term 'extra-mural' as used by Edlund, is more current in studies of sanctuaries in the Aegean.

[104] See the discussion in Chapter One, section 3, p. 29-33.

A.1 *Thronos Kephala/Sybrita*

The environs of Thronos, a modern village in the NW part of the Amari valley, have yielded evidence for habitation from prehistoric to modern times.[105] The CL and later remains in and to the E of the village were identified by Spratt as those of ancient Sybrita, while the general area is probably also that of *su-ki-ra-ta*, one of the places mentioned in the Linear B tablets from Knossos.[106] Although the Amari valley, between Mount Ida to the E and the Kedros range to the W, provides the easiest way of communication between the N and S coasts in this part of the island, the area is to be characterised as relatively remote and traditional during most periods of its human occupation.[107]

After visits by Evans, Mariani and Halbherr at the end of the 19th century,[108] some trial excavations were undertaken by Kirsten in 1942, including some on the summit of the Kephala hill.[109] This prominent hill, against whose SE flank the modern village is built, is 618 m high and overlooks much of the Amari valley, its view reaching as far as the S coast (40 km away). Its steep sides make the summit difficult of access and easily defensible. In 1962, the Kephala was revisited by Hood, Warren and Cadogan, who confirmed the existence of 'an extensive LM III settlement'.[110] In 1986 more systematic work was begun by a Greek-Italian team, who combined their excavations at the summit of the Kephala with archaeological exploration of the surrounding area.[111] Preliminary results indicate a LM IIIC-EO settlement on the northern part of the summit, which measures *c.* 80 x 110 m. Several HL and later constructions were also noted.[112] The central part of the summit has yielded possible evidence for ritual activities.

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[105] Kanta 1980, 208 (nos. 13-14); *ead.* 1994, esp. 71-73.

[106] Spratt 1865b, 99-110; Kanta 1994, 71-72. For a recent overview of the ancient remains in the area: Belgiorno 1994.

[107] Kanta 1994, esp. 67-68, 69 fig. 1; see also Dunbabin 1947.

[108] Rocchetti 1994a, 231-35.

[109] Kirsten 1951, 142-52, pl. 106:2.

[110] Hood, Warren & Cadogan 1964, 71-72.

[111] Belgiorno 1994.

[112] Prokopiou 1994, 252-54; *ead.* 1997, 372; Rocchetti 1994b, 237-38; D'Agata 1999a, 184-85.

A.1 *The rock-cut pits at the central part of the summit*

In the central portion of the summit 54 rock-cut pits were found, of circular, oval and irregular form, which contained stones, ash and charcoal, pottery fragments, several stone tools and querns, some horns and animal bones from a wide variety of species (pigs, goat, sheep, bovids, deer, a tortoise, horses and dogs), as well as some human bone. The sherds range in date from early LM IIIC to LPG. While clear votives, with the possible exception of one female figurine, are missing, the excavators suspect some kind of ritual function rather than use as ordinary rubbish pits.[113] They infer this from the fact that the pits were carefully dug into the bedrock and were concentrated in one particular area, which was used for this purpose for an extended period of time. Each pit appears to have been filled in a single event. Cross-joins were noted between sherds from pits and their surrounding surfaces, but not from between pits. No whole pots could be restored from these pits,[114] something which may suggest secondary deposition. However, the discovery of one half of an apparently intentionally bisected krater in a later, PG pit (4a) adds to the idea of ritual use, although the religious nature remains uncertain.[115]

The fine ware from ten pits has been discussed in more detail by D'Agata. She notes the prevalence of deep bowls in the LM IIIC pits and of functional equivalents such as skyphoi and cups from pits of EPG and later date. In addition, there are examples of 'champagne' and conical cups, kylikes, stirrup jars, kraters, and SM kalathoi.[116]

A.2 *Tylisos (see also B.53)*

Tylisos is situated on a gentle knoll, *c.* 200 m high, in the NE foothills of the Psiloritis. Overlooking a large part of the Malevyzi basin, Tylisos occupies a strategic position on the old road connecting central and W Crete. The pre-Greek name of the site has been preserved in that of the modern village and is confirmed in HL inscriptions.[117]

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[113] Prokopiou 1994; *ead.* 1997, 371-73, 393; D'Agata 1999a, 185, 187 fig. 3, 188, 202, 205 fig. 15; Karamaliki & D'Agata 2002, 299.

[114] Prokopiou 1994, 250-52; *ead.* 1997, 392, 395; D'Agata 1999a, 187.

[115] D'Agata 2000, 330-31, figs. 2-4.

[116] D'Agata 1999a.

In 1909-13, Chatzidakis uncovered three large Neopalatial buildings, which probably belong to a larger but as of yet unexcavated BA settlement. Restoration and cleaning work were undertaken by Platon in 1953-55, while Kanta did some tests in the area E of Building A in 1971. These combined investigations indicate that Tylisos was inhabited at least from the EM II into the LM III period, but the site's later history has not been entirely clarified. Chatzidakis claimed that occupation continued uninterruptedly into the R period, but his list of finds postdating the BA is extremely brief.[118] Vasilakis proposes that the site was temporarily abandoned after the LM I period and reoccupied in LM IIIA-B, with habitation perhaps lasting into the LM IIIC-SM period. According to Kanta, the life of the settlement may have extended into the beginning of the PG period.[119] Chance finds of different periods found in the wider environs of the BA site suggest that the general area may have remained inhabited and the old name preserved, but that the centre of the settlement shifted through time.[120] It is therefore not entirely clear whether the possible sanctuary described in the following should be considered as urban, suburban or perhaps even extra-urban.

A.2 *The LM III paved area, stoa and cistern*

In the area of House C, a LM III stoa and paved area were found some 2 m above the MM III/LM I surfaces. The paved area measures *c.* 20 m N-S and was reached by a road leading from the W.[121] A stone-built cistern (ø 5 m) to the SE has yielded evidence for possible cult activities in the form of part of a terracotta bull figure, two fragmentary human figurines and a terracotta bull pendant. Kanta assigns these objects a LM IIIB/C date.[122] Other evidence for cult activities at the site in this period consists of terracotta animal figurines and Horns of Consecration, for which no exact provenance is given by Chatzidakis.[123]

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[117] Kirsten 1948, 1713, 1721; Chatzidakis 1934, 3; Vasilakis 1992, 272.

[118] Chatzidakis 1934, 109-10.

[119] Vasilakis 1992, 272, 274; Kanta 1980, 13.

[120] See also catalogue entry B.53 in Chapter Four.

[121] Chatzidakis 1913, 88; Platon 1955b, 555, 562; Hayden 1981, 48-49; *ead.* 1984, 43, figs. 7-9.

[122] Kanta 1980, 11-12, figs. 1:8-9, 2:4, 2:7-9, 4:4.

A.3 *Prinias (see also B.14-16); Plate 22*

The steep, 680 m high Patela hill forms part of the E spurs of the Psiloritis mountains and is situated *c.* 1 km NE of the modern village of Prinias. The flattened summit (*c.* 500 x 235 m) houses the remains of a large settlement, which was occupied from the LM IIIC into the HL period (Plate 22). The Patela is located at the junction of two valleys, which link the N and S regions of central Crete, and has a view that reaches to the N coast.[124] The prominent site attracted the attention of 19th-century explorers such as Taramelli and Halbherr, who located several fragments of Archaic inscriptions in the modern village.[125] The identification of the settlement at the Patela as ancient Rhizenia or Rhittenia is based on topographical considerations, in particular on its position near the border of the HL territories of Knossos and Gortyn.[126]

The first excavations were conducted from 1906-08 by Pernier for the Italian School. He dug a large number of test trenches on the hill plateau and subsequently focused attention on the slightly raised area in the SE. Here the remains of two later temples, dating to the 8th/7th century BC, were discovered.[127] A second series of investigations, both at and around the Patela, were initiated in 1969 by Rizza. On the plateau itself a number of well-built, regular houses were uncovered with pottery ranging from the LM IIIC-SM period into the first half of the 6th century BC. At Siderospilia, *c.* 500 m NW of the Patela, a large cemetery was discovered, containing hundreds of tombs. The earliest of these consist of individual LM IIIC cremations in rock-cut pits.[128]

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[123] Kanta 1980, 11-12, figs. 1:3, 1:7, 4:1-2.

[124] Pernier 1908, 443-44; Rizza & Rizzo 1984, 227; Rizza 1991, 331, 334, 336. For the earliest pottery: Kanta 1980, 15.

[125] Taramelli 1899, 328-33; Halbherr 1901c, 399-401.

[126] The identification was proposed by Xanthoudides and accepted by Guarducci: see Pernier 1934, 171 (with further refs.); Rizza & Rizzo 1984, 227-28. For a critical note: Kirsten 1940d, 1138-40.

[127] Pernier 1906, 117-20; *id.* 1908, 457-62; *id.* 1914, esp. 19.

[128] Rizza & Rizzo 1984, 234-38; Rizza 1991, 331-36, 343.

A.3 *The cult assemblage east of Temple A*

On two occasions objects belonging to a cult assemblage of LM IIIC-SM date were found near the surface in the area NE of later Temple A: first by Halbherr in 1900, before the regular excavations began, and again in 1906 by Pernier. The cult assemblage contained at least five terracotta 'snake tubes' (tubular stands named after the frequent application of handles in the form of stylised snakes; for an example from Vronda, see Plate 11)[129] and five figures[130] of so-called Goddesses with Upraised Arms (GUA), of which the best-preserved one is 0.62 m tall (for similar objects from Karphi, see Plate 6). Fragments belonging to the arm of another figure bear a decoration of applied snakes. Other votive objects from the same area were not illustrated, but are probably of later date. Architectural remains were said to have been damaged by ploughing and the form and plan of the building that may have been associated with the LM IIIC-SM objects remain unknown.[131]

Restudy by Palermo of Pernier's old notes in combination with tests in 1996 have made it possible to establish the origin of the deposit more securely as the area along the E margin of the Patela. The new tests yielded another head of a female figure, more snake tube fragments, kalathoi (some with rim protrusions in the form of Horns of Consecration) and braziers, most of which were deposited in a crevice in the rock. Of particular interest is the possible fragment of a terracotta figure of a fantastic animal. The area was severely disturbed by ploughing and no architectural remains of the LM IIIC-SM period were preserved.[132]

A.4 *Knossos (see also B.17-19); Plates 1-3*

Knossos, first inhabited in Neolithic times and seat of the largest Minoan palace, belongs to the small group of BA settlements that were not abandoned in the course of the LM IIIB or LM IIIC period. Instead it remained one of the most important Cretan towns until the end of the Roman era.[133] After the transition to the LM IIIC-SM period the site of the former palace lay completely abandoned, with habitation concentrated on the hill slope to the W (Plate 1). A gradual decrease in the population of Knossos has been noted from LM IIIA2,[134] yet the spread of LM IIIC-SM domestic deposits suggests a for this period considerable habitation nucleus of 1500 to 2500 m^2.[135]

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[129] Gesell 1976, 247.

[130] 'Figures' are wheel or coil made, while figurines are solid: French 1981, 173.

[131] Wide 1901, 247-50, figs. 1-5, pl. XII; Pernier 1906, 120, fig. 9; *id.* 1908, 455-56, figs. 10-11; Banti 1941-43, 43; Nilsson 1950, 315; Alexiou 1958, 182-84; Gesell 1985, 132 (cat. no. 118), pls. 146-47.

[132] Palermo 1999, with figs. 1-2.

The most extensive excavations of the LM IIIC-SM settlement were conducted by Warren behind the Stratigraphical Museum. After a hiatus in occupation in the LM IIIB period, a number of new houses were built at this site in the LM IIIC (or late LM IIIB) period. They remained inhabited throughout the SM period, during which they were remodelled or rebuilt on four occasions.[136] Recent excavations in the neighbouring area N of the Little Palace show a comparable picture of sustained habitation and perhaps industrial activity.[137]

LM IIIC-SM tombs seem to have been scattered over a wide area, from the Upper Gypsades hill in the S to Ayios Ioannis 3 km to the N. There is evidence for LM IIIC-SM reuse (after a brief period of interruption) of tombs at the Mavro Spelio cemetery, the Kephala tholos and the Royal tomb at Isopata. Newly founded in the SM period are the Fortetsa cemetery (Tomb Pi) and the North Cemetery, where there is a concentration of (probably) 21 SM tombs, consisting of chamber tombs, shaft graves and pit caves, the latter containing the rich cremations of warriors.[138] Only one sanctuary is known to have been used in this period, the Spring Chamber. As it is situated near the S edge of the former palace, in an area that in all likelihood was outside the confines of the contemporary settlement, it should be classified as a suburban sanctuary.

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[133] Hood & Smyth 1981, 27; Sackett 1992, esp. 463-67.

[134] Hood & Smyth 1981, 12; see also the introduction to this chapter, p. 110-11. Cadogan 1992c, 132.

[135] The evidence consists of some 13 domestic deposits; see Coldstream 1984a, 315-17; *id.* 1991, 289. For a critical note on the proposed nucleation of habitation: Haggis 1993, 162-63.

[136] Warren 1982-83.

[137] Hatzaki *forthcoming*.

[138] Coldstream 1984a, 315-17; *id.* 1991, 290; Cadogan 1992c, 132-33; Catling 1996d, see also p. 119 above.

A.4 *The Spring Chamber*

Excavations in 1924 by Evans revealed a small SM sanctuary reusing an earlier fountain house, which he called the Spring Chamber (Plate 2). It measures only 1.9 x 1.7 m, but had originally been part of a monumental and elaborately decorated complex with basins and baths, which was built in the Neopalatial period. Evans named the complex the Caravanserai because of its vicinity to the BA roadway that approaches the palace from the S.[139]

Whereas the rest of the Caravanserai went out of use after the LM IIIB period,[140] the Spring Chamber at some time began to attract votives, which were found both inside and outside the room, at the entrance. These votives are dated to the SM period and consist predominantly of pottery. Especially numerous were the kalathoi, of which some 15 have been illustrated. Most of them contained the remains of olives, while empty ones had been stacked in piles. Other shapes include krateriskoi, some braziers, a duck askos, a stirrup jar and a small jug.[141] Other objects, also in terracotta consist of seven terracotta figurines of animals and a sphinx, two cylindrical fenestrated stands and a very small cylindrical model, no more than 9 cm tall, containing a female figurine with upraised arms (Plate 3).[142] Interestingly enough the part of the SM votive deposit placed outside the chamber was found beneath a group of stone vases and lamps which date to the Neopalatial period and were somehow deposited there at a later time.[143]

Discussion of the SM cult in the Spring Chamber has focused on the question of whether it continued an earlier cult at the same spot. Evans himself reflected on a sacred character of the Spring Chamber from the time of its construction in the Neopalatial period,[144] but in a tentative way, for there are no earlier objects with an exclusive cult function.[145] However, he also stated that the Spring

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[139] Evans 1928, 102-03, 139, 140 fig. 71. Recently, however, Schofield (1996) has proposed a less mundane, possibly ritual use of this bath complex.

[140] The latest material in the Caravanserai was dated LM IIIB: Evans 1928, 128; Hood & Smyth 1981, 12, 55-56 (no. 285).

[141] Evans, 1928, 134-35, figs. 68-69.

[142] Evans 1928, 128-30, figs. 63-64, 133, fig. 67b.

[143] Evans 1928, 123.

[144] Evans 1928, 138-39.

[145] *Contra* Coldstream & Higgins 1973, 181; Hood & Smyth 1981, 55-56 (no. 285).

Chamber went out of use after the big destruction that befell the palace in *c.* 1450 BC and also choked the rectangular spring-basin with debris. Before its reuse as a sanctuary the Spring Chamber would have been abandoned for several centuries.[146] Gesell also concludes that solid evidence for earlier cult use of the Spring Chamber is wanting, but at the same time notes that its architectural plan is suggestive of a religious function. The back wall of the finely executed Spring Chamber has a central niche with ledges on either side. Such tripartite designs are considered characteristic for a certain type of small Minoan sanctuaries.[147]

The female figurine in the cylindrical model apart, there is relatively little evidence for the deity worshipped. Large GUAs and snake tubes, which figure so prominently in the inventories of the sanctuaries at Karphi (A.6, Plate 6) and Vronda (A.21, Plate 11), are missing. The association with the spring and the presence of kalathoi with olives have been considered as suggestive of a vegetation cult.[148]

A.5 *Phaistos (see also B.20-22); Plate 25*

The BA site of Phaistos occupied a range of three interconnected hills, some 700 m long, with a magnificent view of the western Mesara. Excavations began in 1900-09 under Pernier and continued under Levi after WW II. The site was first occupied later than Knossos, at the end of the 4th millennium BC, and was to remain inhabited into HL times. The BA palace of Phaistos was destroyed in the LM IB period, but habitation in (parts of) the old settlement around the palace continued through the LM II, LM IIIA-B, LM IIIC periods and later (Plate 25).[149]

LM IIIB-C pottery from the middle of the three settlement hills, the 'Acropoli Mediana', which appears to have been fortified from the LM IIIA2 period,[150] is prolific enough to suggest a growth of occupation in these periods, perhaps to be related to the desertion of nearby Kommos and Ayia Triada. The occupation may have been interrupted later in the LM IIIC period.[151] Other LM IIIB-C remains have been noted in the area W of the BA 'Theater court' and SW of the former palace. The latter area was, according to Desborough, rebuilt later in the LM IIIC-SM period, after which it developed into the PG-G town.[152] Cucuzza therefore concludes that the focus of LM IIIC habitation was initially at the summit of the 'Acropoli Mediana' and later shifted toward the area of the palace.[153] Eight LM IIIC-SM rock-cut tombs of irregular plan were found at Liliana on the N slope of the settlement hills and another tomb near the Yeropotamos river.[154]

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[146] Evans 1928, 119 n. 1, 120, 128.

[147] Gesell 1985, 46, 100-01; J. Shaw 1978, 429-48, esp. 446-47 (on the use of tripartite designs in Minoan sacred architecture).

[148] Coldstream & Higgins 1973, 181.

[149] La Rosa 1992b, 232, 235, 238, 240. Whether there was a distinct SM ceramic phase at Phaistos is not clear: see the discussion by Kanta 1980, 97-101 (with ref. to Desborough 1964, 182-83).

[150] Borgna 1997, 274 n. 5. For a SM-PG date: Hayden 1988, 5-6; Cucuzza 1998, 62.

Cult places of the LM IIIC-SM period have not been identified with certainty. A group of LM IIIC objects with possible cult connections have been published by Pernier as coming from the area of the BA palace. They include some undecorated terracotta figurines, a terracotta figure of an equid with two jugs and of three or more bovids.[155] Kanta has rightly drawn a parallel with the cult material from the Piazzale di Sacelli at Ayia Triada (A.26, Plate 16) and believes there must have been a sanctuary of this date in the area of the palace.[156] Unfortunately, Pernier does not give an exact provenance of these finds and it is hard to ascertain whether they derive from one and the same deposit.[157]

A.6-14 *Karphi (see also B.29); Plates 4-9*

Karphi is situated at an altitude of 1148 m in the N range of the Lasithi mountains (Plates 4-5). The settlement occupies the slopes of both the distinctive peak of Karphi and the adjoining Koprana ridge. There is a commanding view over the N coast, which on clear days reaches as far as the island of Thera.[158] To the S are the lower hills and flat basin of the Lasithi plateau, from where it is least difficult to reach the site.[159] Extensive excavations in the settlement and the associated cemeteries were conducted in 1937-39 by a British team under John Pendlebury. Karphi has since been the type site of its period and remains to the present day one of the largest and best explored defensible sites.

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[151] La Rosa 1985, 50-53; *id.* 1992b, 235, 240; Borgna 1997, 273-74.

[152] Desborough 1964, 182-83; Kanta 1980, 96-98.

[153] Cucuzza 1998, 64-65.

[154] Desborough 1964, 183; La Rosa 1992b, 235, 240; Cucuzza 1998, 62.

[155] Pernier 1902, 119-20 (figs. 47, 49-50), 127-28 (fig. 54); Guggisberg 1996, 172 (nos. 592-94, pl. 44).

[156] Kanta 1980, 96-97.

[157] Mersereau (1993, 29-30) fully discusses the problems of context and chronology of another object from Pernier's group, a cylindrical model, which probably is of LM IIIB date and came from a small ash pit above the Upper West Court. See also Gesell (1985, 132, no. 117).

The date of the main occupation of the settlement and the stylistic definition of the associated pottery have been subject of debate. Since the publication of the pottery by Seiradaki in 1960, occupation of the settlement is generally thought to have begun in early LM IIIC and to have lasted into the SM period.[160] A few PG sherds have been reported,[161] but these were never published and it is uncertain whether they point to more than sporadic reuse or visits.

The British excavators estimated they had uncovered less than a third of the settlement.[162] On the basis of new topographical investigations in 1983-84, Nowicki concludes that the excavated area constitutes approximately a fifth, i.e. 0.6 ha, of the 3 ha large settlement. Nowicki also identified a small contemporary settlement some 300 m to the NE.[163]

Karphi possesses two springs: Vitzelovrysis, *c.* 250 m to the S of the excavated part of the settlement and Astivider o, on the eastern slope of the Megali Koprana. The first spring yielded a group of modest votives, but these at present evidence seem to postdate the period of habitation of Karphi. Near the springs are two cemeteries with tholos tombs, Ta Mnemata and Astividero respectively.[164]

The relatively large numbers of votive and/or cult objects from Karphi, such as terracotta figurines and cylindrical models, suggest the existence of several cult areas, but their identification and interpretation are hampered by two factors. One is that the excavators rarely give the position of objects within a room and thus the exact form and position of these cult areas often remains uncertain. Second, the settlement was abandoned without a major destruction. This implies that most inventories were removed by the inhabitants and that some areas may have been reused seasonally, for instance by shepherds, causing further disturbance and intrusion.[165]

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[158] Desborough 1972a, 128; Cadogan 1992b, 116-18.

[159] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, esp. 61-62 for the ways of access to the site.

[160] Kanta 1985, 121; Desborough 1972a, 121; Sackett, Popham & Warren 1965, 28; Nowicki 1987a, 236-37.

[161] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 100; Seiradaki 1960, 30.

[162] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 58.

[163] Nowicki 1987a, 241-44, 246, figs. 2-3.

[164] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 63, 100-11; Nowicki 1987a, 246-47, pl. II:a. The excavators mention a possible third cemetery at the slope of Chalasa. The distance of about one hour to the N, however, makes the proposed association with Karphi less convincing.

On present evidence, the fairly even distribution over the site of objects with cult or possible cult connections suggests that most houses contained domestic sanctuaries.[166] In some cases, these may have been no more than shrines in the form of a corner or ledge in a larger room. In other cases, larger areas, occupying one or more whole rooms, may have been dedicated to cult (e.g. A.8 and A.9). Two of the excavated structures, the so-called Temple (A.6) and Small Shrine (A.7), have been identified as freestanding or independent sanctuaries. These will be discussed first.

A.6 *The Temple*

The so-called Temple of Karphi consists of a complex of at least four rooms and is located on the inaccessible crest that marks the N edge of the settlement (Plate 4). It has been generally recognised as an example of a bench sanctuary, with a stone-built bench in the main room to accommodate cult equipment and votives. In construction, the Temple does not differ greatly from the houses in Karphi, although Pendlebury noted the use of 'rather larger stones with some attempt at dressing'.[167] The location on the slightly higher and protruding cliff and the comparative isolation from the other buildings are the most distinguishing features.[168] Judging by its placement within the settlement, the Temple seems to have occupied a central position. A majority of the houses, which are built up against the two slopes forming the settlement's saddle, look down onto the sanctuary. Several of the settlement's paved roads lead up to it.[169] Most significantly, the principal entrance to the Temple was from the E, as indicated by the heavy threshold and large slab. Here, a relatively large open space (*c.* 15 x 20 m, at two levels), joins the (unpaved) thoroughfare crossing the S part of the saddle. Rutkowski points to a crevice, more than one metre wide, in the rocks next to the Temple. It was indicated as 'a well ?' on a plan in the excavation notebook, but apparently was not further investigated.[170] The excavators tentatively assigned the erection of the Temple complex to the second of four or five building phases in the settlement.[171] Although a rigid phasing, as pointed out by Nowicki, is less likely than a continuous and gradual building process, the Temple is generally thought to be one of the earliest stone constructions at the site.[172]

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[165] See also Nowicki 1987a, 248.

[166] Gesell (1985, 46) gives an extensive list, including terracotta figurines, stands, plaques, cylindrical models and bronze votive Double Axes.

[167] Pendlebury 1939, 306.

[168] This is best illustrated in a reconstruction drawing by Nowicki (1987a, 256 fig. 6).

The first compartment on entering (Room 1) is the largest, measuring *c.* 5.50 x 7.50 m as preserved. No N wall was found, probably because it had fallen down the steep cliff.[173] The excavators noted the absence of traces of roofing material and suggested that Room 1 had been open to the air. This suggestion has, however, not won general acceptance.[174] The lack of roofing material, which would have consisted of earth, may be explained by erosion over the N cliff. The interior of Room 1 was furnished with a 0.80 m high stone-built shelf along the W wall, a lower and broader bench filled with rubble along the S wall and a rectangular stone-built structure (*c.* 0.90 x 1.00 m) close to the edge of the cliff. The excavators interpreted the latter as an altar.[175] Some burnt wood was mentioned in the excavation notebooks, but no bones which could point to animal sacrifice.[176] Gesell prefers to call the structure an offering table, on which gifts would have been left behind rather than burnt.[177] Assuming that Room 1 was roofed, yet another possibility is that it constituted the base for a wooden pillar, of which only some carbonised fragments remained.[178]

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[169] I.e. the West and East 'Temple Road', as they were called by the excavators (Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 64, 86). According to Nowicki (1987a, 240), the eastern road was blocked off at some point during the period of the site's occupation.

[170] Rutkowski (1987, 259, pl. V:1) calls this open space the 'Main Temple Road'.

[171] The first phase would be represented by the erection of perhaps wooden shelters: Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 135. *Cf.* also Nowicki 1987a, 238, fig. 1.

[172] This remark by Nowicki (1987a, 239) seems especially justified because widespread destruction horizons, followed by rebuilding, are missing.

[173] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 75. All dimensions given here are measured from the plan published in this excavation report (pl. IX).

[174] Alexiou 1958, 129; Rutkowski 1987, 261, fig. 6; see also the reconstruction with roof by Nowicki (1987a, fig. 6).

[175] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 75, pl. XVII.

The inventory of the Temple clearly indicates its cult function. On the broad bench along the S wall of Room 1 were discovered the fragments of several anthropomorphic terracotta figures of GUA-type (Plate 6). Room 1 also contained a terracotta plaque topped with a human head (Plate 7), which is very similar in style to the Goddesses.[179] The three to four smaller rooms to the W of Room 1 probably served for storage of cult equipment. Fragments of other GUAs were found in the N compartment[180] and a collection of partly distorted bluish vases (including some deep bowls) in the SW one. Three of the five published GUA figures wear tiaras, which are adorned with birds, discs and Horns of Consecration. A peculiarity is the feet of three of these figures, which are made separately and protrude through holes in the bottom of their skirts.[181] Among the other objects discovered in the Temple the excavators list a seal stone (probably a BA heirloom), a terracotta bead, a fragment of obsidian, one triton and two cowrie shells, five spindle whorls and four stone pounders, pottery (including a kalathos) without specifying their location within the complex.[182] Other votives, for instance simple terracotta figurines such as occur elsewhere at the site, were apparently not encountered.

The excavators labelled Areas 19-20 and 38-41 the 'Dependencies of the Temple', although their function is not certain (Plate 4).

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[176] Rutkowski 1987, 260.

[177] Gesell 1985, 45 (quoting Alexiou without ref.). Fixed offering tables are known from other sites, but often have cupules: *ibid.*, 105 (cat. 73), 107 (cat. 76), 120 (cat. 102), 128 (cat. 107).

[178] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 75 n. 2.

[179] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 75-76, pls. XXXI, XXXV:1; Rutkowski (1987, 260, 269 fig. 4) has published the plan from the excavator's notebook on which the find spot of the figures is indicated.

[180] Five complete figures were restored, and fragments of others mentioned: Seiradaki 1960, 29.

[181] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 75-76, pl. XXXI; Gesell 1985, 45, 79 (cat. 22).

[182] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 75-76, 131-32; Seiradaki 1960, 11.

The Dependencies are located at a lower level and their alignment diverges from that of the Temple complex proper. Perhaps they were later additions, although this is not explicitly stated in the excavation report.[183] Areas 19, 20 and 41 were probably not roofed. Associated finds are said to have consisted of 'the usual pottery', a piece of a limestone weight, a bone bead and a shell. Less usual finds encountered in the roofed areas include a bronze hook and two bronze rings in Room 38, a comparatively large amount of fine pottery in Room 39 and a bronze awl, a pierced plaque of mother of pearl and a fragment of a GUA in Room 40.[184]

On the basis of a restudy of the excavation notebooks and the remaining architecture at the site itself, Rutkowski has suggested the Temple complex was built in different stages.[185] Initially, the sanctuary would have been confined to Room 1. The bench along the S wall, the stone-built altar and the rooms to the W, would have been added at a later stage. The value of Rutkowski's reconstruction, however, is limited because of the lack of stratigraphic information available for Karphi.[186] Even when Rutkowski's phasing is accepted, there is no clue as to the amount of time separating the building events.

Rutkowski accepts the idea of dependencies belonging to the Temple, but introduces two alternatives that differ from the one proposed by the excavators. In the first alternative only the surrounding unroofed areas, i.e. 19, 20 and 41, are considered part of the sanctuary. The second alternative takes in a much larger number of rooms and open areas S of the Temple, i.e. 19-20, 40-41, 8-9, 11-18, and 38-39, which includes the so-called Great House (see A.8). As a parallel for such a large sanctuary Rutkowski points to the cult area of Mycenae on the Greek Mainland.[187] On the basis of the plan of the excavated houses, it may seem possible to assign all these units to one structure. However, when taking into account the relief of the terrain, the series of rooms listed by Rutkowski separate into different clusters, along the lines proposed by the excavators. Their section drawing along the N-S axis of this part of the site shows a drop of *c*. 6 m from the Temple to the area of Court 16-17.[188]

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[183] See also Nowicki 1987a, 238-39.

[184] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 64, 76, pl. XXIX:1-2,4; Seiradaki 1960, 29.

[185] Rutkowski 1987, 259-60, figs. 1-2.

[186] The excavators did mention the occurrence of different stratigraphic layers on the site. They ignored these strata because of the supposed lack of differences in the associated pottery: Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 59, 135.

[187] Rutkowski 1987, 261-62, figs. 3, 7.

A.7 *The Small Shrine (Rooms 55 and 57)*

A small two-room building, roughly in the middle of the excavated section of the settlement, was identified as 'the Small Shrine' by the excavators because of the discovery of a rectangular terracotta offering stand (in 57, Plate 8). This has an elaborate decoration of painted and cut-out motifs, which include altars with stepped bases and Horns of Consecration; the four upper corners are topped by plastic animal figurines, perhaps felines.[189] Other finds consisted of the 'usual kind of pot sherds', three spindle whorls, a pierced schist plaque and a bronze chisel or cutter.[190] Initially, the Small Shrine appears to have formed a freestanding structure.[191] Later it was encroached upon in the E by the addition of Room 70 to the Great House, and by the construction of the 'Baker's House' (Rooms 71, 73, 74).[192]

Area 57 was entered from the street in the NE corner and had a possible second entrance in the S. As no traces of roofing material were found, Area 57 may have been open to the sky. A piece of bedrock projects from the SW corner. Room 55 was on a higher level and must have been reached by means of steps.[193]

A.8 *Area 76*

At the back of the Small Shrine (A.7) is the enigmatic Area 76, which was open to the sky. Here, two orthostats, *c*. 0.40-0.45 m in diameter and with rounded tops were placed against the W wall. These were the only stones at the site that had been carefully dressed. Their original height, before they were knocked off to raise the level of the street, was 1.25 m. Area 76 could be entered only from street 72 in the N and perhaps from street 56 in the SW. No cult objects were found in the vicinity, but the excavators tentatively proposed that the two stones had framed a small table or shrine.[194]

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[188] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, pl. X. The drop can also be seen in the reconstruction drawing by Nowicki (1987a, 256 fig. 6).

[189] Gesell 1985, 81 (cat. 22) identifies them as probable bulls.

[190] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 84, pls. XXXIV, XXX:3, XXVIII:2.

[191] Gesell (1985, 45, 81 (cat. 25)) classifies it as a public Bench Sanctuary, presumably for this reason.

[192] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 86-87, 135-36; see also Nowicki 1987a, 241, fig. 1.

[193] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 86. It is unclear to which building phase Rooms 55-57 belong. The excavators assigned the lay-out of Plateia 48 and Temple Road East to the fourth building phase.

A.9 *Court 16-17 in the 'Great House'*

Court 16-17 is part of the so-called Great House (Rooms 8, 9, 11-18, 70), which is located to the S of the Temple (A.6). The sheltered position of the complex, its size, architectural complexity and the presence of a large hoard of bronze objects and a larger proportion of fine pottery than usual in Room 12 led the excavators to ascribe it to the leader of the community. They proposed the house had been built in several phases, beginning with Room 9 and ending with the addition of Room 70.[195]

A cult function of Court 16-17 is indicated by the presence of an unspecified number of fragments of terracotta GUAs, a terracotta human figurine, a triton shell and 'other cult objects' in the N half (16), and by a terracotta tube, presumably the stand for an offering bowl, and the horn of a terracotta animal figurine in the S half (17).[196] Gesell proposes that the rock outcropping in area 16 served as a bench on which these objects stood.[197] Like the Temple, Court 16-17 was accessible from the large open area to the E, albeit indirectly, via corridor 15.

The area of later Room 70 yielded additional fragments of a GUA, fragments of a terracotta plaque and of another terracotta tube, as well as a steatite bowl.[198]

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[194] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 87, pl. XX:3. See also Nowicki 1987a, 240-41.

[195] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 135-36. The identification as leader's house is opposed by Nowicki (1987a, 238), because the structure initially consisted only of Room 9. However, Mazarakis Ainian (1997, 218-20) accepts the possibility.

[196] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 77-79, pl. XXXII:4; Seiradaki 1960, 29. The excavators thought that the stones against the W wall either formed a division wall through the middle of the court (hence the use of two numbers) or a buttress.

[197] Gesell 1985, 45, 79-81 (cat. 23).

[198] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 86, pl. XXX:1.

A.10 *Area 26-27 in the Southern Houses*

Area 27 belongs to the second architectural phase of the Southern Houses (24-28, 44) and may have been open to the sky.[199] Its N half was occupied by a large rock, which was perhaps used as a cult bench, since two elaborate terracotta rhyta were found on it. One of these rhyta consists of a chariot with three spouts in the form of bulls' heads (Plate 9a), while the other has a spout in the shape of a human head (Plate 9b). The area further yielded 20 terracotta spools and a terracotta spindle whorl. Finds from a connected room (26) included a bronze votive Double Axe, fragments of thin bronze discs, of about ten pithoi, many kalathoi and a fine tankard. Most likely Area 26-27 was entered via the narrow passage from Square 48 in the N.[200]

A.11 *Room 58 in the 'Priest's House'*

Room 58 may have constitute a small cult place, which, though part of a larger complex (58-61, 80), could only be entered from the street. The complex to which it is attached is second in size and complexity only to the Great House. The excavators admit to naming it 'somewhat arbitrarily' as the Priest's House, because of Room 58 and because of its access (via street 55/72) to the Temple. The cult objects, a round and a square terracotta tube, were found in the SE corner of the room. In addition, there were sherds of at least eight kalathoi, two spindle whorls and many pithos fragments.[201] The projecting ledge of bedrock in the NW corner is interpreted as a bench by Gesell.[202]

A.12 *Room 116 in the 'Commercial Quarter'*

Room 116 is part of the so-called Commercial Quarter (77-79, 89, 112, 116) and was, unlike Room 58, not accessible from the street. It is relatively small (*c.* 3 x 3.5 m) and contained the fragments of at least two terracotta GUAs, part of a terracotta plaque and more fine pottery than was usual. The rocky bottom forms an almost continuous bench along the N side of the room. This room may have served as a domestic sanctuary, even though the excavators did not allow for such a function. Instead they compared the whole complex, which includes an oven in Room 89, with a sort of 'pantopoleion', where anything from bread to religious objects could be obtained.[203]

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[199] Gesell (1985, 45, 81 (cat. 24)) considers Room 27 to be one of many 'small public shrines'.

[200] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 81-82, 118, pls. XXIX:1, XXXV:2-5; Seiradaki 1960, 28, pl. 13.

[201] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 84-85, pl.XXXV:7.

[202] Gesell 1985, 45, 81 (cat. 26).

A.13 *Room 85 in the Central West Quarter*

Room 85 in the Central West Quarter of the town (66-69, 81-88, 96-97, 100) may have housed a domestic shrine. The room is relatively large, *c.* 3 x 8 m, and has a rock ledge along the NW wall. This may have held the three terracotta human and two bull figurines and the fragment of an offering stand that were found in the room.[204]

A.14 *Room 106 in the Western Block*

The Western Block consists of three separate structures, one of which is comprised of Rooms 102, 115, 106 and 126. Room 106 is a fairly large room, measuring *c.* 7.50 x 8.50 m. In it was a small rectangular pit, *c.* 0.15 m deep and lined with stones. The room contained the head of a terracotta anthropomorphic figurine, part of a terracotta animal figurine, two probable fragments of terracotta stands, a bronze votive axe and seven other bronze items (including a knife and personal ornaments such as a ring and possible pendant). A terracotta cylindrical model, a bronze 'stylus-shaped' object and a bronze arrowhead were associated with Room 115.[205]

A.15 *Vrokastro (see also B.36-37); Plates 45-46*

The defensible settlement of Vrokastro occupies a steep and rocky spur, *c.* 313 m high, on the Gulf of Mirabello and directly above the coastal route from E to W Crete (Plate 45). The spur can be reached via steep paths from the E and SW and, more easily, from the saddle to the S, which is connected with the hills behind. The settlement was probably founded at the beginning of the LM IIIC period and remained inhabited into the 7th century BC. After exploratory visits by Seager and Boyd in 1903, systematic excavations were undertaken in 1910 and 1912 by Hall for the American School. Research was resumed in 1979 by Hayden who undertook a restudy of the old excavation material and, from 1986 onwards, a survey of the area around the site.[206]

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[203] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 88-89; Gesell 1985, 82 (cat. 29).

[204] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 90-92, pl. XXXII:2; Gesell 1985, 81 (cat. 27).

[205] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 94-95, pls. XXVIII:2 (no. 540), XXIX:1,2 (nos. 539, 552, 554, 555), XXXI:2 (no. 559); Gesell 1985, 81-82 (cat. 28).

The results of the recent survey indicate that the area around Vrokastro became a habitation nucleus in the LM IIIC period and continued as such until the end of the G or EO period. Another sizeable LM IIIC site has been noted at Ayios Phanourios 20 minutes E of Vrokastro and several others, most of them smaller, in the surrounding hills as well as one on the coast.[207]

Evidence of LM IIIC-SM occupation at Vrokastro consists of sherds from the settlement and several burials.[208] As most of the standing remains date to the PG and later periods (Plate 46), little is known about the extent and lay-out of the LM IIIC-SM settlement. Nowicki believes it was smaller than the EIA one, covering only the summit and not the lower N slope.[209]

The old excavation material restudied by Hayden included a group of terracotta votive or cult objects, chiefly terracotta animal figures and figurines without record of provenance. Hayden believes these came from various 'household or public shrines' and assigns most of them to the EIA. However, two pairs of Horns of Consecration are probably of LM IIIC date. A number of terracotta bovine figures, small male figurines, bovine figurines, birds and a possible dog are difficult to date stylistically, but may also belong to the LM IIIC-SM period.[210]

A.16 *Kephala Vasilikis*

A hitherto unknown defensible settlement was discovered on the summit of the 210 m high Kephala hill, at the NW side of the Ierapetra isthmus, as part of a survey and excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1994-96. With its steep slopes and flat table-shaped summit, the Kephala constitutes the most prominent hill in this area. The view from its summit reaches from the N to the S coast and beyond. Preliminary results indicate habitation from the early or middle LM IIIC into the PG period.[211]

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[206] Hall 1914, 80-81; Hayden 1983b, 12-13; *id.* 1992, 286.

[207] Hayden, Moody & Rackham 1992, 326-29. The attached site catalogue does not distinguish between LM IIIA-B and LM IIIC-SM sites, so the extent of LM IIIC-SM habitation in the area is not entirely clear.

[208] Desborough (1964, 186) identified SM burials in Tombs 4-7, and a LM IIIC burial at Chavgas.

[209] Nowicki 2000,107-09 (no. 39).

[210] Hayden 1991, 112-14, 122-23, 125-28, 137-38.

Most of the 70 x 200 m summit appears to have been built up. The 1994-96 excavations, under the direction of Eliopoulos, revealed ten buildings, of which the ones on the S portion of the plateau were most completely investigated. A LM IIIC tholos tomb had already been excavated in 1906 by Seager on the lower S slope of the Kephala, near the church of Ayioi Theodoroi. Also associated with the settlement may have been a tholos discovered in 1953 at Selli, in the foothills E of the Kephala, and one recently discovered near the Ierapetra road.[212]

A.16 *Building Epsilon*

The southernmost of the ten buildings, Building Epsilon, is described by the excavator as a probable Temple complex. It measures 25 x 17 m and consists of eight rooms with stone walls preserved up to a metre in height. Eliopoulos distinguishes three wings: a northern one (consisting of Rooms E1-3), a central one (Rooms E6-7) and a southern one (Rooms E4-5, E8). The blocking of the doorway between E6 and E2 and other alterations in E2 (such as the raising of the floor and the addition of a flimsy partition wall in the S) indicate alterations in the course of the LM IIIC-PG period. Room E1 is a later addition, perhaps of PG date, while Rooms E2-3 are called the original nucleus of the building.[213]

In Eliopoulos' reconstruction each wing has one or more rooms which may have served ritual purposes. In the central wing this is Room E6, which is distinguished by its size (7.5 x 5 m), by the presence of a clay hearth flanked by column bases, and by the fact that it provided the main access to the complex. This 'Hall of the Hearth' also has a shallow stone-lined pit in the NW corner, which may have been used for libations.[214]

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[211] Eliopoulos 1998, 301-02, 306, 309, 312, figs. 2-3. The excavator does not use the term SM (only "SM").

[212] Seager 1906-07, 129-32; Platon 1953, 492; Eliopoulos 1998, 301, fig. 4.

[213] Eliopoulos 1998, 304-06, figs. 8-9.

[214] Eliopoulos 1998, 305, fig. 9.

Room E3 or the 'Hall of the Altar' in the N Wing is considered the most important room of the complex. It could be reached via Room E7, but the principal entrance was via Room E2. There is a stone-built ledge or shelf along the W wall, while another one (broad enough to sit on), runs along the opposite wall. A small platform (1.80 x 1.00 x 0.30 m) was set against the S wall. Close to it were a patch of burning, perhaps a small hearth, and some fragments of a terracotta GUA. In the centre of the room a probable altar (2.30 x 1.00 x 0.10 m) and baetyl, consisting of a rounded stone 0.55 m high, were found.[215]

Room E4 in the S wing has yielded the most unambiguous evidence for cult activities, in the form of an impressive collection of terracotta GUA figures and related cult objects. The room is relatively small, measuring 5 x 4 m, and could only be reached from an outside area in the S. As pointed out by the excavator, there was only limited access to this area via Rooms E6, E7 and the narrow outdoor passage along the W edge of the cliff. On the other sides, E4 is surrounded by rock outcrops and cliffs. Room E4 has 0.40 m high benches along all its walls, on the N and E one of which the cult objects were found *in situ*. The objects on the N bench consisted of the lower halves of two GUAs (nos. 3 and 4), two fenestrated stands, cups, kalathoi (several of them with plastic rim decorations in the form of horns) and an amphora or jug and a strew of sea pebbles. The N half of the E bench yielded another GUA (no. 2 with a restored height of no less than 0.75 m), the base of a snake tube and the so far unparalleled find of the lower part of a terracotta throne (0.45 m high). Additional fragments of this throne were found in the adjacent Room E5, together with the arm, foot, hair and other fragments of a GUA (no. 1) in the same red clay. The excavator therefore concludes that this must have been an enthroned GUA, of a type hitherto unknown in Crete in this period. In the fill of Room E4 fragments of a fifth GUA (no. 5) and a plaque were encountered, as well as sherds of cooking pots, trays, dishes, amphorae and jugs, lamps or braziers, pithoi and other vessels. In the centre of the room are the remains of what may have been a small altar and hearth.[216]

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[215] Eliopoulos 1998, 306-07, 310 n. 19, figs. 10-11.

[216] Eliopoulos 1998, 306-09, figs. 12-18.

A.17-19 *Chalasmenos*

The LM IIIC settlement of Chalasmenos occupies a conical hill, *c.* 240 m high, which is set against the steep cliffs of the Siteia mountains, directly S of the Cha gorge. The site overlooks the N part of the Ierapetra isthmus. After surface explorations by Nowicki and Haggis, who identified at least 27 different buildings on the summit, Greek-American excavations were initiated by Tsipopoulou and Coulson in 1992. The site was occupied in a middle phase of LM IIIC, abandoned by the end of that period and partially reoccupied in the PG period.[217] A refuge settlement at Katalimata, precariously situated on a number of high and narrow rock shelves in the gorge itself, is probably associated. The latter was excavated by Nowicki.[218]

Portions of at least six buildings, their limestone walls standing to a metre in height, have been uncovered at Chalasmenos, as well as a paved road and a small tholos dating to the first half of the 11th century BC.[219] During the PG reoccupation of the settlement another tholos was constructed in Sector B.[220]

A.17 *The cult building in Sector Γ*

A rectangular cult building, measuring *c.* 5.5 x 13 m, was discovered in Sector Γ, which is situated to the N of and somewhat lower than Sectors A and B. The cult building has two rooms in axial arrangement, with short benches in the corners. Associated finds consist of nine GUAs, five or six snake tubes, *c.* 11 terracotta plaques with suspension holes and stylised Horns of Consecration, a fenestrated stand, a few kalathoi and three or four large pithoi. There is some doubt as to the independent status of the cult building. While described as 'mainly free-standing' and next to a 'plateia', there is one wall emanating from its SE corner which may connect it to another, larger structure.[221]

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[217] Coulson 1999, 325-26, figs. 17-18; Coulson & Tsipopoulou 1994, 67-68; Tsipopoulou 2001.

[218] Nowicki 2000, 90-92.

[219] Coulson 1999, 326, fig. 18. According to this author, the LM IIIC style continued into the 11th century BC in this part of the island.

[220] Tomlinson 1994-95, 65; *id.* 1995-96, 45; Blackman 1996-97, 113.

[221] Tsipopoulou 2001, pls. XXVII-VIII; aegeanet@duke.edu, 27 June 2000; Gesell 2004, 145.

A.18 *Room 2 in Unit A1*

Unit 1 in Sector A comprises at least seven rooms and was built in three stages within the later LM IIIC period. In Room 2 (added to the W side of the core of the building) evidence for possible cult activities was found. There were two ashy layers, the upper one containing a bronze ring and bull figurine, the lower one burnt pottery, including two kalathoi (one of them decorated with pomegranates), six beads, an ivory cylinder, a mortar and several stone tools. Nearby was found a lead male figurine, which, as pointed out by the excavators, underlines the importance of this building complex.[222]

A.19 *Unit B1*

A complex of at least six rooms, two of them used for food preparation (Rooms 1 and 2) and an adjoining storeroom, were excavated in Sector B in the E part of the settlement. Two other rooms may, as suggested by the excavators, have contained domestic shrines. Near the E wall of a room in trench B13 was found a cup containing a small figurine of a GUA and a miniature jug. In an adjacent room an ashy deposit with a ram figurine and small fragments of human figurines may also indicate cult activities.[223]

A.20-22 *Vronda; Plates 10-11*

Vronda or 'Thunder hill' is a low hill, at *c.* 420 m, S of the Kavousi plain. The LM IIIC settlement that crowned its summit (Plate 10) existed side by side with the higher and more inaccessible refuge settlement at the Kastro, which is located half an hour to the E, on the peak *c.* 710 m high. Both sites overlook the coast and coastal roads to the far E part of the island. Boyd first undertook excavations on a limited scale in 1900. In 1978-81 Preston Day, Gesell and Coulson resumed work at both Vronda and the Kastro for the American School.[224]

The main phase of habitation at Vronda is assigned by the excavators to the 'late LM IIIC period' and may have ended with a partial destruction by fire.[225] The displaced inhabitants may have moved up to the Kastro (B.38-40) or to Azoria to the N, sites which were inhabited into the O and A periods respectively.[226] The cemetery with 11 tholos tombs on the lower N slope of the Vronda hill, however, remained in use into the G period, by which time the former settlement was also used for cremation burials, which continue into the O period.[227]

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[222] Coulson & Tsipopoulou 1994, 70-71, pl. VII:1-2; Coulson 1999, 326, figs. 19-20.

[223] Coulson & Tsipopoulou 1994, 73-77; Coulson 1999, 326, figs. 19, 21.

[224] Boyd 1901, 131-36; Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1983, 391; *eid.* 1992a, 120; Preston Day 1997, 391.

The LM IIIC settlement consisted of 15 to 20 buildings of different sizes,[228] three of which may have had cult functions of various kinds: Building A/B, which was partially cleared by Boyd, and the newly discovered Buildings G and D.

A. 20 *Building A/B*

Building A/B, on the very summit of the hill (Plate 10), is likely to have been of special importance because of its central position, size and architectural elaboration (i.e. the use of mudbrick for the superstructure and the provision of drains). There was probably a second storey, while the open area to the SW may have been paved. The current excavators identify the complex as a ruler's house or public building. It consists of the large rectangular room labelled A (*c.* 7.60 x 10.40 m), with a small internal room or closet (A9), and a series of storerooms (B1-4, 6 and 7) to the SE.[229]

While no unambiguous votives were discovered in Building A/B, some of the finds may indicate ritual and/or sacrificial dining.[230] The excavators call attention to the relatively large numbers of storage and drinking vessels in Rooms B1-7. It is likely that Room B4 served for the preparation of food, as it contained numerous fragments of cooking pots and of fine pottery (including many kylikes, which were rare in the other buildings). It is particularly significant that Room B4 yielded a deposit of at least four animal skulls and the horns of cattle, sheep and goats. The evidence from sanctuaries outside settlements, where animal skulls and horns were also left behind, indeed suggests a connection with ritual or sacrificial dining. In addition, a stone kernos, which may have served as an offering table,[231] was found in the court in front of Building A, at the SW corner of B6. Inside, sherds of coarse cooking pots, kalathoi and conical cups were encountered and, against the E wall, three stone-built pot stands.[232]

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[225] Preston Day, Glowacki & Klein 2000, 115. Earlier reports also mention SM habitation and, in the case of Building E, even MPG; see Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1986, 387; *eid.* 1995, 71.

[226] Haggis 1993, 150.

[227] Boyd 1901, 131-36; Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1983, 394, fig. 3; *eid.* 1986, 391, 394; *eid.* 1992b, 353; Preston Day 1997, 391, 403-04.

[228] Preston Day, Glowacki & Klein 2000, 116, n. 5.

[229] Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1986, 360-65, fig. 1; Preston Day 1997, 392.

[230] Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1986, 365-66 n. 2, 373; Preston Day, Glowacki & Klein 2000, 121-22. The suggestion has been followed by Mazarakis Ainian (1988, 105-19; 1997, 295-96).

A.21 *Building G*

Building G is situated to the SW of the court and is composed of two rooms, each provided with a bench along its E wall (Plate 10). There also was a bench along the exterior of the W wall. The N room (Room 2) contained a substantial number of cult objects which had probably fallen from a shelf or from an upper floor. These include six snake tubes (Plate 11), part of a GUA figure, at least six terracotta plaques and 14 kalathoi. Associated with this building was a large deposit of cult material spread over the area to the S and W, which had probably been removed from the S room (Room 1) during the construction of a G grave. The total assemblage consists of at least 30 terracotta GUA figures, 17 snake tubes, 22 kalathoi and 26 terracotta plaques. Some of the latter, which can be as large as 0.30 x 0.38 m, have suspension holes and/or are adorned with Horns of Consecration, painted or relief decoration.[233] A patch of burning on the floor of Room 2 has been interpreted as a hearth, but one that was used for heating or lighting rather than food preparation, as no traces of the latter activity were found.[234]

A.22 *Room 1 in Building D*

Building D is situated to the NW of Building A (Plate 10). Initially, it consisted of Rooms 1 and 3, after which Rooms 4 and 5 were added. In a third phase, the doorway between the latter two rooms was blocked to create two separate units, each containing one large room with a hearth (Rooms 1 and 4 respectively).[235]

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[231] Alternatively, it may have been used as a gaming board. Warren (1982-83, 73) has reported possible unbaked clay dice near a kernos recently found at Knossos.

[232] Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1986, 373-75.

[233] Gesell 2001, 253-54.

[234] Preston Day, Glowacki & Klein 2000, 121.

Room 1 measures *c.* 7.40 x 5 m and had two or three internal roof supports. A number of associated finds suggest that it contained a domestic shrine: on a stone-built bench in the SE corner of Room 1 were found a terracotta bull and a terracotta horse figurine, while a second horse had been deposited on the floor in the middle of the room. Other finds from the room, in the form of pottery, pithos fragments and stone tools, indicate additional domestic functions.[236]

3. Catalogue A (part two): LM IIIC-SM Extra-Urban Sanctuaries

This part of the catalogue presents ten sanctuaries that are located outside the confines of the contemporary settlements and that have yielded positive proof of cult use in the LM IIIC-SM period (Map 3). With the possible exception of the Arkalochori cave (A.28), the same sites had both been used as cult places in previous periods and were subsequently to remain in use as such.

It should be noted that the examples listed here represent no more than a minimum number of extra-urban sanctuaries that may have remained in use in this period. At many other sites, the question as to whether cult activities continued through the LM IIIC-SM period (and, if so, whether they changed in content) is difficult to answer. One reason is that older excavation reports generally lack specific information concerning the LM IIIC-SM period.[237] The larger number and high quality of votives from both earlier (Minoan) and later (G-O) periods has tended to overshadow the more modest finds of the intermediate period. These were ill-known and sometimes not recognised at all.[238] Cave sanctuaries in particular have been represented as remaining in use through the 'Dark Ages' without illustration of the relevant evidence—something which has given rise to later scepticism as to the validity of such claims.[239] It is often only on the basis of recent excavations and/or the restudy of old excavation material that LM IIIC-SM cult practice at some of these extra-urban sanctuaries can be substantiated.[240]

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[235] Preston Day 1997, 392.

[236] French 1990-91, 72; Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1995, 71-73, fig. 2, pls. 17:c, 18:a-b.

[237] Nor is the distinction found in some of the more recent publications, see e.g. Tyree (1974).

[238] E.g. Naumann 1976, 11-13; Rutkowski 1986, 9-10.

Another problem is that the stratigraphy of open-air sanctuaries and caves is often seriously disturbed. Even in the case of those few sites which have not been plundered in modern times, the prolonged use of the sanctuaries in antiquity has caused much damage. Recent excavations in the Idaean cave indicate that mixing of material, dating to all periods from Neolithic to Roman, probably happened during the construction of new terraces in the Roman period.[241] However, the common lack of stratigraphy may also reflect the way in which the votives were originally deposited: the archaeological and ancient literary sources suggest that votives were placed in crevices and small niches in rocks, or hung in the trees and bushes of open-air sanctuaries.[242] In the Psychro cave Minoan bronze votives were found imbedded in stalagmites, after having been left in interstices by worshippers.[243]

As a result of the lack of stratigraphically closed deposits, different phases in the use of sanctuaries outside settlements often have to be reconstructed by means of stylistic analysis of the finds. Unfortunately, certain kinds of votives, such as simple terracotta and bronze figurines, may be little affected by changes in fashion or style.[244] Thus the transition from LM IIIB to LM IIIC is less clearly marked than it is in sanctuaries within the settlements, which were either newly founded in this period or experienced architectural changes and shifts of location.

As with the urban sanctuaries of this period, the documented LM IIIC-SM extra-urban sanctuaries are concentrated in the central and central-eastern regions of the island. Less is known about the areas west of the Amari valley and east of the Ierapetra isthmus.

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[239] Tyree 1974, 118-20.

[240] As at the Idaean cave (A.24), Mount Jouktas (A.25) and Syme (A.31).

[241] Mylonas 1985b, 81; *id.* 1986, 142-43.

[242] As described by Theophrastus (*Hist.Pl.* 3.3.4) for the Idaean cave: Mylonas 1986, 148; see also Lebessi 1981a, 5; Rutkowski 1986, 55.

[243] Hogarth 1899-1900a, 100.

[244] Boardman 1961, 59-60, 104. Stylistic analyses leave little room for regional variation: Naumann 1976, 43.

A.23 *The Patsos cave (see also B.51); Plate 12*

The Patsos 'cave' is one of several rock shelters in a stream-fed gorge in the Amari valley in western Crete, N of the modern village of the same name. After a small excavation by Halbherr in the early 1880s, more systematic work was undertaken by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1989.[245] In the intervening period the cave was visited by Evans, who bought several objects from local inhabitants in 1894, and after WW II by Hood and Warren and by Faure, who collected surface material.[246] The earlier finds from the cave, which are dispersed over many collections, have recently been published in their entirety by Kourou and Karetsou.[247]

The rock shelter, at an altitude of 490 m, is situated in an area interspersed with gullies. Its entrance is marked by a modern chapel of Ayios Antonios. Faure has called attention to the presence of a double spring, some 25 m S of the cave.[248] Kourou and Karetsou stress that the cave is not as remote as it may seem. It is not far from a pass linking NW Crete with the S coast.[249] The area was well-populated in LM III times and Thronos Kephala (A.1), a sizeable LM IIIC and later settlement, is only 6 km to the NE.[250]

The Patsos cave is relatively small, being 4 m high, 18 m wide and 9.3 m deep. Inside there is only one stalactite, but outside, on the terrace, there is a larger rock formation in which Faure recognises the head of a bull.[251] Sherds and votives may have come both from the cave and from the terrace in front of it, where a burnt layer with later votives was located in 1989. In their recent synthesis, Kourou and Karetsou conclude that cult activities seem to have begun in the BA. However, although some of the known finds (a stone table of offering, a stone vase, two seal stones, a bronze chisel, blade and Double Axe, and various terracotta animal figurines) can be assigned to the Neopalatial period, the exact periods of BA cult use have not been established. From the LM IIIB period onwards, the Patsos cave may have had more than local significance, in view of the rare and high-quality votives.[252]

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[245] Halbherr 1888c; Niniou-Kindeli 1991-93; *ead.* 2002.

[246] Boardman 1961, 76-78. Faure 1964, 187-90; Tyree 1974, 104-05.

[247] Kourou & Karetsou 1994.

[248] Faure 1964, 137. The spring has since been diverted: Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 82-83, pl. 1.

[249] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 84, 158. According to Pendlebury (1939, 13), it comes from Gerakara in the S and forms, though somewhat of a 'roundabout', the only N-S route in this area.

[250] Hood, Warren & Cadogan 1964, 72.

[251] Faure 1964, 137-38.

Apart from the BA objects mentioned above, the votive assemblage contains some LM IIIB and particularly many LM IIIC-SM (and later) objects. With the exception of a LM IIIB rhyton, finds from this and the LM IIIC-SM period fall within the same general categories (for comparable examples from Ayia Triada, see Plate 16).[253] To the LM IIIC-SM period belong at least 11 terracotta bovine figures and one wild goat, their height varying from 11.5 to more than 50 cm.[254] Kourou and Karetsou identify a painted terracotta head found by Halbherr as belonging to a large wheelmade figure of a 'sphinx' or fantastic figure.[255] Also of note are two pairs of terracotta Horns of Consecration, one of which may have been attached to an altar.[256]

No LM IIIC-SM pottery is known from the Patsos cave and only one terracotta handmade human figurine.[257] There are, however, three, of males, in bronze.[258] Terracotta animal figurines are numerous, representing various species such as bovid, ram, wild goat, deer and horse. Most are small, though some reach a size of over 10 cm.[259] In bronze, there are two bull figurines and a sphinx of this period.[260] Kourou and Karetsou also assign a bronze Reshep figurine to this period (Plate 12).[261]

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[252] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 84, 150-51, 163.

[253] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 116, figs. 34-35, pls. 91-94 (no. 76), 162. Two bull figures, two vessels and one sherd belong to LM IIIB proper, with a far larger group falling in the range of LM IIIB/C-SM; see the chronological chart given by Kourou & Karetsou (1994, 157).

[254] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 87-101, figs. 2-24, pls. 7-42 (nos. 5-8, 10-16, 18-21), 159-60.

[255] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 85, fig. 1, pls. 2-4 (no. 1), 97, figs. 19-23, pls. 32-35 (no. 15), 123, 158-60.

[256] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 114, figs. 26-31, pls. 85-89 (nos. 72-73), 161.

[257] Boardman 1961, 77, fig. 34b; Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 85-86 (no. 2), 159.

[258] Boardman 1961, 78, pl. XXIV (no. 372); Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 118 (nos. 80-82), 162.

[259] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 101-07, pls. 44-71 (nos. 24-26, 34-36, 40-42, 46-47, 50), 160-61.

[260] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 119-20, pls. 99-100 (nos. 90-91, 100), 147, 162-63.

[261] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 118 (no. 79), 151, 157. Boardman (1961, 76, 78, pl. XXV no. 371) initially dated it to 'LM III', allowing for an earlier date. The lower date is also accepted by Hoffman 1997, 24.

Cult at the Patsos cave continued into the EIA and, according to the excavator also the A and HL-R periods.[262] An inscription of R date, found by Halbherr, shows that by then the cave was dedicated to Hermes Kranaios. Kourou and Karetsou propose worship of a Minoan vegetation god at Patsos, who would have gradually merged with Hermes, a deity known from Linear B tablets. In historical Crete, Hermes occurs as a god of vegetation in Syme, with the epithet 'Kedritas'.[263]

A.24 *The Idaean cave (see also B.52); Plate 13*

The Idaean cave is situated in the Ida or Psiloritis mountains, at an altitude of 1500 m. It lies approximately 100 m above the small upland plain of Nida, which it overlooks from the W. Locally known as the 'Voskopoulos cave', it was already identified in 1591 by the Italian botanist Casabona as the famous cave of Zeus Kretagenes, a deity mentioned in numerous ancient epigraphical and literary sources from the CL period, when rites associated with the birth myth of Zeus were celebrated.[264] The first archaeological investigations were undertaken in 1885, by Halbherr and Aerakis, after antiquities had been brought up by shepherds. The discovery of votive inscriptions of R date confirmed that, at least at that time, the cave was dedicated to Idaean Zeus.[265] More excavations followed, by Faure in 1955 and by Marinatos in 1956, and these have especially yielded information on the earlier, Minoan periods. Systematic excavations on a large scale were initiated in 1982 by Sakellarakis.[266] A wealth of offerings is mentioned in the preliminary reports, both from dumps of the previous excavations and from newly excavated parts in and outside the cave. The finds range from the LN period to the 5th century AD. During the LN and EM periods the cave was probably used as dwelling, but only on a seasonal basis, as it is blocked off by snow in winter.[267] Cult practice began in the MM III or LM I period and then continued uninterrupted into late R times.[268]

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[262] Niniou-Kindeli 2002, 303.

[263] *IC* II, 102-03; Halbherr 1888c, 913; Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 121 (no. 111), 163-64. According to the latter, 'kranaios' refers to the abundant springs in the area. Willetts (1964, 289) believes the epithet derives from the rocky and rugged countryside.

[264] Beschi 1984, 19. Mentioned in Pindar (*Ol.* 5.39-45), Callimachus (*Hymn to Zeus*, 6), Strabo 10.3,7 4,8; 16. 2,38. For further references: A.B. Cook 1925, 932-38; Sakellarakis 1988a, 208 n. 2; *id.* 1983, 416.

[265] Fabricius 1885; Halbherr 1888b, esp. 766; also Tyree 1974, 42; Sakellarakis 1987b, 244 fig. 6.

[266] Marinatos 1956; Platon 1956b, 409-10; Faure 1964, 108-09; Boardman 1961, 79; Tyree 1974, 40-43; Rutkowski 1986, 69 (cat. I no. 10); Sakellarakis 1987b, 241, 260 n. 1; *id.* 1988a, 207 n. 1.

The Idaean cave appears to have been a remote and inaccessible place in most, if not all, periods of its existence.[269] The nearest modern villages are Vorizia, at a distance of 12 km to the S of the Psiloritis massif, and Anogeia, near which is ancient Oaxos, 21 km to the N. These places are well below the 900 m relief line. The whole area is nowadays exploited by shepherds from the surrounding modern villages, who, according to Sakellarakis, compete for the use of the well-watered Nida plain. One of the springs is not far below the cave and marked by a modern church.[270]

The Idaean cave is large, has a fairly complex plan and contains stalagmites and stalactites. The wide entrance to the cave (25 x 16 m high) faces E and is clearly visible (Plate 13). The cave itself consists of a sloping central chamber (max. dimensions 36 x 34 x 17 m high) with a N and S recess (26 x 14 x 9.5 m high and 14 x 13 x 6 m respectively). An upper chamber opens from the W wall of the cave, 8.5 m above the floor, and could only be reached by means of a ladder. In front of the entrance is an open area with a large rock-cut altar (*c.* 4.9 x 2.1 x 0.90 m) of unknown date.[271]

The exact find spots, quantity and character of the LM IIIC-SM finds have not yet been published. Hence it is not known if the cult practices in this period took place in specific parts of the cave or outside, around the altar.[272] The MM III-LM I period seems to have formed an *akme*, marked by an increase in finds and the appearance of bronze animal and anthropomorphic figurines. To the LM III periods belongs a large group of pottery and figurines, predominantly animals. Of the larger, wheelmade terracotta animal figures three (of unknown species) have so far been dated to LM IIIC-SM.[273] The terracotta Horns of Consecration probably also date to this period.[274] The mixed layer in the cave is described as burnt and greasy, containing charcoal and bones which are sometimes burnt. This, and the mention of 'ash-altars of different periods' probably point to the practising of sacrifice.[275] Sakellarakis believes that by the LM III period, cult was dedicated to Cretan Zeus, the god who yearly dies and is reborn, as a successor to a Minoan vegetation deity.[276]

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[267] Sakellarakis 1983, 451; *id.* 1988a, 208.

[268] Sakellarakis (1988a, 212; 1988b, 173) believes in a sacred function from the end of the MM period onwards.

[269] An LM I villa was found at Zominthos, half-way modern Anogeia and the Idaean cave and at a considerably lower altitude of 1187 m. There also is some evidence of R activities in the area, including the Nida plain itself: Sakellarakis 1983, 443-45, 488.

[270] Sakellarakis 1983, 419. For Oaxos: B.5-10.

[271] Halbherr 1888b, pls. XI-XII; Tyree 1974, 40-41; Rutkowski 1986, 48; Sakellarakis 1983, 420-23.

[272] A deposit in the central chamber contained bones and sherds of all periods, including SM: Mylonas 1986, 141-49; Catling 1986-87, 57-58. Tyree (1974, 100)

A.25 *Mount Jouktas (see also B.54); Plate 14*

Some 13 km SW of Knossos and immediately W of Archanes lies the isolated and prominent, 811 m high Mount Jouktas (Plate 14). In 1909, Evans identified an important BA sanctuary on the N and highest part of the elongated summit.[277] New excavations were begun in 1974 under the direction of Karetsou.

Mount Jouktas is a typical example of a 'Minoan peak sanctuary'.[278] These sanctuaries have in common that they occupy exposed and barren rock outcroppings—often of very distinctive shape—where very little tree growth is possible.[279] The outline of Jouktas, especially when seen from the NW, resembles a human, bearded face.[280]

In some respects the history of the sanctuary at Jouktas diverges from the general picture that has emerged from the study of peak sanctuaries. Founded in the EM II period, Jouktas was one of the

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mentions LM III finds in the N recess, but does not distinguish between LM IIIA-B and LM IIIC.

[273] Sakellarakis 1987b, 247; Guggisberg 1996, 182-83 (nos. 622-24).

[274] Sakellarakis 1988a, 213, fig. 7. Also: Mylonas 1985b, 82; *id.* 1987, fig. 167.

[275] Sakellarakis 1983, 456-58; *id.* 1988a, 210-11.

[276] Sakellarakis 1987b, 247. For Cretan Zeus and Ida: A.B. Cook 1925, 932-38; Nilsson 1950, 534-35.

[277] Evans 1921, 154-59, fig. 114.

[278] On Minoan peak sanctuaries see esp.: Rutkowski 1986, 92-94; Peatfield 1983, 1990.

[279] Rutkowski 1986, 75.

[280] Karetsou 1981, 137.

six peak sanctuaries where cult also continued after the MM period. It was, moreover, exceptionally monumental. Palatial involvement is borne out by the great building expenses in this period and the high number and quality of the cult equipment and votives.[281] In its Neopalatial form the sanctuary consisted of two broad terraces, *c.* 16 x 3 and 9 m wide, on a N-S alignment.[282] A processional road, coming around the S side of the terraces, led to a stepped altar 4.70 m wide and 0.50 m high. Around it was a thick layer with burnt material. The position of the altar was probably determined by a chasm in the bedrock, which is at least 10 m deep. In it were found votives of Neopalatial date.[283] A large megalithic wall, 3 m wide, 3.5 m high and 735 m long surrounds the complex, but as its construction date is unknown, it is not certain whether it was conceived as a temenos wall.[284] Neopalatial votive and cult objects consist of stone vases and tables of offerings (some of these with Linear A inscriptions), seal stones, jewellery and bronze and terracotta figurines.[285]

It has been argued that with the growth, in Neopalatial times, of the territory and influence of Knossos, Jouktas outgrew its function as local sanctuary and began to serve a large part of the area it overlooks, notably the whole N part of central Crete, from the Ida in the W to the Lasithi mountains in the E. [286] After LM I, Jouktas was the single remaining peak sanctuary, while all others known were abandoned.[287] Peatfield interprets this process as a deliberate monopolisation of the peak sanctuary cult by the Minoan palaces, resulting in the primacy of the palace of Knossos and Jouktas.[288]

The cult on Jouktas continued and also survived the transition from the LM IIIB to LM IIIC period.[289] The new excavations indicate that in the practice of the later cult the monumental Neopalatial structures were reused.[290] A mixed fill with pottery and votives from the MM III to the O period, including LM IIIC krater fragments, indicates continuous use of the altar. At least three terracotta wheelmade figures, including two bovids, can be dated to the LM IIIC-SM period.[291] Terracotta animal figurines are said to span the whole period from LM III to LG. Of importance is the find of three fragments of a terracotta figure, identified by the excavator as belonging to a LM IIIB GUA figure.[292]

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[281] Peatfield 1990, 71 (referring to a personal communication from Karetsou), 127-28.

[282] The measurements are taken from a plan in Karetsou (1981, fig. 5).

[283] Karetsou 1981, 140-41, 143 fig. 6; *ead.* 1989-90, 281.

[284] Karetsou 1979, 281; *ead.* 1981, 137, 151, figs. 3-4.

[285] As listed by Peatfield 1990, 127.

[286] Peatfield (1990, 126-27) and Cherry (1978) disagree about the beginning of the involvement of the Minoan palaces in peak sanctuary cult. Peatfield opts for a Neopalatial and Cherry for a Protopalatial date.

[287] Rutkowski 1986, 94-95; Peatfield 1983, 277.

[288] Peatfield 1992, 61. For critical notes: Warren and Cherry, in Peatfield 1992, 80-83.

[289] Karetsou 1975, 334-35.

A.26 *Ayia Triada: the 'Piazzale dei Sacelli' (see also B.56); Plates 15-16*

Ayia Triada is situated on a low hill slope in the W of the fertile Mesara plain, only *c.* 3 km W of Phaistos. Excavations were first undertaken by Halbherr and Paribeni in 1902-1914, to be resumed from 1970 by Levi and Laviosa and then La Rosa for the Italian School.[293] Like other important BA settlements in central Crete, Ayia Triada was founded at an early date, possibly towards the end of the N period. In the course of the BA, the site developed into an important and wealthy town. It has been argued that throughout the BA a close relationship existed between Ayia Triada and Phaistos, the two sites being joined in one political and territorial unit and fulfilling complementary functions.[294] The history of events at Ayia Triada at the end of the BA have long been unclear, but recent Italian reports indicate that the site saw rebuilding after the destructions of the LM IB period (although perhaps not until LM IIIA1) and again in LM IIIA2, when some monumental structures were erected. Ayia Triada was abandoned in the LM IIIB period, perhaps after a destruction.[295] The population may then have joined the larger community at Phaistos (see A.5).

During the early excavations, an extensive votive deposit was retrieved from the 'Piazzale dei Sacelli', the paved court to the S of the BA Stoa (Plate 15). The votive material was first published by Banti, who believed this formed one large deposit, with votives ranging from the LM III to the HL period, which had been dispersed by erosion.[296] D'Agata, who has restudied the old excavation material, distinguishes three phases of (interrupted) use: LM IIIC-SM, PGB-EO and HL.[297] The earliest finds form a homogenous group dating to the LM IIIC-SM period,[298] i.e. the time following on the abandonment of the settlement.

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[290] Karetsou (1981, 151) mentions a rearrangement of some of the rooms in 'the second Neopalatial period'.

[291] Guggisberg 1996, 152 (nos. 530-32).

[292] Karetsou 1975, 334-45 pls. 267a, d, 268a; *ead.* 1978, 255, fig. 14; Orlandos 1975, fig. 177; Rutkowski 1986, 84 fig. 96.

[293] See for a fuller bibliography: La Rosa 1992a, 76-77.

[294] La Rosa 1985; *id.* 1992a, 74.

[295] La Rosa & D'Agata 1984, 161-72; La Rosa 1992a, 70-76; *id.* 1994, 76-77; D'Agata 1999b, 48-49.

The votives were found over a rather widespread area, covering the 'Piazzale' and part of the lower slope to its N.[299] A fragmentary construction to the S, possibly of LM IIIC date, may have served to demarcate the court or as a stepped area to seat the celebrants. The area to the S of the 'Piazzale' has not yielded any remains dating to either MM or LM times and perhaps formed the site of a sacred grove.[300] Otherwise, the court must have been largely surrounded by the ruins of deserted buildings at the time of the cult.

A total of 141 terracotta objects have been associated with the LM IIIC-SM phase of use of the 'Piazzale' and only three of bronze. The latter consist of bovine figurines,[301] which according to Pilali-Papasteriou are closely related to ones found at Phaistos.[302]

Hollow, wheelmade bulls predominate among the terracotta objects, being represented by at least 37 specimens (Plate 16a); the other animal figures consist of two horses.[303] Of terracotta fantastic animals there are some 35 examples, most of them being composed of a bovine body and human head (Plate 16b). There is one female specimen, *c.* 0.50 m high, which may have formed a pair with a male fantastic figure that is similar in execution and style. Some of the other figures wear tunics, sandals and greaves (Plate 16c).[304]

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[296] Banti 1941-43, 69, 71-72.

[297] D'Agata 1998, 19.

[298] D'Agata 1997, 87-88. Until then the earliest votives were dated LM IIIB: Kanta 1980, 102-03. As a consequence, Gesell (1985, 46, 76 (cat. 27)) qualified the 'Piazzale' as a LM IIIB-C public sanctuary for a Postpalatial settlement.

[299] Banti (1941-43, 69) said the votives were not found directly on the paving but in a higher level. Recent tests, however, proved a HL date for an altar set into the paving (see Catling 1987-88, 65-66), indicating that the surface level of the Piazzale remained unchanged until very late.

[300] La Rosa 1994, 76; see also Banti 1941-43, 69; Catling 1987-88, 65-66.

[301] D'Agata 1999c, 38, 48 (C1.72-74), pl. 30.

[302] Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 36, 39.

[303] D'Agata 1999c, 38-45 (C1.1-39), pls. 13-24, 31-37.

Terracotta Horns of Consecration, sometimes with a thin tube with human face attached to the centre, are represented by 24 examples and form a relatively homogenous group (Plate 16d).[305]

Small terracotta animal figurines number 26, of which 14 are bovids, 12 horses (three with wheels attached to the legs), and two rams. In addition there were five birds.[306]

Other objects associated with the LM IIIC-SM period of use of this open-air sanctuary include two or three fragmentary rhyta, one perhaps bovine, the other in the form of a horn (its shape resembling those of the Horns of Consecration).[307] Among the remaining objects there is further a small terracotta Double Axe, which is more likely to have been an attachment for a Horns of Consecration than having been an independent object. A larger Double Axe fragment was also recorded, but this may again have formed part of a composite object.[308] Only a few possible anthropomorphic terracotta figurines have been noted.[309] Of interest, but not securely dated, is the presence of part of a bronze ingot, probably of Cypriot type.[310]

There is too little evidence to reconstruct the course of the rituals. Earlier reports already stated explicitly that none of the votives showed traces of burning,[311] and there is no indication in any of the reports of traces of ash-altars or sacrificial deposits containing bones. On the basis of the type of votives the cult at the 'Piazzale' is considered as being connected with fertility and protection of crops and animals.[312] Later epigraphical evidence, of the HL period, testifies to a cult for Zeus Velchanos at Ayia Triada, associated with an altar of that date at the 'Piazzale' itself and a small cult building to the NE. The epithet may refer to a kind of tree or vegetation in general.[313]

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[304] D'Agata 1999c, 64-86 (C2. 1-35), pls. 38-53.

[305] D'Agata 1999c, 86-99 (C3.1-24), pls. 54-67.

[306] D'Agata 1999c, 46-47 (C1.40-71), pls. 24-29.

[307] D'Agata 1999c, 99-100 (C4.2-3), 102-03, 105 (C4. 10), pls. 69, 72-73.

[308] D'Agata 1999c, 102, 105 (C4.11), 101, 104 (C4.6), pl. 71.

[309] D'Agata 1999c, 99-100 (C.41), 234, pl. 68.

[310] D'Agata 1999c, 229.

[311] Banti 1941-43, 69.

[312] Banti 1941-43, 64-67; see also D'Agata 1999c, 236.

[313] Nilsson 1950, 464, 550-51; Willetts 1962, 250-51. There are tiles with the name of the deity from the sanctuary itself, CL coins from Phaistos depicting a youthful god with a rooster in a tree, and there is an associated month name in Gortyn, Lyttos and Knossos.

A.27 *Mount Kophinas (see also B.58)*

An important peak sanctuary has been discovered on a high and distinctive summit of Mount Kophinas, the mountain range that separates the plain of Mesara from the narrow S coast. The site is at the locality of Metzolati, at a walking distance of an hour and a half from the modern village of Kapetaniana. Rescue excavations in response to extensive pillaging took place in 1960 by Platon and Davaras and again in 1990 by Karetsou and Rethemiotakis.[314]

Preliminary reports mention the presence of a temenos, with an entrance in the E wall. The black layer inside this temenos contained much pottery of the MM III-LM I period, which seems to have been the *akme* of the sanctuary. From the same period there are terracotta animal figurines (mostly bulls), bull-shaped rhyta and terracotta figurines of females and especially males, some of which were 0.50 m tall. In addition there were precious finds such as stone tables of offering, stone vases, seal stones, two bronze anthropomorphic figurines (one male and one female), tens of bronze knives, bronze waste, fragments of bronze talents, a lead Double Axe, some objects of gold and semi-precious stones. According to Karetsou and Rethemiotakis, cult may have been interrupted after the Neopalatial period.[315]

From the LM IIIC and later periods there are again traces of ritual activities. There is LM IIIC pottery (akin to that from the contemporary settlement at the acropolis of Gortyn, on the N side of the Mesara plain) and the bull figures, described by Platon and Davaras as being up to 80 cm high, are likely to belong to the well-known class of LM IIIC-SM wheelmade animal figures. It is further of interest that four LM IIIC-SM sites, including a cemetery, have been discovered on the N slopes of Kophinas, in the direction of the Mesara plain, indicating permanent habitation in the immediate vicinity of the sanctuary.[316]

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[314] Platon & Davaras 1961-62; Alexiou 1963b; Karetsou & Rethemiotakis 1990.

[315] Alexiou 1963b, 384; Platon & Davaras 1961-62, 287-88; Karetsou & Rethemiotakis 1990, 429.

[316] Alexiou 1963b, 384; Platon & Davaras 1961-62, 287-88; Karetsou & Rethemiotakis 1990, 429-30.

A.28 *The Arkalochori cave*

The cave of Arkalochori lies just below the summit of the Prophetis Elias hill, at the SW side of the fertile Pediada Plain in Central Crete. The first excavations were undertaken in 1912 by I. Chatzidakis, who worked solely in the fore chamber. More chance finds by the local villagers prompted new excavations in 1935 by Platon and Marinatos.[317]

The cave, now largely destroyed, had a very narrow entrance, 1.5 m wide and only 0.6 m high. The first chamber is likewise small (6 x 2 x 0.6 m high), but the second, inner one measures no less than 30 x 10 m.[318] The cave was probably used as a dwelling in the period from EM I-MM I. During the Neopalatial period it developed into a very rich cult place. The two chambers have yielded hundreds of precious metal votives, including Double Axes, swords and knives in full-size and miniature form. Shortly afterwards the ceiling fell down and the cave was blocked. Nevertheless, some worshippers, perhaps a small local group, kept on bringing offerings of pottery to the entrance of the cave. Metal or other precious objects were not dedicated anymore. Among the material sherds were noted of 'the latest phase of LM' and of PG date,[319] suggesting a continuation through the LM IIIC-SM period.

The importance of the cave during MM III-LM I and its proximity to Lyttos, to the NE of the Pediada plain, led Marinatos to suggest an identification with the birth cave of Zeus mentioned by Hesiod (see also A.30).[320] The early collapse of the cave and the subsequent petering out of the cult, however, seem to preclude this.[321]

A.29 *The Phaneromeni cave (see also B.63)*

The cave of Phaneromeni is situated on the NW slopes of the Lasithi mountains, in a valley above modern Avdou. In 1937, Marinatos excavated part of the cave and published a brief preliminary report. The cave consists of two chambers, 70 m deep, 10 m wide and 5 m high, with rock formations and water at the bottom.[322]

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[317] Chatzidakis 1912-13; Marinatos 1934; *id.* 1935a, 212.

[318] Tyree 1974, 28-29.

[319] Marinatos 1934, 253; *id.* 1935a, 218-19; Tyree 1974, 28-29, 216.

[320] Marinatos 1962, 88-89.

[321] Boardman 1961, 2.

Marinatos claimed continuity of cult from LM I to O.[323] The dates of several of the finds are disputed, but at least one terracotta and one bronze male figurine seem to belong to the LM IIIC-SM period.[324] To earlier periods belong more bronze male figurines, two bronze and one golden votive Double Axe, small bronze blades, three stone offering tables (LM I) and pottery, including fragments of kernoi.[325]

The fact that the cave overlooks the area of Lyttos, which is at a walking distance of *c.* one hour and a half,[326] has led some scholars to propose an identification as the birth cave of Zeus mentioned by Hesiod (see also A.30). However, Boardman, considering the limited number of finds, suggests that the cave served as a local cult place. Closer by, at Spiliaridia, are the remains of a settlement whose period of occupation, from LM I to O, corresponds to that of the main use of the cave.[327]

A.30 *The Psychro cave (see also B.56)*

The Psychro cave lies in the SW corner of the Lasithi plateau, at an altitude of 1025 m and some 130 m higher than the plain itself. From the entrance, the view stretches to Karphi in the N, which is on a walking distance of less than an hour. After the discovery of antiquities by locals in 1883, trial excavations were undertaken by Halbherr and Chatzidakis in 1886, by Evans in the years 1894-96, and by J. Demargne in 1897.[328] In 1900, a large-scale excavation (involving the use of dynamite) was conducted by Hogarth for the British School. In 1961, Boardman presented a synthesis of the cave's history, based on stratigraphic evidence from the early excavation reports and his own stylistic analysis of the finds.[329]

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[322] Marinatos 1937a, 222-23; Faure 1964, 160; Tyree 1974, 11-12.

[323] Marinatos 1937b, 222-23; Petrou-Mesogeitis 1938, 614-15.

[324] Kanta 1980, 71, fig. 24:8. For the bronze: Verlinden 1984, 215 (no. 196), pl. 79. Naumann (1976, 90-94 (nos. S2, S15-18)) dated no less than five of the figurines illustrated by Marinatos (1937a, fig. 4) to the SM period. *Cf.* Tyree (1974, 12) for a more plausible LM date.

[325] Marinatos 1937a, 222-23; Tyree 1974, 11-13; Kanta 1980, 71.

[326] Marinatos 1937a, 222.

[327] Boardman 1961, 2 (with reference to Marinatos 1937a, 222). For Spiliaridia: Xanthoudides 1907, 184; Faure 1964, 160; Tyree 1974, 13-14.

[328] Halbherr & Orsi 1888; Evans 1897, 350-58; J. Demargne 1902.

The cave consists of two chambers, the lower one of which is some 35 m deep and contains rock formations and a pool of water. These features played an important role in the BA cult but may have become unreachable when heavy stone fall from the ceiling blocked off the lower chamber at some point between the LM III and G periods. The situation in the LM IIIC-SM period is not clear.[330]

The upper chamber (*c.* 20 x 25 m), which has the appearance of a rock shelter without rock formations, is divided in a NW and NE recess. A small rectangular structure in the first recess may have been an altar and was surrounded by four different strata with votives from, respectively, the MM, MM III-LM I, LM III and G and later periods. The NE recess was called the Temenos because of the presence of paving stones, which were partly surrounded by a large-stone wall. Here the layer with MM material was missing, while the other three were present. Tests outside the cave, in front of the entrance, produced sporadic finds, but no architectural remains.[331]

Recent scholars have reconstructed the cave's history as follows: during the FN-EM period it was used as a place of burial or habitation. Cult may have begun as early as the MM I-II period, with MM III-LM I being an *akme*, characterised by the dedication of numerous bronze votives, including figurines of worshippers, bulls and other animals, weaponry, tools and personal ornaments. The bronzes are difficult to date, but several of them may, according to Boardman, belong to 'LM III'. In this period, cult appears to have continued with little change in votive practice.[332]

Finds of which at least some can be assigned with plausibility to the LM IIIC-SM period are bronze single-edged knives, a votive javelin or spear, arrowheads, perhaps a votive Double Axe, some violinbow fibulae, a bronze pin as well as some in ivory and bone, bronze rings, and possibly a gold hair spiral.[333] At least one bronze male figurine and perhaps others date to the LM III-SM period.[334] Terracotta wheelmade figures were also present, though not very prominently. Hogarth noted 'more than one' such figures, probably all bulls.[335] D'Agata mentions the leg of a possible fantastic figure.[336] Ceramic finds of this period, recently published by Watrous, include two kraters, a pithoid jar, a tankard, some bull figurines and perhaps a goat. Many of the vase shapes show similarities with those from Karphi, indicating that the cave was being visited during the time of this settlement's occupation.[337] Five smaller sites in the plain itself have also been dated to 'the end of LM III'.[338]

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[329] Hogarth 1899-1900a, 94-116. See also Boardman 1961, 1-2; Tyree 1974, 14-15, 225; Watrous 1996, 17-18. The animal bronzes and the pottery have subsequently been restudied by Pilali-Papasteriou (1985) and Watrous (1996, 31-46) respectively.

[330] Boardman 1961, 3-4. Watrous (1996, 53-54) believes cult continued here into the G period. For a description of the cave's lay-out: Hogarth 1899-1900a, 96-97, pl. VIII; Tyree 1974, 14; Watrous 1996, 17, pls. I-III.

[331] Hogarth 1899-1900a, 97-100; Boardman 1961, 3-4; Tyree 1974, 14-20. Watrous (1996, 17, 48, 52) dates the construction of the terrace to the MM III-LM I period and believes that the Temenos was initially a storeroom.

[332] Boardman 1961, 4-5: Watrous 1996, 47-53, 100.

Although the cave is often referred to as the historically known *Dictaean Antron* or birth place of Zeus, this identification is not certain. According to Hesiod, the cave where Rhea gave birth to Zeus and hid him from his father Kronos, was on Mount *Aigaion* near Lyttos. Later ancient literary tradition confounded this with *Dikte*, the location of which may have to be sought further eastwards. An identification as Hesiod's Aigaion is, on the other hand, possible.[339] The Psychro cave and Lyttos are within a four hours walk, which appears far, but the route (via Kato Metochi) was until recently the main access to the plain from the W.[340]

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[333] Boardman 1961, 17-23, fig. 5, pl. X (esp. knives nos. 72-73), 29-30, fig. 11 (arrowheads), 26-28, fig. 10 (spearhead no. 113), 42-45, fig. 19, pl. XV (votive axe no. 208), 35-37, pl. XIII (fibulae nos. 156-60), 32-34, figs. 13-14 (esp. pin nos. 146), 37-42, figs. 17-18 (esp. rings nos. 166-171, 173, 175, 190). According to Watrous (1996, 53 with further refs.) perhaps also some bronze daggers, a sword pommel and a razor.

[334] The dating by Naumann (1976, 90-94) of 25 anthropomorphic figurines to the SM period, is not supported by other scholars; see Boardman 1961, 6-8; Verlinden (1984, 215-16) lists only one male figurine as SM.

[335] Hogarth 1899-1900a, 104, fig. 33; Boardman 1961, 56 ns. 2-3; Watrous 1996, 42 (nos. 123-24), pls. XXVI:c-d.

[336] D'Agata 1999c, 73-74.

[337] Boardman 1961, 5, 56; Watrous 1982, 19; *id.* 1996, 41-42, 53.

[338] Watrous 1974, 316; *id.* 1982, 17-19.

[339] Hes. *Theogony*, 481-84. For a discussion and further refs.: A.B. Cook 1925, 925-27; Guarducci 1940, 99-104; Nilsson 1950, 458-60; Boardman 1961, 2-3. Evans (1897, 350) and Hogarth (1899-1900a, 95) accepted the identification as *Dictaean Antron*. For the possibility that the Psychro cave was on ancient Mt. Aigaion and constituted one of many sanctuaries dedicated to the birth of Zeus: Boardman 1961, 2-3; followed by Watrous 1996, 18-19. Other caves for which an identification as Aigaion has been proposed are Arkalochori and Phaneromeni; see Boardman (1961, 2-3) and cat. entries A.28 and A.29.

A.31 *Syme (see also B.66); Plate 17*

The open-air sanctuary of Syme is situated high on the S slopes of the Lasithi massif, at an altitude of 1130 m. Since the accidental discovery of the sanctuary in 1972, spectacular evidence has been brought to light for continuous cult practice from MM times to the 6th century AD (Plate 17).[341] Syme's setting is largely dominated by steep and rocky mountain slopes, where pine trees are growing. The copious Krya Vrysi spring wells up just to the NE of the sanctuary site. To the N and E the sanctuary is closed off by steep cliffs, but to the S and W the view stretches to the sea. Not far to the W of the sanctuary is the upland plain of Omalos, traditionally used as a grazing ground for the flocks of the inhabitants of the Viannos region.[342]

Throughout the long history of Syme, there is clear continuity not only in the use of the same sacred spot, but also in actual cult practice. Even though roofed buildings existed in all phases of the history of Syme, open-air activities dominated the cult until the CL or HL period. These involved the lighting of bonfires, the sacrifice of animals, dining and the deposition of cult equipment and offerings, especially drinking vessels and anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines. At the same time, it is clear that at the end of the BA the number of ordinary vessels began to decrease, while cult vases and other equipment disappeared altogether. Unambiguous votives become more common from the LM IIIC-SM period.[343] The lay-out of the sanctuary area and the use of the built structures also underwent certain changes through time, which imply a shift in the emphasis of the cult and the organisation of the sanctuary.

In its initial, Protopalatial form the sanctuary site was largely occupied by monumental Building V, only portions of which could be uncovered. Its immediate successor, Building U, also of Protopalatial date, consisted of at least 22 rooms and a paved court and has yielded, amongst many other things, a clay tablet with hieroglyphic inscription.[344]

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[340] Pendlebury 1939, 10.

[341] For a full bibliography: Lebessi 2002, 3 n. 1, 315.

[342] Spanakis 1964, 357.

[343] Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 323, 328; Kanta 1991, 485; Lebessi 2002, 2-4.

In the Neopalatial period, a large enclosure was built, which played a central role in the open-air cult activities. A paved road probably served as a processional way and led to an entrance in the E wall. From there it may have continued towards the conspicuous rectangular structure in the middle of the enclosure. This measures 7 x 12.5 m, thereby occupying more than half of the width of the enclosure. The excavators interpret it as a podium for the spectators or participants in the rituals. The structure seems too large to have acted as an altar and votives were found all around, but not on top of it.[345] The enclosure incorporates a large rock in the W wall, i.e. opposite the presumed entrance, but the question as to whether this may have been a baetyl, and hence the focus of the cult, has not been addressed. Palatial involvement is indicated by the scale and monumentality of the sanctuary in Proto- and Neopalatial times, and also by the kinds of associated cult objects: terracotta tubular stands, goblets and chalices, stone ritual vessels and libation tables, some with Linear A inscriptions.[346]

A major modification of the sanctuary's lay-out occurred before the close of the Neopalatial period, when Building U, the SW corner of the sacred enclosure and a portion of the processional road were covered over by a new construction, Building S. Natural causes, i.e. rock slides, were presumably responsible for the destruction of the earlier complex,[347] but the subsequent rebuilding along a different plan implies a departure from the principles which had previously determined the organisation of the sanctuary. Over the years a burnt layer with votives, sherds and animal bones spread from the area of the enclosure to the central parts of the sanctuary.[348] This indicates once more the loss of the sacred enclosure's function of demarcating an area dedicated to specific cult practices.

Building S remained in use, albeit partially and with modifications, throughout the LM IIIC-SM period. Room Q was added onto Building S towards the end of LM IIIC.[349] The badly eroded rooms of Building L, also reusing part of Building S, are probably of somewhat later date. A deposit on the half-destroyed floor of one of the rooms consists of lekanes, braziers, flasks and conical cups dating to the late LM IIIC-SM period. A pit 5 m to the W contained a kalathos and a brazier, which probably also came from Building L.[350]

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[344] Lebessi 1993, 213-15, pls. 134-35; Lebessi, Muhly & Olivier 1995, 71-74.

[345] Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 319, 328-29; Lebessi 1992a, 270. For a date in the Protopalatial period: Lebessi, Muhly & Olivier 1995, 71, 74.

[346] Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 334-36; Lebessi, Muhly & Olivier 1995, 70-75.

[347] Mylonas 1985a, 74-75; Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 336; Lebessi 1992a, 270.

[348] The N wall and the N half of the W wall of the enclosure were visible until at least the 6th century BC; see Lebessi 1987, 273; Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 336.

All these LM IIIC-SM structures probably formed auxiliary buildings for the open-air cult that continued to be practised in the area of the former sacred enclosure.[351] From the mixed sacrificial layer to the E of Building S came the fragments of a possible Horns of Consecration and at least 45 large terracotta wheelmade bulls, similar to those found at Ayia Triada (Plate 16), most of which will date to the LM IIIC-SM period. Some of these bulls were provided with rectangular bases, a feature not found in animal figures elsewhere.[352] A pair of terracotta human legs may have belonged to an anthropomorphic or fantastic figure.[353] A thick sheet-bronze set of Horns of Consecration with central projection parallels known LM IIIC-SM terracotta ones; the bronze votive Double Axes are not exactly datable.[354] Other votives from the mixed layer consist of terracotta tubes, male figurines in terracotta and two in bronze (one of them a warrior), terracotta bovine and some other animal figurines (but perhaps none in bronze)[355] and bronze pins.[356] LM IIIC-SM pottery includes kraters, kylikes and deep bowls and fragments of a four-sided stand as known from Karphi (for the latter, see Plate 8).[357]

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[349] Lebessi 1987, 284-85; Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 336. The original form of the building was preserved during LM II-III, while LM IIIB is characterised as a period of reuse; see Lebessi 1992a, 270.

[350] Lebessi 1985a, 266-68, pl. 127e. The deposit from L is said to include PG material (Lebessi 1977, 416-18), but this is probably because the pottery from Karphi, to which is referred to as a parallel, is considered by Lebessi (1981a, 14; 1985a, 264) to include PG examples. The deposit as a whole may therefore belong to the LM IIIC-SM period as defined here.

[351] Only few cult objects, notably a bronze votive Double Axe and a stone table of offering, were found inside: Lebessi 1973, 192-93; *ead.* 1981a, 14.

[352] Lebessi 1973, 198, pl. 186c; *ead.* 1974, 224, pl. 166a; *ead.* 1977, 413, 415, pl. 217c, e; *ead.*, 1981a, 14 fig. 5. For the bases: Lebessi 1983b, 354; *ead.* 1984, 447-48, pl. 222d. There also are some 7th-century horse figures, from Gortyn, with such bases; see Rizza & Scrinari 1968, pl. XXXIX (nos. 280, 283).

[353] Lebessi 1983b, 358, pl. 242b.

[354] Lebessi 1984, 448, pl. 224.

[355] Lebessi 1972, 198; *ead.* 1975a, 328; *ead.* 1981a, 15; *ead.* 1992b, 217. For the male bronze figurines: Lebessi 2002, 16-17 (nos. 8-9), 318, pls. 8-9. Three bronze bovids dated to the (L)BA in the preliminary reports have subsequently been as-

The excavators note that the method of sacrifice in the LM IIIC-SM period does not seem to have differed from Proto- and Neopalatial practices. They believe that perishable parts of animals, such as entrails or fat, were burned in the flames and thus contributed to the greasy nature of the black sacrificial layer. The later Greek practice of burning an entire portion of the victim on an altar is not attested as few of the bones show traces of scorching. The discovery of skull fragments with horns attached indicates that complete animal heads were placed in the smouldering remains of the fires. In this context the excavators point to the popularity of the bucranium in Minoan iconography.[358]

Later inscriptions (dating to *c.* 600 BC and the HL period) and iconographical evidence from the G-O periods point to a cult for Hermes and Aphrodite in those periods. As an earlier form of the name of Hermes may occur in the Linear B tablets, the excavator believes that a process of syncretization with the older Minoan Great Goddess and her male consort took place at Syme from the LM IIIA-B periods.[359] The celebration of initiation rites for young aristocratic males, as has been convincingly reconstructed by Lebessi for the G-O periods, is thought to have begun in the SM period.[360]

Due to a lack of systematic investigation of the area around Syme, the relationship of the sanctuary to surrounding settlements is, for many periods, unclear. For the LM IIIC-SM period, Nowicki has identified different groups of 'defensive settlements' between Myr-

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signed to the EIA by Schürmann (1996, 221-25); see also Chapter Four, p. 393, *contra* Pilali-Papasteriou 1985.

[356] Lebessi 1977, 411; *ead.* 1983b, 357.

[357] Lebessi 1984, 457, fig. 1; Kanta 1991, 490-94, figs. 23, 25-28:a,b.

[358] Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 324-28. The type of animal is not specified. In the following period, the EIA, iconographical evidence indicates that the preferred victim was the agrimi. At least one agrimi skull with horns has been found in the black sacrificial layer; see Lebessi 1984, 455, pl. 226. Most of the animal bones, however, belong to domesticated goats: Lebessi 1992c, 13.

[359] Lebessi 1981a, 19-20 (with further refs.). The name of Aphrodite, however, has so far not been attested: Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 259; Burkert 1985, 51-52.

[360] Lebessi 1991a, 165. According to Koehl (1986), such rites began earlier in the LBA. As most of the iconographical evidence for this theory belongs to the G-O periods, this matter will be discussed more fully in Chapter Four, section 9, p. 577-81.

tos on the SE coast and the Mesara in the W.[361] In the immediate environs of the sanctuary traces of LM IIIC-SM habitation have been recognised at the foot of the Syme hill.[362]

A.32 *Kastri Viannou*

In 1996, a modern dump containing archaeological finds was found on the beach of Keratokampos. The material probably derived from construction work at a local hotel and included sherds from the MM IIIB-LM IA and SM-A periods and votive and/or cult objects from the LM IIIB to PG periods. The LM IIIB period is represented by only one terracotta (human) figurine, while the rest of the votives are dated to the LM IIIC-PG periods. They include animal figurines and figures (some of them 0.50 m tall or more), a possible horse with pack saddle and rider, fantastic figures (composed of bovine bodies with human heads, or sphinxes), a human face of a similar fantastic or a GUA figure, part of a human face with inlaid faience eye (perhaps from a rhyton), and a figurine of a pregnant woman. In addition there were terracotta Double Axes and Horns of Consecration.[363]

4. Principal Types of LM IIIC-SM Cult Equipment and Votives

As is apparent from the preceding catalogue, two distinct and recurring groups can be distinguished among the various types of objects associated with LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries. On the one hand, there are assemblages that are characterised by the presence of terracotta figures[364] of a type called 'Goddess with Upraised Arms' (GUA) and which are already known in Crete from the LM IIIA2-B period (Table 1, for examples see Plate 6). These assemblages often also contain terracotta tubular stands or 'snake-tubes' with handles in the form of stylised snakes (Plate 11), terracotta plaques (Plate 7) and, albeit less frequently, kalathoi (shallow terracotta bowls). This recurring group, of which there are seven well-documented examples, are found invariably within LM IIIC-SM settlements, in various kinds of cult rooms or cult buildings that either contain stone-built benches or rock shelves that may have functioned as such.[365]

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[361] One around Erganos in the upper Mesara, one around Arvi on the S coast and one in the Mythi-Males valley E of Syme; see Nowicki 1992, 115, fig. 1.

[362] At Selli near Monachi Achladia; see Lebessi 1975a, 329.

[363] Rethemiotakis 1999, 295-97, fig. 51.

[364] 'Figures' are hollow and wheel- or coil made, while figurines are solid: French 1981, 173.

On the other hand, there are cult assemblages in which large terracotta animal—the majority being bovine—figures form the most conspicuous class of object (Table 2, Plate 16a). In their typical wheelmade form these are not attested earlier in Crete. The associated assemblages also comprise (in order of descending frequency) small terracotta animal figurines, terracotta anthropomorphic figurines, large terracotta Horns of Consecration (Plate 16d) and fantastic or hybrid figures (Plate 16b). The latter usually combine bovine bodies with human heads and human legs.[366] At Patsos (A.23) and Kastri Viannou (A.32) possible terracotta sphinxes have been identified. There are eleven examples of sanctuaries with large terracotta animal figures and associated objects, eight of which have an extra-urban location.[367]

These two assemblages appear to represent distinct cult forms. As in the LM IIIA2-B period, there are no certain examples of dedication in the same sanctuary of GUA figures and large animal figures in LM IIIC-SM Crete.[368] Much the same observation applies to the objects frequently associated with GUAs and animal figures. Small animal and anthropomorphic figurines are only once found in the same cult room as a GUA (i.e. in A.9, Karphi, Court 16-17), large terracotta Horns of Consecration so far never. (The earlier LM IIIA2-B Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos did contain two solid terracotta Horns of Consecration, but otherwise these symbols occur only as appliqués on the GUAs, kalathoi and plaques.[369]) Conversely, snake tubes, kalathoi and terracotta plaques have not been found together with animal figures. Moreover, in the urban sanctuaries associated with GUA figures, evidence for the sacrifice or ritual consumption of animals is scanty. The kalathoi may have been used for the offering of other kinds of food and perishable objects, in some cases—as suggested by the traces of burning on the inside of some kalathoi from Building G at Vronda—by means of burning.[370] In general, however, signs of burning and food consumption are sparse. This is in contrast with the practice at several extra-urban sanctuaries, where thick layers with votive figurines, animal bones and charcoal often occur. The same difference in offertory practices between sanctuaries in and outside the settlements has been noted for earlier periods of the LBA.[371]

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[365] These different kinds of 'bench sanctuaries' will be discussed in section 5 of this chapter, p. 188-92.

[366] Rethemiotakis 2001, 145-48.

[367] It may be added that of the three sanctuaries with animal figures that are here listed as 'urban', the status as such of the sanctuary at Tylisos (A.2) is least secure. The finds from Phaistos (A.5) indicate no more than the possible presence of a sanctuary.

[368] Gesell 1985, 54.

[369] D'Agata 1992, 253-54. Pötscher (1990, 67-79, 109-10) considers the Horns of Consecration a 'male symbol'.

Syme (A.31) is the obvious exception. Although no examples of GUAs have been discovered at this site, LM IIIC-SM tubes for offering bowls and kalathoi were dedicated together with large numbers of animal figures and figurines, fantastic figures and large Horns of Consecration. This may be explained by the fact that later epigraphic and iconographic evidence for Syme indicate worship of two divinities, Hermes and Aphrodite.[372]

In addition to the two groups of LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries with assemblages centring on GUA and animal figures, there is a comparably large group of 13 sites whose cult assemblages have neither of these classes of cult objects (Table 3). While some of the sanctuaries in this group have objects often found in relation with the GUA, others do not.

Snake tubes and kalathoi occurred in a room of one of the houses at Karphi (A.11, Room 58), kalathoi in three other urban cult places, Area 26-27 in Karphi (A.10), Unit A1 in Chalasmenos (A.19) and in Building A/B in Vronda (A.20), and in large quantities in the only suburban sanctuary known from this period, the Spring Chamber at Knossos (A.4, Plate 2). A special connection between kalathoi and a cult for a goddess envisaged as GUA has been proposed, not only because of the frequent concurrence of this type of terracotta bowl with GUA figures and snake tubes, but also because there is one example from Karphi which has attached to its interior a small GUA figurine, with a miniature kalathos on her head.[373] The Spring Chamber (A.4) contained, besides the many kalathoi, a small cylindrical model, likewise with a figurine of a GUA inside (Plate 3). However, in Area 26-27 at Karphi and Building A/B at Vronda kalathoi were found with objects that lack a clear relationship with GUA figures: in Area 26-27 there were bronze votive Double Axes and two elaborate rhyta (one consisting of a chariot with three spouts in the form of bulls' heads, Plate 9a, the other with spout in the shape of a human head, Plate 9b),[374] in Building A/B mainly drinking vessels and animal bones.

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[370] A few snake tubes from Building G also show signs of burning, at the base; see Gesell 1999, 285.

[371] Gesell 1985, 2.

[372] See cat. entry B.66 and the discussion in Chapter Four, section 9, p. 582.

In most of the sanctuaries listed in Table 3 indications for cult activities come in the form of small terracotta anthropomorphic and/or zoomorphic figurines. These kinds of votive objects are, as noted above, usual in assemblages with large animal figures. However, it is doubtful that the presence of these figurines, with their wide range of possible meanings and broad applicability, can be taken as specific for this (or any other) cult.[375] Some of the sanctuaries with animal and anthropomorphic figurines in Table 3 at the same time contain references to a GUA, as shown, for instance, by the Spring Chamber.

At least seven of the cult places assembled in Table 3 are to be classified as domestic sanctuaries, as they are part of dwellings and have yielded only modest numbers of cult and/or votive objects. These display a certain variation in form, with some of them occupying no more than a corner or ledge in a house and others larger rooms and courts. On the basis of the associated cult objects, however, it is difficult to detect meaningful subdivisions, which could point to clearly different cults. The pits at the summit of Thronos Kephala (A.1) and Building A/B at Vronda (Plate 10) have in common that they contained considerable quantities of drinking vessels and animal bones (which, in fact, makes the religious nature of the rituals here ambiguous). Outside the sanctuaries characterised by the dominant presence of GUA and animal figures, the general impression is therefore one of relative heterogeneity in cult expression.

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[373] From Room 148-149; see Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 70, pl. 35:6; Seiradaki 1960, 18, pl. 4c.

[374] Gesell 1985, 45, 53.

[375] See, on the various ways these votives may (and have been) interpreted: Chapter One, section 3, p. 26-33.

Before continuing with a discussion of these two more consistent and better-defined assemblages, some general observations on the cult equipment and votives in vogue in the LM IIIC-SM period may be offered. It is evident that terracotta objects predominate. The GUAs, animal and fantastic figures, as well as the Horns of Consecration, can be fairly elaborate and sometimes reach considerable dimensions: the GUAs from Karphi, for instance, vary in height from 0.55 to 0.85 m, while the animal and fantastic figures often reach 0.50 m.[376]

Bronze and other metal votives are rare. No metal votive objects have been discovered in the urban sanctuaries associated with GUAs. Elsewhere, if they occur at all, metal votives consist of small objects, usually of bronze. They are occasionally found in areas associated with domestic cult activities, as at Karphi (A.10 and A.14) and Chalasmenos (A.18). At the first site they take the form of bronze Double Axes, whose miniature size and symbolism indicate a cult function, at the second site they consist of a bronze bull figurine and lead male figurine.[377] In extra-urban sanctuaries the number of known metal votives is larger (Tables 2 and 3). Here, they consist primarily of bronze animal and anthropomorphic figurines, as at Patsos (A.23), Ayia Triada (A.26), Phaneromeni (A.29), Psychro (A.30) and Syme (A.31). There also are a few examples of personal ornaments, such as bronze rings, pins, fibulae and hair spirals, and of bronze votive Double Axes which perhaps date to this period (at Psychro and Syme), and of votive weaponry (again at Psychro). Although the difference in amount with particularly the urban sanctuaries with GUA figures may well be significant, numbers remain relatively low, compared to both preceding and subsequent periods.[378] Even the total of objects from the LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries together is overshadowed by the quantity of metal weaponry, cauldron stand and precious jewellery found in the two SM rock-cut tombs at Knossos.[379]

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[376] See Gesell 1985, 79 (cat. 22), and the refs. in cat. entries A.26 (Ayia Triada) and A.32 (Kastri Viannou).

[377] In instances where the associated metal objects consist of tools, the domestic context makes the identification as votive or cult implement insecure.

[378] For the dedication of metal objects in the subsequent EIA, see section 4 in Chapter Four, 210-28.

[379] See the introduction to this chapter, p. 119. Note, for instance also the total of 141 terracotta objects *versus* only three of bronze at Ayia Triada (A.26).

Several characteristics of LM IIIC-SM votive behaviour seem to continue developments that began in the preceding LM IIIA2-B period. The material culture of this Final Palatial period has been characterised as 'popular', with a marked inclination towards the use of more modest forms of cult expression and the development of regional styles.[380] In the sphere of religion, the breakdown of Neopalatial palace society, with its formalised and more homogeneous religious expression, would allow the localised development of cult practices broadly established in an earlier age. The rise of popular cult, with its own means of expression, is, in such circumstances, a well attested, common response.[381] A good illustration of this phenomenon is provided by the excavators of Syme, who point out the changes that become apparent at their site in the course of the LBA. In Neopalatial times, the objects left behind at the sanctuary were often of standardised form, belonging to fixed categories such as terracotta tubular stands, goblets and chalices, stone ritual vessels and libation vessels. In those times, the line between cult implement and votive is not always easy to draw. The objects mentioned played a role in the rituals, but could be turned into votives by, for instance, the addition of an inscription. For the subsequent Final Palatial period, however, the excavators note a rise in the number of 'unambiguous votives' at Syme— objects which played no role in the ritual itself. This development is said to become more pronounced in the course of the LM IIIC-SM period (in particularly in the 11th century BC) and may reflect a more immediate relationship between votary and deity.[382] A similar rise in votive objects has been noted by Tyree for the LM III cave sanctuaries.[383]

A survey by Gesell shows that certain types of cult and votive objects disappeared in the course of the Final and Postpalatial periods, which are most probably the ones that had been associated with organised, palatial cult. Offering tables become rarer in Postpalatial times, and none is securely dated to the LM IIIC-SM period. The same applies to the terracotta rhyta in the form of a bull's head, which still occur in LM IIIB, but not later.[384] The large LM

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[380] Kanta 1980, 323; Gesell 1985, 41.

[381] Kanta 1980, 324; Renfrew 1981, 27-33; *id.* 1985b, 401-02.

[382] Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 323-24, 334-35; Lebessi 1991a, 162.

[383] Tyree 1974,168.

[384] A terracotta bull's head rhyton was found recently in a LM IIIB context at Palaikastro: Sackett 1996.

IIIC-SM terracotta figures, which often represent bovids, show a related iconography, but could not be used for libations and seem to have constituted votive objects in their own right.[385] Remarkable is further the scarcity in the LM IIIC-SM period of Double Axes as independent objects, with bronze votive examples attested only at Karphi (A.10), perhaps at Psychro (A.30) and Syme (A.31), and terracotta ones at Ayia Triada (A.26) and Kastri Viannou (A.32).

Another trend continuing from the preceding period is the increasing incorporation of human shapes in cult objects, which Rethemiotakis interprets as a sign of a growing interest in anthropomorphism.[386] So-called head vases were already manufactured in the Final Palatial period (as at Phaistos and Kannia), probably in imitation of similar vases from Cyprus and the Levant.[387] The elaborate rhyta with human face and with the rider in an ox-drawn chariot from Karphi provide two examples of the LM IIIC-SM period.[388] Others consist of the human faces on the central protrusions of terracotta Horns of Consecration, as found at Ayia Triada. The production, during the LM IIIC-SM period, of fantastic figures combining bovine bodies with human heads and sometimes feet, may, as Rethemiotakis proposes, be interpreted as a further sign of 'humanisation'.[389]

On the other hand, many of the simpler objects, such as figurines, show little variation in form or use compared to preceding periods.[390] Tyree, in her study of Cretan cave sanctuaries, has noted certain patterns in the dedication, which may be reiterated here as they seem to have broader validity. Among the animal figurines, bovids are most popular, both in terracotta and in bronze. As to the anthropomorphic figurines, Tyree notes that in most times, including LM IIIC-SM, male figurines were more numerous and often larger than their female counterparts.[391] Although some caution is needed because of the small numbers involved, Tables 2 and 3 seem to corroborate this observation for the LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries as a whole.

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[385] A possible LM IIIC-SM bovine rhyton was noted at Ayia Triada; see cat. entry A.26.

[386] Rethemiotakis 2001, 28-29.

[387] Rethemiotakis 2001, 31.

[388] Gesell 1985, 41, 47, 51-52.

[389] Rethemiotakis 2001, 149.

[390] Gesell 1985, 41, 47, 51-52.

[391] Tyree 1974, 171-77.

The use of old Minoan cult symbols such as birds, bulls, snakes, agrimia, Double Axes, and Horns of Consecration, continues through Final Palatial and LM IIIC-SM times. However, they occur less often than before as independent objects. Instead, they form part of the decoration of pottery or are attached to other cult objects, such as GUA figures, snake tubes, stands, kalathoi and plaques.[392] The large, LM IIIC-SM terracotta Horns of Consecration, found at Tylisos (A.2), Vrokastro (A.15), the Patsos cave (A.23), the Idaean cave (A.24), Ayia Triada (A.26), Syme (A.31) and Kastri Viannou (A.32), are the obvious exceptions.

Terracotta figures of 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' and associated objects

The broadly accepted identification of the figures of the 'Goddess with Upraised Arms' as divine is based on a number of inherent iconographic traits, as well as on the fact that these figures continue an earlier Minoan iconographic tradition.[393] The gesture of raising the arms, interpreted as signifying the epiphany of the divinity, is well-known from earlier representations in Crete, most notably on seal stones, and can be traced back to MM times. An obvious connection is with the well-known faience 'snake goddesses' from the Palace at Knossos.[394] In the LM III figures, the gesture is emphasised by the disproportionately large hands and forearms (see Plate 6), not found on other figures and figurines of the period.[395] In addition, it is significant that the LM III GUAs wear tiaras adorned with cult symbols, most, if not all of them, with Minoan pedigree.[396] Symbols on tiaras may consist of birds, snakes, discs, (oval) palettes, Horns of Consecration or poppies. The many necklaces and bracelets painted on these figures underline their special status,[397] while the wavy bands preserved around the bodies arms and head of some of them figures may represent ribbons, of the kind often wrapped around cult images during rituals.[398]

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[392] Gesell 1985, 41, 53; see also Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1986, 386; Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 139.

[393] Some keep open the possibility that they represent votaries; see e.g. Renfrew 1985b, 397.

[394] The type was introduced in MM I-II: Alexiou 1958, 180.

[395] Rethemiotakis 2001, 13-14, 19-23.

[396] Alexiou 1958, 245. Large terracotta figures from Kea (LM I) and Mycenae (LH III) wear no cult symbols and are therefore not regarded as deities: Gesell 1985, 48.

[397] Rethemiotakis 2001, 14-15, 19-23.

One of the first terracotta figures to display the gesture of upraised arms comes from the LM IIIA2-B Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos.[399] Although this and the subsequent terracotta GUAs are iconographically related to Minoan precursors, the form in which they appeared was clearly a LM III development. From then, a more common material was used, i.e. only clay, while the size of the figures increased. In contrast to their elegant Neopalatial precursors in faience and other precious materials, the LM III Goddesses are much larger and coarser, they have covered, instead of bare, breasts, while their faces are more expressive, each figure provided with individualistic features.[400] Rethemiotakis notes a certain internal stylistic development within the group of LM III-SM GUA figures. This consists of the gradual loss of the concept of vertical symmetry from the LM IIIB to the LM IIIC-SM period, leading to 'the disruption of the figure as an organic whole'. In the SM period, disproportion and asymmetry are general characteristics.[401]

The terracotta snake tubes that are often found with GUAs,[402] show a similar history of development. Like the GUAs they reach their distinctive form in the LM IIIA (or perhaps LM IIIB) period, but are clearly related to earlier forms. Gesell proposes that they derive from either the narrower LM IB tubes, as found at Pyrgos Myrtos, or (perhaps more convincingly) from the Protopalatial 'fruitstand'. Their function as stands for offering bowls has been ascertained by the find of one example *in situ* in Kommos, which still carried a cup, and of one snake tube from LM IIIC-SM Vronda that had a kalathos attached to the rim (Plate 11).[403] The snake tubes from Building G at Vronda are of different shape and fabric.[404] There and at other sites where GUA figures were found in juxtaposition with snake tubes, there are indications that each snake tube belonged to a specific GUA figure, as can be inferred from similarities in clay and decoration with the same cult symbols.[405]

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[398] They are preserved on figures from Gazi and Karphi; see Rethemiotakis 2001, 66-67.

[399] The latest assessment of the date of this GUA on stylistic criteria is by Rethemiotakis (2001, 14-15, 82), who mentions both a LM II-IIIA1 and a LM IIIA2 date. The pottery from the shrine has been dated to LM IIIB; see Popham 1964, 7-9; also Gesell 2004, 134.

[400] Gesell 1985, 41; Rethemiotakis 2001, 19-23.

[401] Rethemiotakis 2001, 19-23, 40-44, 98.

[402] In the Temple at Karphi (A.6) snake tubes are absent, but there was a kalathos, comparable to the attached ones from Vronda. Fragments of snake tubes were found elsewhere at the site and these may have washed down from the Temple; Gesell 1976, 252; *ead.* 1985, 45; *ead.* 2001, 253; Seiradaki 1960, 11.

The relationship of kalathoi with snake tubes and GUA figures is thus well-established. Separate kalathoi also occur in association with GUA figures.[406] It is of interest that in Building G at Vronda, kalathoi were more numerous than snake tubes and that there were, as noted by Gesell, no fabric correspondences with the sets of GUA figures and snake tubes. This suggests that kalathoi could be taken in and out when the offerings were renewed or replaced. Gesell believes that some of the kalathoi, especially those placed on snake tubes, contained substances that attracted snakes or perhaps the insects or rodents on which snakes feed. Other kalathoi seem to have been used to burn offerings or incense, while yet others, on the analogy with the Spring Chamber, may have held olives or other perishable goods.[407] In several cases the kalathoi associated with GUA figures have plastic rim attachments, such as small Horns of Consecration, which betray a cultic or symbolic meaning. Examples of such rim attachments have been found on kalathoi from Prinias (A.3), Kephala Vasilikis (A.16) and Vronda (A.21). A kalathos from Building G at Vronda has a pair of snakes peeping over the rim.[408]

However, as discussed above, the relationship with GUA figures is not an exclusive one: kalathoi are also found in ritual contexts of different nature. Seiradaki has noted that at Karphi kalathoi, together with pyxides,[409] were often found in rooms adjacent to those with signs of cult activity. She suggests a more widespread use as offering vessels, in various domestic cults.[410] Recently, two kalathoi with plastic decoration in the form of pomegranates have been found at Chalasmenos (A.18), one of them in a tholos tomb.[411] Moreover, the use of kalathoi need not be cultic. The range of LM IIIC-SM vessel shapes in general is rather restricted,[412] and some vase types clearly served multiple functions. The early excavators of Karphi observed that kalathoi belonged to the standard assemblage of pottery as generally encountered in the rooms of the different houses.[413]

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[403] Gesell 1976, 254-55, n. 61; *ead.* 1999, 285; Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1991, pl. 63e.

[404] Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1986, 386.

[405] Gesell 1976, 248 (Gazi), 255; *ead.* 2001, 254.

[406] See the introductory notes to the present section, p. 174-78.

[407] Gesell 1999, 284-86.

[408] Gesell 1999, 284, pl. LXId-e.

[409] The painted decoration of the pyxides regularly includes such cult symbols as Horns of Consecration or Double Axes. See Desborough 1972a, 122; Seiradaki 1960, 18.

[410] Seiradaki 1960, 11.

GUAs also frequently occur in association with terracotta plaques, which can reach dimensions of 0.30 x 0.40 m or more. As discovered by Gesell, the fabrics of the 26 plaques from Vronda (A.21) suggests that they formed sets with GUA figures and snake tubes. She also notes the presence of suspension holes in several of the Vronda plaques, of relief frames, rim attachments in the form of Horns of Consecration and of (usually very worn) plastic and perhaps painted decoration on the surface of the plaques. Several of these features also occur on plaques from other sites, such as suspension holes in plaques from Kephala Vasilikis (A.16) and Gazi. Plaques with relief decoration are also known from the LM IIIB bench sanctuary at Kannia: one shows two antithetic sphinxes, the other a depiction of a GUA. The plaque from the temple at Karphi (A.6) has a human head attached to the top and two vertical holes at the shoulders, perhaps, as Gesell proposes, for a suspension device or for pins to hold a dress.[414]

Terracotta animal figures and associated objects

The LM IIIC-SM large terracotta bovine figures constitute a new category of votive or cult object, albeit with iconographical and certain technical links to earlier bull rhyta. While similar figures occur on Cyprus, most scholars believe the bovine figures were introduced to Crete under Mycenaean influence.[415] They occur, for instance, in LH IIIC sanctuaries in Tiryns and Amyklai.[416] Those from the sanctuary at Phylakopi, on the island of Melos, may be the earliest. Although found in a LH IIIC cult building, their style suggests they were made in the LH IIIB period.[417] As to the Cretan examples, the bovine figures from Ayia Triada have been studied in most detail. They show a complex mixture of technical, stylistic and iconographic elements with different possible points of origin. According to D'Agata, the bovids from Ayia Triada were produced in local pottery workshops and show the use of two different techniques, which could be combined in the same figure. In the first technique, three wheelmade cylinders were joined together to make the head, neck and body, after which the legs and horns were applied; next, the figure was covered with a thick layer of clay, which allowed for some plastic modelling. This technique, which is also known from the Mainland and Melos, resulted in a somewhat schematic rendering of the figure. The second technique is based on more heavily plastic modelling and leads to more naturalistic figures. It has a local, Cretan origin and can be traced back to MM times.[418] Despite the use of new techniques, the iconography of the bovine figures fits well into Minoan traditions. The production of bull rhyta in Neopalatial Crete in all likelihood contributed to the idea of making wheelmade bulls on the Mycenaean mainland.[419]

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[411] Coulson 1999, 326.

[412] Sackett, Popham & Warren 1965, 280-81.

[413] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 68-69.

[414] Gesell 1985, 52, pl. 108; *ead.* 2001.

[415] Kanta 1980, 309-10.

[416] Tiryns: Albers 1994, 107-108, 139-141. Amyklai: Demakopoulou 1982.

The LM IIIC-SM fantastic animals, which combine human and bovine elements, constitute a new type of cult object, with new iconographic characteristics. Fantastic animals can be found in earlier Minoan compositions, for instance on seals, but only in LM IIIC-SM are creatures of this kind represented in terracotta and only then do they occur on their own. Although sometimes labelled as 'sphinxes', this term is not correct, as the figures combine human heads and legs with bovine torsos and lack the lion legs and bodies; nor do they seem to have wings.[420] The origin of sphinxes and other hybrid or fantastic figures has been sought in the Near East. Parallels in Cyprus consist of the so-called centaurs from the sanctuary of the 'Smiting God' in Enkomi, a deity associated with bulls and bull sacrifice. Both D'Agata and Rethemiotakis believe that the idea for these figures came from Crete to Cyprus, rather than the other way around, and explain their genesis primarily as a fusion of Minoan and

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[417] French 1985, 238-39; Renfrew 1985b, 427.

[418] D'Agata 1997, 88-90, 98; *ead.* 1999c, 43-46.

[419] Nicholls 1970, 8; also D'Agata 1997, 90, n. 29.

[420] D'Agata 1997, 92-93.

Mycenaean elements.[421] D'Agata also calls attention to Mycenaean features on some of the fantastic figures from Ayia Triada, notably the greaves, tunics and the type of woven sandals, all of which find a good parallel in those worn by the soldiers on the Mycenaean Warrior Vase. In general, the fantastic animals from Ayia Triada display close similarities in technique and execution with the bovine figures, with similar Mycenaean connotations. Two very similar fantastic figures, both some 0.50 m high, but one female, with a cow's body, and the other male with a bearded face, are exceptional and may have formed a set. This leads D'Agata to suggest that they may have been part of the cult equipment rather than individual votives.[422]

The second group of objects to be discussed in relation to the large animal figures is that of the terracotta Horns of Consecration. Like the bull figures, these were well-steeped in Minoan iconography, even though the technique and form in which they are executed in the LM IIIC-SM period again exhibit new traits. D'Agata has reconstructed the development and contexts of use of the Horns of Consecration from the MM period. They become especially widespread in the Neopalatial period, when they occur in miniature form (in representations on seals, frescoes *etc.*), as well as in monumental form (made of stone or stucco) and adorn palatial buildings and sanctuaries. There are only few possible examples from the LM II-IIIA1 periods, but in the subsequent LM IIIA2-B period Horns of Consecration are found both as part of pottery decoration and as independent objects, made of solid clay. Medium-sized terracotta Horns of Consecration (*c.* 020-0.30 cm high) become clearly more popular in the LM IIIC-SM period. From then they are made in hollow terracotta form with central tubes, from which sometimes a human face emerges. The ones from Ayia Triada form a homogenous group, made in the cylinder technique (Plate 16d). Judging from the number of examples at that site, D'Agata classifies them as votives.[423]

When seen as assemblages, the bovine and fantastic figures and Horns of Consecration present a bewildering mix of technical, stylistic and iconographic elements from different cultural traditions. At Ayia Triada, D'Agata recognises 'Aegean' or 'Mycenaean' strands,

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[421] Rethemiotakis 2001, 145-48; D'Agata 1997, 98; *ead.* 1999c, 74-75, 235.

[422] D'Agata 1997, 94-96, fig. 19.

[423] D'Agata 1992; *ead.* 1997, 90-92; *ead.* 1999c, 86-98.

'Minoan' and 'Cypriot' ones. In what she calls 'a simplistic scenario', one could attribute the bovids to the Aegean tradition, the Horns of Consecration to the 'Minoan' tradition, while the fantastic animals—in the light of the large numbers attested at Ayia Triada—would represent a local invention. That matters are much more complex she illustrates by pointing out that Horns of Consecration also use the 'Aegean' cylinder technique and that the use of decorative patterns from the Aegean, Minoan and Cypriot traditions, follows no neatly separated lines. Rather there is interaction and integration, which leads to new compositions. Yet, there seems a real possibility that the Mycenaean-type greaves, sandals and tunics on some of the fantastic figures refer to the presence of 'socially relevant groups' from the Mainland.[424] The complexity of the situation is also acknowledged by Rethemiotakis. This author, while open to the idea that Mycenaean immigrants brought with them own techniques and concepts of style, explains the earlier, Neopalatial preference for naturalism as 'a choice of the upper class', implying that social and political change may have been responsible for the rise of more schematic forms in the LM III period, rather than ethnic factors.[425] This underlines the inherent difficulties in defining clearly distinct 'ethnic' styles or types of votive behaviour in LM IIIC-SM Crete. Moreover, at Patsos, Kourou and Karetsou emphasise the Minoan connections of the bovine figures, although for those too a kind of cylinder technique was employed.[426] This calls further attention to the regional variation in the adoption and adaptation of innovations and elements from other traditions in the LM IIIC-SM period. It may, in this context, also be relevant that Patsos has, so far, produced only one fantastic figure. The expected publication, in the near future, of similar assemblages from the Idaean cave, Jouktas, Kophinas and Syme may bring out more of such regional and local differences.

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[424] D'Agata 1999c, 235.

[425] Rethemiotakis 2001, 91-92.

[426] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 158-59.

5. The Freestanding Bench Sanctuary and Other LM IIIC-SM Urban cult places

The most frequent association of the LM IIIC-SM cult assemblages centring on GUA figures is with the urban 'bench sanctuary', a type of cult room or building in which a stone-built bench served to carry cult images, equipment and votives. All LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries with such figures that are here documented were provided with either stone-built benches or rock shelves and ledges that may have served as such (Table 1). The history of development of the bench sanctuary follows lines similar to those reconstructed for the GUAs and snake tubes: while their ancestry lies in earlier, Minoan periods, they reach a characteristic form in the Final Palatial period. The configuration of bench and cult room is first found in Crete in the EM II period at Myrtos. One of the buildings there contained a room with bench and a terracotta vessel in the form of a female holding a jug.[427] From then on, bench sanctuaries remained a common type of sanctuary in Crete, exhibiting a variety of forms. Throughout their history they are to be found especially in the settlements.[428]

The popularity of bench sanctuaries grows in Final Palatial times, when, for the first time, they regularly consist of freestanding structures. Examples of the LM IIIA2-B period can be found at Ayia Triada (Building H), Kannia and Gournia. The central location within the settlement, in combination with the freestanding position, point to a function as communal or public cult places.[429] The increasing prominence of bench sanctuaries, from LM IIIA onwards, has been convincingly explained as a reaction to the disappearance of a centrally organised religion focused on the palaces and their associated sanctuaries. The change is also apparent in the disappearance, in the LM III period, of such highly formalised sacred constructions as the lustral basin and the pillar crypt.[430] The bench sanctuary, on the other hand, with its long history of use and varied appearance, survived and developed into a separate structure, thus becoming an independent focus of cult.[431] It is evident, however, that no large crowds could have gathered in these small, one to two room sanctuaries.[432] Perhaps rituals were performed on behalf of the community without all of the members of that community actually participating in the ceremony.[433] Although their role in cult has never been conclusively proven, it is also possible that the large open areas often found next to these bench sanctuaries served as courts, where part of the rituals took place.[434]

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[427] Gesell 1985, 7-9.

[428] Hayden 1981, 144-145; Gesell 1985, 2, 7-8, 19, 32, 41, 61.

[429] Gesell 1985, 2, 7-8, 19, 32, 41, 61; Peatfield 1994, 31. Whether the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos constituted an independent sanctuary or was part of a still functioning palace is disputed; see also the introduction to this chapter, p. 106.

[430] Gesell 1985, 61.

The freestanding bench sanctuaries in the LM IIIC-SM settlements may be considered an immediate continuation of a LM III development. Like their LM IIIA-B precursors they are distinguished less by their size or by the elaborateness of their construction,[435] than by their prominent position within the settlement. At Karphi, the central and highly visible location of the Temple (A.6) on the settlement's northern cliff, the separation from the other buildings and the presence of a large open area to the east, are the most outstanding features (Plates 4-5).[436] Compared with earlier LM III examples, the Temple at Karphi, consisting of at least four rooms, is relatively large and complex. The excavators believed it was one of the first buildings to be erected on the site. Its position, size, and the multiple number of GUA figures (at least five) associated with it, indicate a function as primary community sanctuary. The same may be inferred for Building G at Vronda (A.21, with 30 GUA figures), and probably for the recently discovered building in Sector Γ at Chalasmenos (A.17, with five GUAs).[437]

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[431] Kanta 1980, 324; Hayden 1981, 151; Gesell 1985, 54; Renfrew 1985b, 397, 401; Peatfield 1994, 32-33.

[432] The Shrine of the Double Axes measures *c.* 1.5 x 1.5 m; the bench sanctuary at Gournia *c.* 3 x 4 m; Building H at Ayia Triada *c.* 4.5 x 7 m.

[433] See the discussion in Chapter One, p. 24-25, on the difference between 'communal' and 'public' cult.

[434] Hayden 1981, 151; Rutkowski 1986, 16, 119. The parallel which comes to mind is that of modern cult practice in small (extra-urban) Greek churches. An icon is often taken from the church and erected in front of it, the service then taking place in the open air. Some of the GUA figures and snake tubes have handles for lifting them; see Gesell 2004.

[435] Pendlebury (1939, 306) noted 'some attempt at dressing' of the stones of the Temple.

[436] This is best illustrated in a reconstruction drawing by Nowicki (1987a, 256 fig. 6).

[437] The latter has only been recently found and partially published.

The multiple number of GUAs in these sanctuaries is remarkable and raises certain questions as to their function and meaning. The figures are not distinguished in such a way as to indicate a function of cult image for some as opposed to votive offering for others. On the contrary, the observation by Gesell that GUAs, snake tubes and plaques probably formed sets suggests that each GUA figure was honoured with her own offerings. Nilsson had already emphasised that it is not uncommon to have several cult images of the deity in one temple, each of which could be venerated and receive offerings of its own.[438] More recently, Peatfield has gone a step further and proposed that the presence of multiple GUA figures within the same sanctuary reflects the worship of different deities under one roof. He interprets this as part of an ongoing shift from a monotheistic Minoan religion to the polytheistic system known from the historical periods. His arguments are based in particular on the individual appearance of different GUA figures and on the various cult symbols associated with them. Peatfield believes that these different symbols were deliberately chosen, and chosen in such a way as to symbolise and individualise a particular aspect of what was formerly a unified Minoan Goddess. Eventually, he suggests, this led to differentiation into separate deities, with their own functions and sanctuaries.[439]

The theory of a monotheistic Minoan religion centring on one goddess with different 'aspects' or manifestations is much disputed,[440] but the idea underlying Peatfield's theory, that there would have been diverging conceptions of deities in the later LM III period is attractive. There can be little doubt that with the loss of centralised Neopalatial religion, which could have imposed or promoted more universal doctrines, tendencies to make abstract religious concepts more relevant or particular to local experience would hardly have been suppressed.[441] This would allow the emergence of different interpretations or renditions of the same deity, certainly among different communities, but perhaps also to some extent within each of them, as Peatfield proposes. However, Peatfield's idea that the symbols differed in order to consciously designate different deities housed in the same shrine does not take into account another possibility: that with the disappearance of doctrinal religion the meaning of the old religious symbols—in particular of more abstract ones such as the Horns of Consecration—may have gradually lost specificity. Instead of being used to define functionally different deities, these symbols may have become a conventional way of indicating 'the sacred'. Of great importance in this respect is the presence of no less than 30 GUAs in cult building G at Vronda. In a recent publication, Gesell asserts that the ones whose heads are preserved all have birds on their tiaras, usually in combination with oval palettes. Birds, in this case combined with discs, also occur on the tiaras of two of the GUAs from the Temple at Karphi, while a third figure wears a tiara with Horns of Consecration. Gesell also points out that in other LM III bench sanctuaries, i.e. at Kannia, Gournia and Prinias, snakes constitute a dominant symbol. There may be, in other words, two main types of assemblages associated with LM III bench sanctuaries, one in which the symbolic focus is on snakes and another in which it is on birds. At the same time, there is no strict iconographic division between 'snake goddesses' and 'bird goddesses'. In addition to the common presence of snake tubes, a kalathos with snakes applied to the inside was found in Building G at Vronda, while at Kannia and Gournia some terracotta birds were found. Horns of Consecration and disks occur in combination with both snakes and birds.[442]

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[438] Nilsson 1950, 309.

[439] Peatfield 1994, 33-35; accepted by Goodison & Morris 1998, 131.

[440] The arguments against it have been fully and convincingly expounded by Dickinson (1994b).

[441] See also Stewart 1991, 10-11, 34-39; Chapter One, section 3, p. 21-22 n. 81.

Despite this apparent broad convergence in iconography, it may be assumed that there was a relative freedom in the use and understanding of these symbols and few restrictions on dedicating varying or 'competing' images in the same cult building. The lack of standardisation of these GUA figures and their presence in large numbers must mean something, if not on the cultic, then on the social level.

Another factor that may bear on the accumulation of multiple and varying GUA figures in the freestanding bench sanctuaries consists of the mechanism of dedication. Although the notion that the terracotta figures represent divinities should be retained, their multiple numbers suggest a blurring of the distinction between cult image and votive. Apparently, cult images and equipment were offered regularly and by different persons. Such a practice is in accordance with a lack of hierarchical cult organisation and in itself may explain at least part of the variation between images. However, these GUA figures do not constitute a common type of offering, but consist of relatively elaborate objects, which were probably made to order. Despite the fact that the material in which they are made is not expensive, their dedication would have marked a special occasion and may not have been within everybody's reach.[443]

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[442] Gesell 2004, 139-40.

Mazarakis Ainian has convincingly argued that during the period of the 'Dark Ages' in Greece, cult organisation was at the level of the household or kinship group, with a leading role for the heads of families.[444] His model, which ties in with that of the 'big man society', is valuable for Crete as well, albeit with some important provisions. Mazarakis Ainian's study focused in particular on the Mainland, where settlements of this period are small and communal cult activities were conducted in the house of the local leader, under his guidance and control. Emphasis was on dining and less on the dedication of votives.[445] In Crete, however, large nucleated settlements continued to exist throughout the period of the 'Dark Ages'. Whereas at some of the smaller Cretan settlements it may indeed be possible, as on the Mainland, to identify a central ruler's dwelling, larger towns such as Karphi present a more complex situation. Rather than one leader or head of family, the domestic architecture suggests a number of powerful families, perhaps with multiple and/or shifting leadership. Moreover, in LM IIIC-SM Crete there is evidence for the simultaneous existence of independent sanctuaries and of rulers' dwellings, both at large sites such as Karphi and at smaller ones, such as Vronda. In general, it should be emphasised that there is quite some variety in urban cult practices, with evidence for rituals centring on sacrificial dining as well as for votive practices in different settings. This also implies a more complex interplay between cult and leadership.

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[443] It has been suggested that the large terracotta animals figures of the LM III period also represent the offerings of an 'upper class'; see the discussion following on Hägg 1981, 40.

[444] Mazarakis Ainian 1988, 118; *id.* 1997, esp. 393-96. The author also adduces Homeric evidence for the important role of local leaders in ritual.

[445] Mazarakis Ainian 1988, 118; *id.* 1997, esp. 377-79, 393-96.

First, it is suggested that the heads or other members of the leading families played an important role in cult at the community sanctuary and were the ones primarily responsible for the dedication of the elaborate and conspicuous GUA figures. This way, they would make visible for the whole community their special ties and dedication to the principal deity of the town. The individual features of the figures would mark them as the gift of a certain person or family. The involvement of leading families in the central cult may also be expressed in the proximity of large houses, recognised as 'rulers' dwellings' by Mazarakis Ainian, to the freestanding bench sanctuaries at Karphi and Vronda.[446]

Second, it is important to note that there are a number of urban sanctuaries that seem to transgress the boundaries between 'private' and 'public'. Examples can be found at both Karphi (A.9 and A.10) and at Kephala Vasilikis (A.16). Some of these contain GUA figures of the kind more often found in the context of the freestanding bench sanctuaries.

At Karphi (Plate 4), Court 16-17 (A.9) ranks as a bench sanctuary and yielded an unspecified number of fragments of GUA figures, a probable snake tube, a triton shell and a few small terracotta figurines. It, however, does not stand alone, but is part of a larger complex (8, 9, 11-18). Its size, together with the presence of a large hoard of bronze objects in Room 12, led the excavator to ascribe it to a leading member of the community and call it the 'Great House'.[447] Court 16-17 was accessible from the large open area in the east, via corridor 15.[448] It is therefore difficult to decide whether this court served as a small public or as a large private sanctuary, the exterior access suggesting that its use was not restricted to members of the immediate household.

A second example is provided by Area 27 in the Southern Houses at Karphi (A.10).[449] Like Court 16-17, this area was probably open to the sky and to be entered from the street, in this case via the narrow passage from Square 48. Here, the type of cult objects, two elaborate terracotta rhyta (one a chariot with three spouts in the form of bulls' heads, the other with a human face), a bronze votive double axe, and possibly the fragments of thin bronze discs, may have been aimed at a deity other than that represented by the GUA figures in Court 16-17, but the same mixing of 'public' and 'private' is apparent.

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[446] I.e. the 'Great House' and Complex 135-144 at Karphi, Building A/B at Vronda; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 218-20, 274, 295-96.

[447] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 77-79; see also Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 218-19.

[448] Gesell (1985, 45) therefore classed it as an 'independent sanctuary (...) of the same public type as the Temple', but this ignores both its less than central position and the fact that it was not freestanding.

[449] See also Gesell (1985, 45, 81 (cat. 24)), who considers Room 27 as one of many 'small public shrines'.

In the case of the large building at Kephala (A.16), possible ritual functions have been noted for many of its eight rooms.[450] Cult associations, however, were most unambiguous in Room E4, which formed a classic bench sanctuary in the southern wing of the building and included several GUA figures. It is of note that Room E4 was accessible from a small open space in front of it, which could, in turn, be reached both from within the building and via a narrow passage along the west edge of the cliff.

The associated finds and spatial arrangement of these three sanctuaries may well indicate cult activities under the patronage of the family of the house, with the possible participation of other inhabitants of the settlement. If so, the cases of Court 16-17 at Karphi and Room E4 at Kephala may represent an attempt to gain a following and status by officiating in a cult displaying great similarities to—and, in the case of Karphi, existing side by side with—that in the central freestanding bench sanctuaries. A cult, in other words, that during the preceding centuries had been celebrated at the community level, but here perhaps in the process of being appropriated by a leading family.[451] The example of Area 27, however, shows that such appropriation of cult was not restricted to that associated with the GUA figures and that there was a variety of available cult expressions.

Evidence for ritual dining or feasting, activities considered crucial in maintaining and enforcing of the position of community leaders in societies with less-developed political institutions, is not attested for the 'semi-public' sanctuaries discussed above. Such evidence does, however, occur elsewhere in urban contexts in LM IIIC-SM Crete.[452]

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[450] The excavator (Eliopoulos 1998, 310) calls it a 'temple complex', but also considers the possibility that it combined a cultic function with that of ruler's dwelling.

[451] See also: Prent *forthcoming* and D'Agata 2001, 348-49.

[452] At Karphi, evidence for ritual dining is conspicuously absent. However, as

The best example is Building A/B at Vronda (Plate 10), identified as the ruler's dwelling because of its size, architectural elaboration and prominent position at the summit of the settlement hill. Some of the rooms yielded comparatively large numbers of fine drinking vessels, animal bones, horns and skulls. The evidence for ritual dining at sanctuaries outside settlements of this period, where animal skulls and horns were also left behind, also supports the idea of special importance for these rituals and the leading role therein of the house's inhabitants.

Ritual dining in urban context could, however, also take place at outdoor locations, without an immediately apparent connection with rulers' dwellings. Recently, Nowicki has called attention to distinct concentrations of animal bones, ash and fine drinking vessels at the summits of defensible settlements at Arvi-Fortetsa, Oreino Kastri and Kastellopoulo near Pefki.[453] To these examples may be added Kypia, a defensible site in the mountains behind Praisos[454] and Prinias (Plate 22), where tests below the floor of Temple A produced a layer with bones, charcoal and LM IIIC sherds.[455] At Thronos Kephala (A.1), recent excavations have revealed several LM IIIC-SM rock-cut pits in the central part of the settlement plateau. These were filled with animal bones, ash, charcoal and pottery, particularly drinking cups.[456] None of these areas are well-defined spatially, nor is the nature of the rituals involved clarified by the accompaniment of votives. The most usual finds consist of fine pottery and animal bones, which suggests regular gatherings dedicated to ritual dining, the cultic implications of which are not exclusive. Yet, by analogy with the importance of commensality in the social and religious life of later periods, these activities may provide evidence for a variety of urban cult forms, springing up in this period. Some of them may have gradually acquired specific sanctuaries, as the social and cultic relevance of the associated rituals increased.[457] Initially, however, these rituals would have functioned in the shadow of longer-established

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Mazarakis Ainian (1997, 219-20, 274, 296) has remarked, this may be due to the older excavation standards.

[453] Nowicki 2000, 67-73.

[454] Whitley, Prent & Thorne 1999, 238-42, fig. 11.

[455] Alexiou 1968, 184-85; see also cat. entry B.15 in Chapter Four.

[456] Similar pits of LM IIIC-SM date have been reported from Chamalevri and Krousonas; see Prokopiou 1994, 254, pl. 3.

[457] See section 6 in Chapter Four, p. 442-76.

urban cults, most notably the one associated with the bench sanctuaries and their Goddesses with Upraised Arms.

For these LM IIIC-SM bench sanctuaries with GUA figures a picture emerges of a sanctuary and cult which were firmly rooted in the Minoan tradition.[458] Most scholars agree on the connection with the earlier palatial cult for a Minoan goddess, who was, for instance, represented in the faience 'snake goddesses' from Knossos. Nilsson interpreted this goddess as the divine protector of households and palaces, with the snakes, as her sacred animals or representatives, having a benevolent, guardian function. He saw her cult continued in the LM III bench sanctuaries, because of the continued association with snakes on both the GUA figures themselves and the snake tubes. Nilsson envisaged an evolution from this cult, via the Mycenaean palaces of the Mainland where the goddess would have acquired her more warrior-like aspects, to that of Athena, the ultimate protector of the city in later Greek times.[459]

More recently, however, the possibility has been suggested that these bench sanctuaries, in their typical LM III form, developed under the immediate influence of Mycenaean settlers in the island, thus presenting an instance of syncretism between Minoan and Mycenaean religion in the island itself.[460] Some scholars have argued that the execution of the LM III GUA figures can perhaps no longer be considered as 'purely Minoan' and that roughly comparable, though not wholly similar figures with upraised arms are also known on the Mycenaean mainland.[461] These figures therefore could well have expressed the beliefs of a mixed population.[462] The Mycenaean Linear B tablets found at Knossos list Mycenaean and Minoan deities together, which certainly raises the possibility of some form of syncretism. In this context it may also be significant that one of the earliest LM III bench sanctuaries with a GUA figure, the Shrine of the Double Axes, was located in the area of the Palace of Knossos. Yet the issue remains difficult to decide conclusively, given the uncertainties about the nature and degree of Mycenaean influence here and elsewhere in the island.[463] As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, for some scholars the LM IIIA2-B period is not so much a period of increased Mycenaeanization as a period of 'Minoan Renaissance', in which case the development of the LM III bench sanctuaries may indeed mean a return to older, Minoan cult forms. Surely the changing social and political circumstances of the LM III period cannot but have affected the form and function of the bench sanctuaries. As a new incarnation of an old cult, the associated worship will surely have been subject to redefinition and change.[464] But while the presence at Knossos of Linear B tablets which mention both Mycenaean and Minoan deities surely supports the likelihood of syncretism, the scale and depth of this syncretism are not easily assessed. Most recently, Robin Hägg has restated the older position that the LM III bench sanctuaries and associated cult betray—more than anything else—a Minoan legacy. He asserts that neither GUA figures nor snake tubes have good Mainland parallels, while the bench sanctuaries that occur there are of LH IIIC date, and hence later than some of those in Crete. He further points out that, except at Chania, Mycenaean Phi- and Psi-figurines, so ubiquitous on the Mainland, are rare in the island. His conclusion, therefore, is that outside Chania there is little evidence for a distinct or widespread presence of Mycenaean settlers, which could have influenced the development of the bench sanctuary and the associated cult.[465]

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[458] The Minoan character of the cult material from the Temple at Karphi, for instance, has been emphasised by Desborough (1972a, 125) and Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts (1937-38, 125, 139).

[459] Nilsson 1950, 77-116, 309-29. Modifications of this interpretation have been proposed by Gesell (2004, 132-33) and Goodison & Morris (1998, 123), who emphasise the goddess's association with the various realms of the natural world. N. Marinatos (2000, 112), in the same vein, prefers to call the faience figures 'snake handlers', showing their control over potentially harmful animals. The issue cannot, however, be considered as fully settled. Especially the presence of snake tubes in the LM III bench sanctuaries, thought also by Gesell to have contained substances attracting snakes, leaves open the possibility that these were indeed seen as benevolent. See also Papachatzis (1988), who stresses the pre-Olympian Greek ancestry of Athena.

[460] Renfrew 1985b, 400; Peatfield 1994, 35.

[461] See e.g. French 1981, 178; Renfrew 1981, 32.

[462] Nicholls 1970, 6.

For LM IIIC-SM Crete, it is perhaps most important to stress that the known examples of bench sanctuaries with GUA figures are all to be found in the context of newly established defensible settlements at inland locations—at Prinias, Karphi, Kephala Vasilikis, Chalasmenos and Vronda.[466] Whether or not Mycenaean influence helped to shape the form of the GUA figures, even affected their religious relevance earlier in the LM III period, by the LM IIIC-SM period they were part of a well-established and recurrent Cretan cult assemblage. It is not surprising that adherence to these traditional cult forms was strongest in the new defensible settlements, as the foundation of these settlements has been generally attributed to groups of native Cretans who withdrew from the exposed coastal and other areas.[467] In line with the idea of a broad opposition between such indigenous mountain communities and others which, concentrated in the central regions of the island, may have incorporated newcomers, it is even possible that the worship of deities represented as GUA figures distinguished the two groups from one another.

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[463] See the discussion in the introduction to this chapter, p. 106-07.
[464] Mersereau 1993, 15; Peatfield 1994, 20, 33.
[465] Hägg 1997.

It is admittedly dangerous to argue from an absence of evidence, but it is suggestive that so far there are no examples of large LM IIIC-SM GUA figures from those central-Cretan settlements that remained inhabited after 1200 BC and which betray signs of enhanced Mycenaean influence, probably to be connected with immigration of Mainlanders. At Tylisos (A.2) and Phaistos (A.5), and also at Vrokastro (A.15) on the northeast coast, there are indications that other forms of cult were current, which centred on the dedication of terracotta animal figures. The situation at Knossos, however, deserves more discussion, since the only LM IIIC-SM (sub-)urban sanctuary known here, the Spring Chamber (Plates 2-3), appears to preserve some kind of link with the iconography of the GUA.

Because of the quantity of votives, in particular kalathoi, the LM IIIC-SM cult at the Spring Chamber is sometimes described as 'public'.[468] This qualification, however, needs modification in as far as it implies a centrally located and organised cult that served large or representative parts of the community. That this may not have been the case can be inferred both from the character of the votive assemblage and from the location of the sanctuary.

Instead of large GUA figures, the Spring Chamber yielded a very small cylindrical model (or 'hut urn'), *c.* 9 cm high, with a female figurine whose pose is similar to that of the large figures attached to the bottom (Plate 3). As noted independently by Hägg and Mersereau, cylindrical models such as the one from the Spring Chamber are to be associated with a cult for a goddess represented with upraised arms, but generally belong in the realm of *domestic* cult.[469] From the time these models make their first appearance, in the LM IIIA period, up to PG times, they are found exclusively in houses, with the exception of the one from the Spring Chamber. Similarly, the more elaborate snake tubes usually found in bench sanctuaries are missing from the Spring Chamber. The kalathoi represent a related but simpler type of offertory vessel, which also was at home in domestic shrines.[470]

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[466] Fragments of a GUA figure and a small bronze axe were further found on the surface of the LM IIIC-SM defensible site at Kypia, near Praisos: see Platon 1952, 481; Kanta 1980, 183.

[467] See the discussion in the introduction to this chapter, p. 121-24.

[468] E.g. Hood & Smyth 1981, 14; Coldstream 1991, 289.

The lack of formalised cult equipment, together with the Spring Chamber's distance from the main habitation nucleus to the west of the Palace, suggests that the fountain house did not serve as a primary community sanctuary. On the basis of funerary evidence, it has been tentatively proposed that the Gypsades hill, to the south of the Spring Chamber, had become the domain of a small group of 'survivors from the Minoan past'. The burial grounds here show signs of reuse but would have become peripheral after the establishment of the North Cemetery. In contrast to the majority of reused LBA tombs at Knossos, those in the Gypsades cemetery were reused for inhumations without clearing out the earlier remains.[471] If the association of the Gypsades area with a group of indigenous Knossians is correct, it may perhaps also be proposed that these people, who would have been well-versed in older cult traditions, were responsible for cult activities at the Spring Chamber.

The domestic connotations of the votive assemblage from the Knossos Spring Chamber contrast with the more formalised and standardised assemblages as known from bench sanctuaries of both the LM IIIB and the LM IIIC-SM periods in Crete. This strengthens the idea that by the LM IIIC-SM period the existence of traditional bench sanctuaries may have become typical, perhaps even emblematic, of the communities that had gathered in the newly founded defensible settlements. At the same time, these settlements provide evidence for a variety of other cult and ritual activities, which may have contributed to and paved the way for the rise, in the succeeding EIA, of central urban cults that in many aspects were different from those associated with the GUA figures.

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[469] Hägg 1990a, 101-02; Mersereau 1993, 17.

[470] See above, p. 176-77.

[471] Coldstream 1984a, 317; *id.* 1991, 290; Catling & Coldstream 1996b, 715.

6. LM IIIC-SM Extra-Urban Sanctuaries: Caves and Open-Air Cult Places

The ten LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries here listed as being situated outside contemporary settlements fall, according to their form, into two broad categories: caves and open-air cult places. Of the first category there are five examples (A.23 Patsos; A.24 Idaean cave; A.28 Arkalochori; A.29 Phaneromeni and A.30 Psychro), and of the second, four (A.25 Mount Jouktas; A.26 Ayia Triada; A.27 Mount Kophinas and A.31 Syme).[472]

Crete has always been renowned for its cave sanctuaries. However, as pointed out by Rutkowski, these constitute only a small portion of the 2000 caves that have been inventoried on the island.[473] They range from large caves with several chambers and recesses to shallow and well-lit rock shelters and caverns, some of them with stalagmites and stalactites and pools of water. At various times, for example during the Classical period, there seems to have been a marked preference for complex caves with impressive rock formations,[474] but the Cretan cave sanctuaries of other times exhibit more variety in form. In the LM IIIC-SM period, both large and complex caves with rock formations, such as the Idaean cave (Plate 13) and Psychro, and shallow rock shelters like the one at Patsos, are represented.

The LM IIIC-SM open-air sanctuaries display no less variation in form and setting: two of them, Mount Jouktas (A.25, Plate 14) and Mount Kophinas (A.27), occupy Minoan peak sanctuaries, the one at Ayia Triada (A.26, Plate 15) a paved court in an abandoned settlement and Syme (A.31, Plate 17) a 'sacred enclosure' on a remote mountain slope.[475]

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[472] The original location and form of the sanctuary that must have been associated with the votive deposit from Kastri Viannou (A.32) remain unknown.

[473] Rutkowski (1986, 9, 68-71) mentions 16 certain and 20 possible examples. Tyree (1974, 167) accepts 19 caves as sacred within the period from MM I to Roman and another 13 as possibly sacred.

[474] Nilsson 1950, 57; Tyree 1974, 169.

Despite such differences in form and setting, several recurrent features common to both cave and open-air sanctuaries require consideration here under one heading. Aside from their extra-urban location, these recurrent features are a previous, often long, history of cultic use and the presence of comparable LM IIIC-SM votives of innovative type.

The only LM IIIC-SM extra-urban sanctuary that is to be considered a new foundation is the one located at the 'Piazzale dei Sacelli' at Ayia Triada (A.26). The LM IIIC-SM period witnessed the beginning of an open-air cult in the paved court that had formed a central area of the LBA settlement. This is not to say that the 'Piazzale' had not been used for cult activities before. During the preceding centuries, it may have played a role in rituals associated with the freestanding bench sanctuary to the southeast, Building H. This bench sanctuary has not yielded cult figures of GUAs (two fragments occurred elsewhere on the site), but several snake tubes were present, which makes the association with a cult for a GUA and an identification as primary community sanctuary seem justified.[476] Building H, however, shows no signs of later use and the succeeding LM IIIC-SM cult seems to have taken place entirely in the open-air, its focus being further to the west.

There are additional reasons why the LM IIIC-SM cult at the 'Piazzale' cannot be regarded as the simple continuation of an older cult at the same spot. It is significant that the LM IIIC-SM cult objects consist largely of terracotta bovine and fantastic figures and of Horns of Consecration, which are never found in bench sanctuaries in this period. It seems that, with the desertion of the settlement at the end of the LM IIIB period, the sanctuary in Building H and the associated cult of a GUA as general protector of the community became superfluous. The population of Ayia Triada may have moved to the nearby town of Phaistos, a site with which there seems to have been a symbiotic relationship throughout the preceding phases of the LBA. The new cult at Ayia Triada may, as proposed by D'Agata, betray economic or agricultural concerns. The quality and quantity of these objects to her suggest a more or less organised attempt to continue claims to the surrounding fields, which traditionally belonged to the community of Ayia Triada.[477]

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[475] Lebessi & Muhly (1990, 332) have recently redefined the term 'sacred enclosure' as denoting 'an unroofed area serving specific cult purposes and consequently having a specific architectural plan'. It is comprised of a separate area, with its own encircling wall, within the larger precinct of the sanctuary and does not contain roofed buildings, although these may occur elsewhere on the sanctuary's premises. Before this redefinition, the term was rather loosely used to designate sanctuaries situated outside settlements, becoming synonymous with 'rural' or 'nature sanctuary'. See also Rutkowski 1986, 12, 99-118; Brown & Peatfield 1987, 31-32.

[476] Gesell 1985, 41-42, 74-75; Banti 1941-43, 52, fig. 30.

With the exception of Ayia Triada, all other LM IIIC-SM extra-urban sanctuaries had come into being as such in MM times or earlier.[478] In some caves, cult activities continued even after important parts had been blocked by collapse. At Psychro the lower chamber, which contained the most impressive rock formations and a pool of water, may already have been unreachable in the LM IIIC-SM period. When the ceiling of the cave at Arkalochori (A.28) collapsed, cult continued at its entrance, albeit in modest form. In all cases, except this last one, cult activities are also attested for the EIA and succeeding periods.

As to their earlier history of use, a majority of six to seven of the LM IIIC-SM extra-urban sanctuaries show signs of great popularity and of palatial involvement in their cults during the Neopalatial period. This period is considered an *akme* for the Idaean cave, Mount Jouktas, Mount Kophinas, the Arkalochori cave, the Psychro cave and Syme, and perhaps for Phaneromeni.[479] A wealth of cult objects and votives dating to the Neopalatial period has been retrieved from these sanctuaries: especially bronze figurines, but also specialised cult objects and votives such as stone offering tables (some of them with Linear A inscriptions), stone vases, bronze and sometimes golden Double Axes, seal stones and precious jewellery which must have been made in palatial workshops. At a few of the open-air sanctuaries, extensive building activities took place in this period, which also suggests palatial involvement. At Mount Jouktas, two broad, monumental terraces were laid out and a processional road, which led to a large, stepped altar, was constructed. At Syme, where an extensive, 22-room complex with paved court had already been built in the Protopalatial period, the Neopalatial period witnessed the erection of a monumental stone 'sacred enclosure', with a large central platform and paved road leading to an entrance in the east.

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[477] D'Agata 1999c, 235-37. The foundation of the LM IIIC-SM open-air sanctuary at the 'Piazzale' and the history of its subsequent use are intimately connected with the history of the two neighbouring sites of Phaistos and Kommos. Discussion is done best in the context of a longer-term perspective, including both the LM IIIC-SM period and the EIA: see Chapter Four, section 8, p. 519-23.

[478] The use of the caves as sanctuary is sometimes preceded by a phase of habitation and/or burial, in LN and EM times. This applies to the Idaean cave (A.24), Arkalochori (A.28) and Psychro (A.30).

[479] The BA phases of use at Patsos (A.23) are as of yet not clear. For the cave sanctuaries, see also Tyree 1974, 168.

Although such monumental building activities are not attested at all sites (and the development of their cults in the LM IIIA-B periods is not always well-documented), it is clear that these six or seven LM IIIC-SM extra-urban sanctuaries had been important places of worship since at least the Neopalatial period, probably attracting worshippers from larger areas. The question is therefore raised as to whether these sanctuaries, because of their lasting fame, kept attracting worshippers from a larger region or if they reverted to a role of local sanctuary in the LM IIIC-SM period. One way of trying to answer this question is to consider their place in settlement configuration and the type of votives dedicated.

During the Neopalatial period, the distance of these sanctuaries to the major settlements seems to have varied. Places such as the Idaean cave and Syme were relatively isolated. To reach them from central Crete, where the largest population centres were located, would have taken the better part of the day, if not more.[480] The peak sanctuaries at Mount Jouktas and Mount Kophinas, on the other hand, were situated in the heartland of central Crete and closer to the palatial centres at Knossos and Phaistos. Peatfield emphasises that the average climb from the nearest settlement to a given peak sanctuary takes no more than one to two or three hours, depending on the pace of the walker.[481] Jouktas, *c.* 800 m high, is reached in less than an hour from Archanes to its east, and in two and a half hours from Knossos in the north.[482] The climb to the sanctuary near the considerably higher summit of Mount Kophinas (*c.* 1230 m), however, may have taken somewhat longer than the maximum of three hours suggested by Peatfield.[483] More in general, these sanctuaries have in common that they are—unlike Ayia Triada—not situated in areas of great agricultural potential, but in mountainous and rocky country better suited for pastoral activities.

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[480] For an overview of walking times in central Crete: Pendlebury 1939, 13; see also Chapter Four, section 9, p. 567, n. 1657.

[481] Peatfield 1983, 275.

[482] Pendlebury 1939, 12. A road linking Knossos with the sanctuary was first identified by Arthur Evans and parts of it remain visible today; see Karetsou 1981, 151 (with ref. to Evans 1928, 66, 68).

It is clear that the changes in settlement location in the period around 1200 BC would have affected accessibility and function of sanctuaries located outside settlements. However, this was less so in central Crete, where both Knossos and Archanes, as well as Phaistos, remained inhabited. The relationship of the first two sites with Jouktas—the only peak sanctuary that had not been abandoned after the LM I period—may therefore have been preserved. The question as to whether Jouktas in the LM IIIC-SM period served just these two neighbouring communities, or was visited by worshippers from a larger area is difficult to answer, pending further publication of the recent excavations. So far, only LM IIIC-SM pottery and animal figures have been mentioned, in unknown quantities.[484]

Elsewhere, the changes in settlement pattern, which generally involved a movement away from the coast and the foundation of new sites at defensible locations inland, may actually have brought people into closer proximity with the old sanctuaries. An interesting example is the peak sanctuary at Mount Kophinas (A.27), where cult—as at most peak sanctuaries—seems to have ended after the Neopalatial period. It was resumed in LM IIIC-SM times, when there is also evidence for the existence of four new settlements on the slopes to the north. Although the environs of most LM IIIC-SM extra-urban sanctuaries have often not been intensively explored and their exact place in the contemporary settlement configuration is therefore not easily assessed, some observations can be made. The caves of Patsos and Psychro, for instance, are only some 6 km from the nearest LM IIIC-SM settlements, at Thronos (A.1) and at Karphi (A.6-14) respectively. Traces of LM IIIC-SM habitation have been recognised at the foot of the Syme hill, while various other defensive settlements existed in the region between Myrtos on the southeast coast and the Mesara in the west.[485] Phaneromeni is said to be nearby a contemporary settlement at Spiliaridia.[486] Only the Idaean cave will, for most periods of its existence, have been fairly remote. The area of the Psiloritis mountains is little explored and it is possible that the surrounding foothills and gorges harbour undiscovered LM IIIC-SM sites. However, at present evidence, the nearest known LM IIIC-SM settlement, Krousonas, is still a four and a half hour walk from the Idaean cave.[487]

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[483] It can be reached in one and a half hour from the modern village of Kapetania; see cat. entry A.27.

[484] For the relevant refs. see cat. entry A.25.

[485] Lebessi 1975a, 329; Nowicki 1992, 115, fig. 1.

The fact that in many areas the distance between sanctuaries and nearest settlement became smaller in the LM IIIC-SM period could imply that use was limited to people from local communities. This seems, for instance, to have been the case at the cave sanctuaries of Arkalochori (A.28) and Phaneromeni (A.29). At the first, cult was petering out after the collapse of the roof of the cave; at the second, the LM IIIC-SM votives as presently known consist of no more than one bronze and one terracotta figurine.[488] More generally, the lack of any evidence for building activities during the LM IIIC-SM period indicates a low level of community investment and organisation in these extra-urban cult places. Cult activity took place in rock-shelters, caves or in the open air, with the use of natural features or the reuse of Neopalatial structures. Only at Syme, some auxiliary rooms were actually constructed in the LM IIIC-SM period. Here, however, the progressive spread of the burnt layer with votives from the Neopalatial sacred enclosure to the area outside of it shows the loss of the earlier spatial concepts which had determined the general lay-out of the cult place, with a separate area, the sacred enclosure, for specific cult purposes.

Yet, with the exception of Arkalochori and Phaneromeni, at the other older LM IIIC-SM extra-urban sanctuaries, the quantity of LM IIIC-SM objects and their degree of elaboration suggest considerable investment on the part of the individual dedicators. Attention has been called, for instance, to the relatively high number and quality of the LM IIIC-SM votives at Patsos. These included not only a dozen or more large terracotta animal and fantastic figures (up to 0.50 m high), but also four bronze male figurines (one of them an exceptional, imported Reshep figurine, Plate 12), two bronze bull figurines and a 'sphinx'.[489] The combination of large terracotta bovine and other (fantastic) animal figures and bronze votive figurines is repeated at Syme (with at least 45 bovids and two bronze male and several bovine figurines) and at Psychro (albeit in smaller numbers), while the presence of large terracotta bovine figures has been confirmed for the Idaean cave, Jouktas and Kophinas.[490] As proposed for the GUA figures,[491] dedication of such large and often well-made votives would have been a conspicuous act. While it may be anachronistic to speak of an elite engaged in ritual competition,[492] dedications of this kind may well betray an interest on the part of the votary to invest in (cultic) display, thereby gaining, maintaining or reinforcing a special position in society, either human or divine.

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[486] No exact distances are given in the available reports: see cat. entry A.29.

[487] Sakellarakis 1983, 417-18; Pendlebury 1939, 13; see also cat. entry B.11-13.

[488] As also suggested by Boardman (1961, 2); for further refs. also cat. entry A.29.

The recurrence of similar combinations of cult objects in these extra-urban sanctuaries, from Patsos in the northwest to Syme in the southeast, is remarkable. At the very least it indicates a certain intensity of contact and exchange of ideas within central Crete, with offshoots further to the west and to the east. The elaborate nature of these votives further suggests that the sanctuaries where they accumulated played a special role in the religious life of the communities in the surrounding regions.

D'Agata has suggested that an important centre of production of large terracotta figures is to be sought near Ayia Triada and that this centre may even have been responsible for the creation of the fantastic figures as a new category of votives.[493] Without postulating one source from where all bovine and fantastic figures would have derived, the distribution of these objects and their frequent occurrence with small bronze votives does indicate a convergence in votive practice and may define a central-Cretan circle or sphere of influence.[494] It is of special interest in this regard that the combination of bovine and fantastic figures and Horns of Consecration, as it recurs at these extra-urban sanctuaries, is a development of the LM IIIC period and displays an intricate mingling of different traditions. As D'Agata has pointed out for the assemblage from Ayia Triada, both technique and iconography show a mixture of Minoan and 'Aegean' or Mycenaean features. In the case of the latter, some are distinctive enough to cautiously suggest the presence of 'socially relevant groups' from the Mainland.[495] In addition, the assemblage shows links with Cyprus, as indicated by iconographic correspondences with fantastic figures found in the sanctuary of the 'Smiting God' at Enkomi, and by the possible presence of part of a bronze ingot among the LM IIIC-SM material from the 'Piazzale'.[496] These links may also explain the dedication of an exceptional import like the Reshep figurine at Patsos and, more generally, are important in indicating the outside relations or outward orientation of those involved in the cult activities at these LM IIIC-SM extra-urban sanctuaries.

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[489] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 84, 150-51, 163.

[490] For the last three sites only preliminary excavation reports are available; see the respective cat. entries.

[491] See section 5 in this chapter, p. 191-92.

[492] See for this concept Chapter Four, section 4, p. 355-65.

[493] D'Agata 1999c, 235.

[494] The cave sanctuary at Psychro seems to have had a somewhat different position. Although there were quite some bronze votives of LM IIIC-SM date (several knives and arrowheads, some fibulae and pins, a ring and golden hair spiral), only

The relative homogeneity of cult assemblages in these widely spread extra-urban sanctuaries is also remarkable in cultic respect. In cave sanctuaries, for instance, cult assemblages in earlier periods had differed substantially from each other.[497] This variation has been assumed to reflect the veneration of different deities.[498] It is interesting that such cultic differences found little if any expression in the votives dedicated during the LM IIIC-SM period. The terracotta bovine and fantastic figures give no direct clue as to the identity of the deity worshipped.[499] The same applies to the Horns of Consecration, which may designate no more than the sacred character of

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a few terracotta bovine figures were noted. The LM IIIC-SM cult assemblage seems less homogenous than at the other old extra-urban sanctuaries of this period. Links with Karphi are provided by the pottery and perhaps also by the continued occurrence of bronze votive Double Axes at both sites, which are rare elsewhere at this period. The Psychro cave may not have been tied in entirely with the 'central Cretan circle', but perhaps served different settlements within the inner circle of the Lasithi plateau and surrounding mountains.

[495] D'Agata 1999c, 235.

[496] D'Agata 1999c, 74-75, 229, 235; see also the discussion in section 4 of this chapter, p. 184-86, and cat. entry A.26.

[497] Nilsson 1950, 73; Tyree 1974, 184; Peatfield 1992, 61; Dickinson 1994b, 178-79.

[498] Or, for those believing in a monotheistic Minoan religion, the equally different aspects of the same deity; see Tyree 1974, 183-84.

[499] See e.g. Nilsson 1950, 146, 232.

a place or object.[500] This would suggest that the animal figures reflect general concerns for agricultural prosperity or may substitute for a sacrificial animal, and were not necessarily offered to a specific deity.

For this period there is little conclusive evidence as to the identity of the divinities worshipped. In contrast to the urban bench sanctuaries, cult images seem to be absent from both caves and open-air sanctuaries.[501] However, one hypothesis, though rejected by Nilsson, may be briefly mentioned. It was proposed by Picard that the presence of bulls with Double Axes and weapons pointed to worship of a male deity, an idea recently restated by Pötscher.[502] Indeed, it is striking that in many of the sanctuaries considered here, later epigraphic or literary sources attribute the cult to a male deity. Nilsson firmly stated that 'the Greek Gods who have superseded the old ones do not give any clue' to those that went before.[503] The case may be different when later testimony refers to a god with a pre-Greek origin. This applies to Ayia Triada, where Hellenistic inscriptions testify to a cult of Zeus Velchanos, to Mount Jouktas, where later tradition sited the tomb of Cretan Zeus, to the Psychro cave, the possible birth place of Zeus, and perhaps also to Syme, where one of the two deities venerated in later times was a Cretan version of Hermes.[504]

These sources are also of importance for their coupling of Greek divine names to indigenous epithets, pointing to processes of syncretism which must have taken place during the centuries that followed on the disappearance of the Minoan palace systems and which saw an influx of new, Greek-speaking groups. At the Idaean cave, the most recent excavator, Sakellarakis, places the introduction of a cult of Zeus, which co-opted the older Minoan worship of the vegetation god who yearly dies and gets reborn, in the LM III period.[505] Hermes, attested at Patsos and Syme, is also an old god, known from a Linear B tablet on the Mainland.[506] At Syme his later epithet of 'Kedritas' (of the cedar tree) shows an association with trees and vegetation, which is more often encountered in Crete in historical times and which is suggestive of a survival of Minoan concepts of vegetation and nature deities.[507] The syncretism of this Minoan god with Hermes may, as at the Idaean cave, be expected to be still ongoing or to reach new momentum in the LM IIIC-SM period.

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[500] Nilsson 1950, 183-89.

[501] Peatfield 1992, 76. See Warren's comment (*ibid.*, 80) for a possible exception from Petsophas. In caves, rock formations that, with a little (or a lot of) imagination, resemble human or animal shapes may perhaps have served this purpose instead; see esp. Faure 1964, *passim.*

[502] Picard 1948, 74; Nilsson 1950, 394; Pötscher 1990, 71-74, 79.

[503] Nilsson 1950, 72.

[504] Lebessi 1991a, 160-65.

[505] Sakellarakis 1987b, 247.

Unfortunately, the information available for the LM IIIC-SM phase of use of these sanctuaries is not of the kind to clarify these matters. All that can be said is that the circumstances that would allow such syncretism were there. No building activities indicative of the involvement of some controlling organisation, no central cult statues to impose a specific image of the deity on the worshipper, and types of votives whose symbolic meaning was broad enough to indicate nothing more specific than worship of a male divinity, all point to a lack of specialised cult forms and hence a relatively strong potential for redefinition and multiple interpretation. While in the newly-founded LM IIIC-SM defensible settlements the preservation of cults centring on GUA figures most of all suggests an adherence to traditional Cretan cult forms, many of the contemporary extra-urban sanctuaries, which were visited by worshippers from different communities, reveal more clearly the ongoing fusion of traditions. It is not until the EIA that the more explicit and specific iconography of the votives allows more insights into the results of the intricate processes of syncretism that must have taken place in the preceding centuries.

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[506] Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 85-88; Burkert 1985, 43.

[507] A.B. Cook 1914, 528-31; *id.* 1925, 946; Nilsson 1950, 550-53; Willetts 1962, 250-51; Capdeville 1995, 155-77.

CHAPTER FOUR

SANCTUARIES AND CULTS OF THE PROTOGEOMETRIC, GEOMETRIC AND ORIENTALIZING PERIODS

1. Introduction

In the course of the PG, G and O periods, the Aegean world, including Crete, witnessed a number of distinct changes that would prove to be of lasting importance. Although these changes did not affect all regions of the Greek world in the same manner or at the same pace, they generally involved a growth of population, the progressive articulation of an aristocratic class and its associated political structures, a widening or intensification of foreign contacts and trade (both within the Aegean and with the Near East), and the flowering of various crafts and industries.[1] The period—here referred to in short as the Early Iron Age[2]—may therefore be seen as a truly formative period. In Crete, as elsewhere, communities that were to be the principle actors in Classical and later history became well established as large, nucleated settlements with associated cemeteries and sanctuaries of various forms.[3]

The general increase in archaeological evidence from *c*. 800 BC onward and the concomitant reappearance of skills such as writing and specialised craftsmanship have led to a characterisation of the

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[1] For concise surveys of these changes: O. Murray 1993, 7-15; De Polignac 1995b, 3-9; Osborne 1996, 19-51; I. Morris 2000, 195-201; Whitley 2001, 77-101. Population growth was probably not as steep as first proposed by Snodgrass (1980, 19-24), who envisaged a multiplication by seven from 780 to 720 BC in Attica. For a revision, taking into account the probable distortion of the funerary data because of the exclusion of some social groups from formal burial: I. Morris 1987, esp. 72-73, fig. 22, 156-58; accepted by Snodgrass 1993, 31-32. See also the discussion in Osborne 1996, 70-84.

[2] In other studies, the term EIA usually refers only to the PG and G periods.

[3] This despite the seeming gap in use of many Cretan settlements, cemeteries and sanctuaries in the 6th century BC: for a discussion of this problem Prent 1996-97.

8th century BC as a 'Greek Renaissance'.[4] During the past decades this period has become an object of study in itself. Analyses initially concentrated on the plentiful material from tombs and on associated funerary practices, providing valuable insights into demographic as well as socio-political and ideological developments.[5] Studies of EIA sanctuaries and cult practice followed suit and attempted to explain the growth and diversification of cult practice that became apparent in this period. It has been persuasively argued that the drastic increase of material evidence for cult activities from the 8th century BC onward means more than a simple multiplication of worshippers or intensification of existing votive behaviour. Rather, the 'qualitative and quantitative increase in [permanent] dedications at a wide range of different kinds of sanctuaries suggests that an ever greater proportion of personal wealth was being invested by individuals from a wider range of social groups.'[6] This implies changes in the functions of cults and cult places, many of which can be connected to the complex of broader changes referred to above. Scholarly attention has, to a large extent, focused on the redefinition of sanctuaries and cults in relation to what is generally considered a crucial phenomenon of this period: the formation of the Greek city-states or *poleis*, which, in contrast to the palatial states of the Bronze Age, formed a mosaic of hundreds of small but independent territories.[7] Despite recent critique of this line of research,[8] the phenomenon of early state formation in EIA Greece remains of great importance for an understanding of the function of sanctuaries during this period. A discussion of some of the more recent studies on polis formation is therefore warranted, with special reference to the role of sanctuaries.

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[4] Coldstream (see Hägg (ed.) 1983, 149) has pointed out that the term was first employed in this sense by Burn (1936, 150). For its usage in recent books, e.g. Snodgrass 1971, 416; *id.* 1980, 15-84; Coldstream 1977a, 20, 109; Hägg (ed.) 1983. See also Morgan 1990, 1; Antonaccio 1994, 80.

[5] See also Morgan 1990, 2. For new approaches to funerary data see esp. works by I. Morris (1987, 1989, 1995), Whitley (1991a); for a critique: Papadopoulos 1993.

[6] Morgan (1993, 19), elaborating on ideas formulated by Snodgrass (esp. 1980, 52-54); see also Coldstream 1977a, 338 and, for further discussion, section 4 of this chapter, p. 355-58.

[7] Snodgrass 1980, 27-28, 85-86.

[8] Especially by S. Morris (1992b, xvii-xviii; *ead.* 1992a, 123-24; *ead.* 1997, 64-65), who argues in a polemical manner that the emphasis on state formation 'has acquired a monolithic, nearly totalitarian set of powers over contemporary scholarship'.

The Greek polis may, following Aristotle, be defined as a polity consisting of a settlement (*astu*) and its territory (*chora*), politically united with one another and independent of other polities, with some kind of constitutional government.[9] The existence of impersonal political institutions is most unambiguously attested by the codification of law, probably from the later 7th century BC onward. The public display of law codes establishes an element independent of both ruler and ruled and as such is considered a clear sign of (early) statehood.[10] In Crete, which in the Homeric epics is referred to as the island of the 90 and of the 100 cities,[11] there is a relatively full record of legal inscriptions from the second half of the 7th century BC on.[12] For the period prior to *c.* 650 BC it is—in Crete as elsewhere—difficult to pinpoint successive stages in the process of 'gradual accretion of functions from the great families to the state.'[13] It is generally agreed that there are no sharp transitions from one stage to the next and that attempts to find singular archaeological markers which signal the 'advent of the polis' are doomed to fail. A certain consensus has been reached, however, in interpreting the complex of changes that characterise the Greek world in the 8th century BC as 'circumstantial evidence' for significant advances in the formation of the Greek poleis. An underlying thought is that, with the growth of population, the size of communities reached certain critical levels, which furthered the need for different means of social integration and political organisation.[14] In that context a number of archaeologically visible phenomena have been discussed which, though not exclusively indications of a polis organisation, imply planning by a form of 'central authority that was concerned with the community as a whole.' One of these phenomena is the urbanisation of EIA settlements, exemplified by the laying out of regular streets and the construction of fortifications or political meeting places.[15] Other studies centre on changes in burial practices, which likewise may betray the formation of a new sense of community or 'civic' consciousness. After a period of elaboration of status distinctions in formal burial a tendency has been noted, for instance, to dedicate objects of value in sanctuaries rather than in tombs. This phenomenon, which becomes apparent in the later 8th century BC, has been interpreted as 'a switch of emphasis and loyalty from the individual and the family to the polis'.[16] Even though such a switch of emphasis can perhaps not be taken as a sign of a full-fledged 'polis ideology',[17] it should be considered a meaningful change. To what extent this occurred in different parts of the Greek world remains, however, to be assessed.[18] For Crete, the nature of the funerary evidence may not permit a straight answer: the frequent practice of multiple burials in the EIA makes the assignment of funerary gifts to individuals, and hence the dating of their deposition, problematic.

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[9] See e.g.: Finley 1981, 4-5; Coldstream 1984c, 7-8; Snodgrass 1986a, 47; *id.* 1991, 5. For a full discussion of other possible definitions: Sakellariou 1989.

[10] See esp. Snodgrass 1986a, 52; also Stoddart & Whitley 1988; Whitley 1997, esp. 645.

[11] *Il.* 2.649; *Od.* 19.174.

[12] Although most Cretan inscriptions date to the 6th century BC (see Stoddart & Whitley 1988, 763, table 1; Whitley 1997, 649, table 5), this does not imply that they were then drawn up for the first time. As the earliest known legal inscription dates to the later half of the 7th century BC (Demargne & Van Effenterre 1937b) and was found at Dreros, it is logical to assume that larger communities such as Knossos and Gortyn possessed a written legal code in the same period; see esp. Jeffery 1976, 43, 188-89, 202, n. 7; *ead.* 1990, 310, n. 3; Snodgrass 1993, 34. For the first epigraphic use of the term 'polis': Bile 1986, 138-39.

[13] Morgan 1990, 3.

[14] E.g. Snodgrass 1977, esp. 15, 34; Coldstream 1984c, 10; I. Morris 1991, 41-42 (with further refs.); Snodgrass 1993, 39; Osborne 1996, 74-75.

In current discussions of polis formation special importance is assigned to the development of new types of sanctuaries and cults. This is based on the idea that, apart from a political organisation, 'every Greek polis was (...) a religious association; its citizens accepted a community of cult, with a patron deity presiding over each state'. In earlier work, Snodgrass has called the foundation of a central, urban sanctuary one of the clearest possible signs of independent polis-status.[19] More recently, as part of a widespread shift in interest from the ancient cities to the surrounding countryside, several important studies have appeared which centre on the possible functions of non-urban sanctuaries in the process of polis formation.

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[15] Snodgrass 1993, 31, 34.

[16] Snodgrass 1980, 52-58, 62-64; *id.* 1986a, esp. 54-55; *id.* 1991, 19-20; *id.* 1993, 32; I. Morris 1987, esp. 189-90; Osborne 1996, 85, 101. More controversial is I. Morris' idea (1987, esp. 171, 192) that there was a hardening of 'boundaries between the gods, men and the dead', which indicates a spatial reorganization and widespread shift in ideas of the community; see Sourvinou-Inwood 1993 and Prent *forthcoming*.

[17] As cautioned by De Polignac (1996).

[18] I. Morris (1997, 34-36) thinks Snodgrass' observation may be more valid for central Greece than for other areas. De Polignac (1995a, esp. 88-90) objects that there was a parallel elaboration of grave and sanctuary offerings in the 8th-century BC Argolid and Attica.

Paramount among these is De Polignac's *La Naissance de la Cité Grecque* (1984),[20] in which the unification of the city and its surrounding *chora* takes pride of place over the urban aspects of polis formation. De Polignac attaches great significance to the return of an intensive agricultural regime, after the supposedly more pastoral economy of preceding centuries.[21] This 'agrarian conquest' would have involved a recolonisation of the Greek countryside and hence a distinctly new territorial and spatial organisation.[22] Changes crystallised, according to De Polignac, in the establishment of extra-urban sanctuaries at the borders of the cities' cultivated land during the 8th century BC, a phenomenon that can be observed in various regions of the Greek world. Located at an average distance of 5-15 km from the settlement centre, such 'border sanctuaries' did not form part of daily religious life, but nonetheless provided an important symbolic and cultic focus. De Polignac discerns a variety of aspects in the associated cults, which together represent the core concerns of the incipient polis. Fertility and kourotrophic cults, for instance, betray a concern with the protection of crops and fields and hence with the agricultural base of polis life. The offering of weaponry, in the same sanctuaries, may be seen as part of rites aimed at diverting human threats to the community's territorial and political independence. Another primary function of the associated cults would have been the integration of the various social groups within the community, as with initiation and inversion rites. On a more cosmological level, the position of extra-urban sanctuaries at the transition from arable land to the 'uncontrolled wilderness' of mountains, forests and seas, made them into symbolic 'places of passage'. De Polignac sees this reflected in their frequent dedication to deities such as Artemis, who served specifically as guardian and mediator in situations of transition.[23]

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[19] By doing so he followed V. Ehrenberg (1969, 15), who considered the construction of a temple in the heart of the city to be a symbol of the transition from (royal) human to more abstract, divine authority. Snodgrass 1977, 24-25; *id.* 1980, 33; also De Polignac 1984, 16. For a critical note: Coldstream 1984c, 9-10. For the Durkheimian idea of the polis as a cult community: Ehrenberg 1969, 14; De Polignac 1984, 125; *id.* 1995b, 152; I. Morris 1987, 189; Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, esp. 301, 305 n. 25; Morgan 1993, 19.

[20] For the updated English translation: De Polignac 1995b. For reactions and proposed modifications: Snodgrass 1986b; Malkin 1987; Antonaccio 1994; Morgan 1994, esp. 105; De Polignac 1994, esp. 3-5; J.M. Hall 1995c, esp. 579.

[21] *Contra*: Foxhall 1995.

[22] Social-geographical studies have shown that when intensive agriculture is practiced and people have to work on their fields almost daily, they generally do not live in places further away than half an hour walking (3-4 km); see e.g. Gallant 1982, esp. 115-16.

Other scholars have related the transformation, also in the EIA, of a number of non-urban sites into cult places of regional or even interregional stature to the process of state-formation. Such (inter-) regional sanctuaries, among them Olympia and Delphi, were situated at a far larger distance from the principal settlements than the extra-urban sanctuaries focused on by De Polignac and do not appear to have fallen under the immediate control of any one polis. Snodgrass has convincingly argued that the (inter-)regional sanctuaries provided neutral meeting places and podia for ritualised competition and display for the elite members of the emerging Greek poleis. With respect to the process of polis formation their importance appears to have been twofold. First, the exclusive character of (inter-)regional festivals would have made participation by individual aristocrats a prestigious act and would therefore be instrumental in enhancing the esteem and power of the participant in his home community.[24] Second, Snodgrass has proposed that these sanctuaries, in their capacity as meeting places, played a crucial role in the proliferation of new ideas, concepts and customs through the fragmented Greek political landscape. Several innovations that bore a specific relationship to the socio-political structures of the poleis, such as the codification of law and hoplite warfare, may have been disseminated in this manner.[25] Other innovations, such as the use of the alphabet, and the familiarity with Homeric poetry and the associated 'heroic' lifestyle, may be considered in a more general sense as part of and giving expression to an incipient process of Hellenization, eventually leading to the formation of a distinctly 'Greek' or Hellenic culture. As defined by Nagy, Hellenization refers not to a one-sided articulation of Indo-European traditions and institutions, but to a process of transformation and change, through the constant interaction with local, non-Greek, and Near Eastern heritages.[26] The effects of this unifying process are also apparent in EIA religion and cult practice. It is manifest, for instance, in shared or 'Panhellenic' concepts of the Olympian gods (as expressed most clearly in the Homeric and Hesiodic works) and in the springing up of similar votive practices in different parts of the Greek world. Since common cult was an 'established mode for expressing communality in the Greek world', the growth of a Panhellenic religious framework would have been particularly important for the definition and perception of a 'Greek' or Hellenic identity that transcended the boundaries of the individual community.[27]

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[23] De Polignac 1984, 15-92, esp. 33, 42-49, 51-54. For the choice of 'divinities of passage' also: De Polignac 1994, 6, 18.

[24] This point has been elaborated by Morgan (1990, esp. 3-4); see also De Polignac 1994, 11-12; I. Morris 1997, 30.

[25] See also section 4 of this chapter, p. 216-17. Snodgrass 1986a, esp. 49-54; Morgan 1993, 18; see also Renfrew 1982, 289; *id.* 1986.

Both (inter-)regional cult places and De Polignac's extra-urban and urban sanctuaries had clear functions in the formation of the socio-political structure of the polis. At the same time, the parallel emergence during the EIA of these different types of sanctuary indicates the existence of different cultic levels, which may not always have been compatible. Panhellenism added a dimension to the processes taking place at the level of the incipient poleis, since the latter should be considered primarily as the heirs to localised traditions in religion, cult, law and other matters. Such localised traditions combined in creating a sense of local community identity, which often was defined in opposition to neighbouring polities and therefore emphasised the differences between them. Considering these different cultic levels, Sourvinou-Inwood aptly characterises religion in the ancient Greek world as 'a network of religious systems interacting with each other and with the Panhellenic religious dimension'. These systems influenced and determined each other but never completely overlapped.[28] Nagy speaks in this context of a synthesis of 'the diverse local traditions of each major city-state into a unified Panhellenic model that suits most city-states but corresponds exactly to none.'[29] In other words, significant variations between local religious systems continued to exist. As argued most explicitly by Sourvinou-Inwood, the degree and nature of Panhellenic influence on local religion and cult remains something to be examined rather than assumed.[30]

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[26] Nagy 1979, 7; *id.* 1990, 1-2; see also Snodgrass 1971, 419-21.

[27] See esp. Sourvinou-Inwood 1988a, 259, 267; *ead.* 1990, 300-01. In later times, Herodotus (8.144.2) explicitly mentioned the sharing of sanctuaries and sacrifices as a main ingredient of 'Greekness'; see J.M. Hall 1997, 44-45; Schachter 2000, 10; Malkin 2001, 5-6; see also below, p. 237-39.

[28] Sourvinou-Inwood 1978, 101-02; *ead.* 1988a, 259; *ead.* 1990, 300.

Cautionary remarks of this kind should certainly be taken to heart for EIA Crete, as it has long been recognised that developments in the island followed a course not directly comparable to that in better-known regions on the Greek Mainland. Within the broad parameters of change in the Aegean as outlined above, a number of idiosyncrasies have been noted in Crete, which suggest a divergence from Panhellenic standards. Characteristic for Crete are not only the tenacity of BA customs, but also the island's relatively early and strong receptivity to Near Eastern influence. In addition, idiosyncrasies are apparent in the socio-political structure of the Cretan poleis and in the specific way in which these evolved. Obviously, both the issue of the island's outward orientation and that of the internal development of its polities are of direct relevance to an understanding of the function of sanctuaries and cults in the EIA. These issues will be explored in the following.

The formation and organisation of the Cretan poleis

The 7th-century BC and later legal inscriptions and literary sources show that Cretan poleis were governed by a board of magistrates, the *kosmoi*, who were elected from the ranks of the aristocratic families. The earliest known inscription, from Dreros, also mentions other officials, i.e. the *damioi* and 'the Twenty', the latter perhaps forming a kind of Assembly.[31] Snodgrass classifies the Cretan poleis as polities with an 'exclusive type of citizenship'.[32] It is indeed important to stress that there is neither textual nor archaeological evidence for the emergence in the island of a free peasantry, which pressed for democratic reforms. A strict division between a land-owning aristocracy (though based in the cities) and a servile population working the fields seems to have been preserved into HL times.[33] Although the precise meaning of the terms for the various classes as employed in 6th-century BC and later inscriptions is often not clear, there seems little doubt that they refer to groups of dependents without civic rights.[34]

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[29] Nagy 1979, 7; *id.* 1990, 10.

[30] Sourvinou-Inwood 1978, esp. 101-02.

[31] Willetts 1955, 103-08, 152, 158, 167-70; Jeffery 1976, 189-90; Bile 1988, 336-42; Link 1994, 97-112.

[32] Together with those in Thessaly, Lokris, Argos and Sparta; see Snodgrass 1980, 39, 89-90.

In earlier studies, these dependent groups are often equated with 'the indigenous population'. This follows a remark by Aristotle that Cretan *perioikoi* in his time still lived according to 'the laws of Minos', the implication being that they were ruled by a closed group of Dorian aristocrats.[35] The concept of a 'conquest-state of Dorians' or a strict internal social division along ethnic lines is, however, questionable, as it supposes a single massive influx of people with a well-established sense of their Dorian descent or identity. Recent scholars take a less static view of ethnicity and emphasise its changeable social and political dimensions.[36] Surely, the construction of a shared ancestry based on myth and ethnography would help to formulate claims to land and civic rights.[37] In Crete in the HL period such ethnic identities may have been played out at the intercommunity or regional level, as part of more widely reaching economic and territorial conflicts, such as those between 'Eteocretan Praisos' and 'Dorian Hierapytna'.[38] For EIA Crete a passage in the *Odyssey* indicates awareness of the existence of five ethnic groups—Achaeans, Eteocretans ('true' or autochthonous Cretans), Kydonians, Dorians and Pelasgians—with the addition that 'they have not all the same speech; their tongues are mixed'.[39] Various tribal and personal names in Cretan inscriptions have been identified as non-

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[33] The observation goes back to Aristotle (*Politics* 1271b 40-1272b 1); Kirsten 1942, 114; Van Effenterre 1948a, 161-72; Willetts 1955, 157, 169-70; *id.* 1962, 40-42, 297; Jeffery 1976, 190; Link 1994, 30.

[34] Kirsten 1942, 80-119; Willetts 1955, 37-56; Bile 1988, 342-47; I. Morris 1990, 250-51; Link 1994, 38-51.

[35] Aristotle *Politics* 1271b 30-32. For discussions of this passage: Van Effenterre 1948a, 93-96; Jeffery 1976, 190; Coldstream 1984c, 22; Link 1994, 32, 47; Huxley 1971, 506-07, 513.

[36] J.M. Hall 1997. For earlier critical remarks: Snodgrass 1980, 89-90; I. Morris 1990, 253.

[37] J.M. Hall 1997, esp. 65, 184-85.

[38] E.g. Spyridakis 1970, esp. 21-22. On Eteocretan identity: esp. J.M. Hall 1997, 177-79; also S. Morris 1992a, 173-74; Sherratt 1996, 90, n. 9; Whitley 1998. See further section 8 in this chapter, p. 545-50.

[39] *Od.* 19.177 (Loeb 1980, translation A.T. Murray); J.M. Hall 1997, 42, 177-79.

Hellenic in origin.[40] It is striking, however, that names which have been identified as 'Doric, Eteocretan and oriental' occur together in owners' inscriptions on a group of late 7th-century BC bronze armour from Aphrati (Plates 38-40), as these objects surely belonged to members of the arms-bearing aristocracy.[41] This strengthens the idea that social divisions within the individual Cretan poleis cannot be reduced simply to an opposition between descendants of 'Dorians' and 'indigenous subjects'.

The spatial organisation of the Cretan poleis is also of interest, as this has particular relevance to an understanding of the location and function of the various kinds of EIA sanctuaries. Coldstream has argued that the Cretan city-states did not come into being according to the 'Aristotelian scheme', which assumes a gradual coalescence of independent villages or *komai*. He concludes that an earlier organisation *kata komas* emerges from the archaeological record only in Athens, Argos and Corinth. Crete deviates from the pattern described by Aristotle because relatively large, nucleated settlements with communal extra-mural cemeteries are known to have existed continuously from the LBA into the EIA, as exemplified by sites such as Knossos, Karphi and others. At Knossos, EIA domestic deposits were found over an area measuring no less than *c.* 500 x 500 m, but in view of the presence of one major and a few smaller cemeteries at the edge of this area Coldstream convincingly argues that a growth of population and not a dispersal in separate villages was responsible for the wide distribution.[42] Haggis has called the apparent dichotomy between Aristotelian 'village theory' and 'centralised polis theory' unwarranted, as it may detract from the fact that several of the nucleated EIA settlements in Crete were accompanied by contemporary villages or hamlets in outlying areas. At Knossos, to follow up the same example, small groups of G burials, chance and surface finds near Babali, Ayios Iannis and elsewhere provide evidence for additional settlement in the wider environs of the principal site.[43] These, however, are best interpreted as small and dependent farming establishments.[44]

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[40] Willetts 1955, 254-55; Huxley 1971, 506-08.

[41] See Raubitschek in Hoffmann 1972, 15. Perlman (2000, 64-65) notes that the kosmoi mentioned in the later inscriptions of many Cretan poleis belonged to both Dorian and non-Dorian tribes.

[42] Other examples of early nucleated settlements were discussed in the introduction of Chapter Three, p. 111-24. Coldstream 1984a, 312-14; *id.* 1984c, 13-14, 20-22; *id.* 1991, 289-90; Catling & Coldstream 1996b, 714. *Contra* Alexiou (1950b), who wrote before the discovery of the large North Cemetery and inferred the existence of scattered EIA hamlets from the fairly wide distribution of EIA burials in reused BA tombs. Coldstream, however, explained this as a result of a preference for existing Minoan chamber tombs. The term '*komai*' is, incidentally, not attested in Crete itself; see Bile 1986.

It should be emphasised, however, that settlement patterns in EIA Crete may have varied on a regional basis. Most importantly, larger settlements such as Eleutherna, Gortyn and Ayios Phanourios near Vrokastro, appear to have been divided into two sizeable sections, which were situated on either side of a gorge. In some cases, the apparent shared use of primary cemeteries and sanctuaries suggests that these 'divided' settlements nevertheless formed one community. For Eleutherna, one of the excavators has no qualms about calling the settlement organisation *kata komas*.[45] A similar picture of an economically and socially interdependent community, making use of the same land and water resources, but living in different villages and hamlets, has been reconstructed by Haggis for the area around Kavousi in the EIA.[46] For Gortyn, on the other hand, it has recently been proposed that the 8th century BC occupation of the Prophitis Elias hill opposite the older, LM IIIC-SM settlement on the Acropolis (Plate 27) reflects a true division and was due to the arrival of new people, perhaps from Laconia.[47]

Regardless of how the spatial organisation of the different settlement configurations around EIA Knossos, Gortyn and Kavousi should be interpreted in social terms, it is important that in all cases certain changes become apparent during the 7th century BC. These may well be indicative of various forms of synoikism.[48] At

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[43] The phenomenon is paralleled in the Kavousi area; see Haggis 1993, 162-64.

[44] Other areas, including those around Gortyn (see cat. entry B.23-25) and Vrokastro (B.36-37), show a similar co-existence of major nuclei and smaller habitation sites in the G period.

[45] Kalpaxis 1994, 19. So far, only one EIA cemetery has been discovered at Eleutherna; see cat. entry B.1-4. For Gortyn: B.23-25. For Vrokastro: Hayden, Moody & Rackham 1992, 326-29, 335-36, 338, fig. 19.

[46] Haggis 1992 and 1993; see also the discussion in the introduction to Chapter Three, p. 114-15.

[47] Perlman 2000, 69-72.

[48] The term synoikism has multiple meanings, 'from the notional acceptance of a single political centre by a group of townships and villages (...) to the physical migration of a population into a new political centre, which could be either an existing or a purpose-built city' (Snodgrass 1980, 34); see also Cavanagh 1991, esp. 106.

Gortyn, both the settlement on the Acropolis and that on the Prophitis Elias hill were abandoned at or in the course of the 7th century BC. The population is thought to have moved to a new site in the plain, a phenomenon that may have marked the creation of a new political centre.[49] In the area of Kavousi the LM IIIC-LG settlement at the Kastro was abandoned, probably in favour of the pre-existing site at the lower hill of Azoria, where recent excavations have unearthed a 6th century BC civic building.[50] At Knossos, a number of the smaller surrounding sites were abandoned in the 7th century BC.[51] Here too, a possible explanation is that of the growing importance in this period of the settlement nucleus which would have formed the seat of civic institutions. Such a form of synoikism is not quite the same as the Aristotelian coalescence of dispersed villages, but nevertheless bears on the formation of the poleis.

The issue of the spatial organisation of the larger EIA Cretan communities is also important for an evaluation of De Polignac's theories on the role of extra-urban sanctuaries in processes of polis formation. The latter's scenario for the rise of such cult places relies to a considerable extent on the idea of a scattered population in the centuries after the LBA and the consequent need for meeting places, which were provided for by—often newly founded—sanctuaries. Again, it must be emphasised that not only the spatial configurations around the larger settlements varied, but that between regions differences also occur in the existence of smaller settlements. Recent surveys around Phaistos and in the Lasithi plain indicate that the number of small settlements increased during the O period.[52] Moreover, the existence of small habitation sites around a major nucleus has not only been recorded for the EIA, but also for the LM IIIC-SM period.[53] Whether in Crete there was an 8th-century BC 're-colonisation of the countryside' of the kind proposed by De Polignac for the Greek Mainland is therefore open to question. In addition, it should be noted that these variations in settlement pattern and organisation seem minor in the light of Coldstream's general observation on the dominating presence of large, nucleated settlements throughout the periods of the LBA and EIA. The fact that in Crete there had been relatively large and established communities for so long will have been of greatest importance for the territorial as well as cultic organisation of the landscape.

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[49] Di Vita 1991, 318; La Torre 1988-89, 297-98, 302; Perlman 2000, 71.

[50] Whitley 2002-03, 83-84.

[51] Haggis 1993, 143-49, 162-64; Hayden, Moody & Rackham 1992, 329.

[52] Near Phaistos, dispersed burials of PG-G date at Ayios Ioannis, Ayios Onouphrios and Petrokephali may indicate earlier hamlets; see Watrous *et al.* 1993, 230; Cucuzza 1998, 62-63. For the Lasithi plain: Watrous 1974, 282; *id.* 1982, 20-22, 38-42, map 12.

[53] Nowicki 1987b, 222-24. See also the introduction to Chapter Three, p. 112-13.

The continuous existence in Crete of nucleated settlements with primary cemeteries is further relevant to a current, more general discussion on the pace of changes associated with the formation of the Greek poleis. Scholarly attention had already shifted to the period before the 8th century BC, as many of the trends which become marked in this period seem traceable to the 9th century BC or earlier.[54] Lately, however, a strong reaction has set in against the entire concept of structural and revolutionary change in the 8th century BC. New models advocate gradual and uninterrupted change from the LBA onward, instead of a short period of 'renaissance'. Thus, S. Morris proposes a slow and continuous development of the 'Greek community-by-consensus'.[55] The matter remains disputed as others, among them De Polignac, suggest that the proposed gradualism is 'to err in the opposite direction.'[56]

In Crete too, many of the developments that are considered characteristic of the 8th- century BC 'renaissance' may have a beginning in earlier periods. Modern fieldwork and the restudy of material from old excavations have begun to increase our knowledge of the 10th and 9th centuries BC. This applies also to EIA sanctuaries, with growing evidence for a 9th- or even 10th-century BC origin for several of them.[57] Yet there are various reasons not to accept a model of gradual evolution without major change from the LBA into the EIA. The fact remains that for the PG period (which in Crete covers most of the 10th and 9th centuries BC) the archaeological record is relatively slight. This applies especially to sanctuaries, where few votives can be safely assigned to the 10th century BC.[58] In addition, the 10th century BC appears in different respects to have been a period of transition. There are, for instance, distinct changes in settlement pattern and configuration. These are most obvious in the eastern regions of the island, where defensible sites such as Karphi, Kephala Vasilikis, Chalasmenos and Kypia were abandoned, together with associated sanctuaries that were discussed in the previous chapter. In central Crete habitation as a rule continued at the same sites, but shifts in the location of cemeteries and sanctuaries have been noted. At Knossos, for instance, smaller burial grounds were given up for larger ones to the north and west of the EIA settlement, while cult activities at the Spring Chamber came to an end; not long afterwards new sanctuaries came into being at various other locations in and around the settlement.[59] Phaistos entered a new architectural phase, with extensive construction of houses and paved streets.[60] It is inevitable that such changes in settlement pattern and configuration also affected the function of existing sanctuaries and the choice of location for new ones. Furthermore, there are few PG sanctuaries known that did not stay in use in the G and O periods as well.

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[54] See e.g. Snodgrass' discussion of 9th-century BC fortifications (1980, 32-33; 1991, 9); see also Donlan 1989, 5. Purcell (1990, 43, 56) likewise takes the 9th and 8th centuries BC together in discussing various changes and argues for an 'organic growth over centuries'.

[55] S. Morris 1992b, xvii-xviii. Also Van Effenterre 1985, esp. 19-28, 287-88; Carlier 1991, esp. 94; Musti 1991, esp. 30, 33.

[56] De Polignac 1995b, xiv, 150-54.

[57] Examples include extra-urban sanctuaries such as the Diktynneion (B.50), Kommos (B.57), Amnisos (B.60) and Palaikastro (B.69). On the Mainland a series of new cult places also saw the light in the late 10th or early 9th centuries BC, for instance in Attica and in the Peloponnese; see Morgan 1993, 19 n. 4; De Polignac 1995a, esp. 77.

The transitional period formed by the 10th century BC has been viewed from different perspectives. On the one hand it has been characterised as signalling the beginning of the 'Late Dark Ages', during which intercommunity relations remained strained. Nowicki, for instance, explains the abandonment of a number of defensible settlements, predominantly in eastern Crete, as a sign of pressure by some outside enemy or as a result of conflicts between the old refuge centres themselves.[61] For central Crete, on the other hand, emphasis is usually placed on the first signs of 'recovery, consolidation and expansion' which were to culminate in the accomplishments of the 8th and 7th centuries BC.[62] This proposed recovery involved a gradual intensification of contact, both internal and external. The reoccupation in the PG period of old harbour towns, such as Poros-Katsamba (Herakleion)[63] and the foundation of coastal sanctuaries such as Kommos and Amnisos, may well have to be interpreted as a sign of growing interest in overseas communication and trade. Likewise, it is conceivable that the abandonment of at least some defensible settlements in the eastern regions of the island should be seen as motivated by a wish to be closer to major routes of communication, and not as a withdrawal from outlying and threatened areas. The Papoura hill, for instance, is much nearer to the northern entrance pass to the Lasithi plain than Karphi.[64] Further east, the move from Kypia to Praisos, though both defensible sites, meant an improvement in terms of proximity to the main north-south axis in this part of the island.[65]

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[58] This phenomenon is not confined to Crete: Desborough 1972a, 238; Coldstream & Higgins 1973, 181. For difficulties in dating bronze figurines of this period: Naumann 1976, 11-12; Verlinden 1984, 164-65; Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 1.

[59] Hood & Smyth 1981, 16-18; Coldstream 1991, 291; see also cat. entries B.17-19.

[60] Rocchetti 1974-75; Coldstream 1977a, 278; La Rosa 1992b, 235, 240.

[61] Nowicki (1990, 178-80) refers to the possible movement of population from Karphi to the Papoura closer to the Lasithi plain, from Tapes to Kato Kastello and from Siderokephala to Kastello in the Krasi area north of the Lasithi plain,

It should be emphasised that an assessment of the character of intra-Cretan relations in the PG period depends to a large degree on the way one interprets the marked regional differences in the material culture of the island—a trait that was to persist throughout the EIA. Regional differences may point to development in relative isolation, but in some cases they may also represent a more or less conscious choice for a discrete cultural idiom, intensified, perhaps, in the context of intercommunity or interregional compe-

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and from Vronda to the Kastro at Kavousi. For the possible move of people from Vronda to the Kastro as well as Azoria: Haggis 1993, 150. In Attica the Late Dark Ages have been coupled to the lifespan of the PG style there (*c.* 1050-900 BC), but such a periodization does not fit Crete; see Desborough 1972a, 11, 133.

[62] Coldstream 1984a, 317; *id.* 1991, 291. For the idea of a gradual revival in Greece in general: Coldstream 1968, 335; Snodgrass 1971, 402.

[63] Coldstream 1977a, 99; *id.* 1984a, 319; *id.* 1991, 296; Hood & Smyth 1981, 18. The expansion of PG Knossos along the old road to Poros-Katsamba coincides with a rise in imports from Attica and elsewhere in the Aegean, as pointed out by Coldstream (1984a, 317; 1991, 292-93).

[64] Watrous (1982, 20-21) stresses the unimpeded view from the Papoura over this route.

[65] Whitley, Prent & Thorne 1999, 247-53. Harbour sites of the PG period are less apparent in eastern Crete. Possible examples include Siteia (B.41) and a small site at the Gulf of Mirabello, below Vrokastro: Hayden, Moody & Rackham 1992, 328; Haggis 1993, 162.

tition.[66] In his study of Greek PG pottery, Desborough was cautious to underline that a lack of stylistic similarities in the pottery of different regions does not necessarily reflect lack of contact. Nevertheless, he believed that Cretan districts must have remained relatively isolated from one another in the 10th and 9th centuries BC.[67] Intensification of communication may initially have taken place through a formation of smaller regional networks, with as yet little exchange between them.

A further discussion of the uneven way in which the new PG pottery style was accepted in Crete may shed some light on both internal relations in the island and on the varying degrees of (direct) involvement with regions on the Greek Mainland. This latter point is of special interest with regard to the question of Crete's incorporation in a wider 'Hellenic world'.

External relations and outward orientation

The PG style, with its hallmark motif of the compass-drawn concentric circle, was invented in Athens around 1050 BC. The degree of its acceptance in the various regions of Crete gives an indication, if not of the actual amount of external contact of these regions, then of the receptivity to foreign influence. Knossos, which determined much of the ceramic style of north-central Crete, was the first Cretan centre to adopt Attic PG vase shapes and decorative motifs into its local repertoire.[68] This happened at a relatively advanced stage in the development of Attic PG, around 970 BC, and defines the beginning of the Cretan PG period.[69] Attic vases constitute the most numerous imports in the PG tombs of Knossos, a situation which contrasts with that of the preceding LM IIIC-SM period.[70] Later in the PG period, Euboean, Corinthian and Thessalian vases were imported as well. The occurrence in the Knossian tombs of Attic vessel types that were hardly exported elsewhere probably indicates direct contact between these two regions. The type of vessels, amphorai and (sets of) drinking cups, and the observation that these are concentrated in the richer tombs have further led the excavators to suggest that contact took the form of gift-exchange between leading families.[71]

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[66] Coldstream (1968, 2, 333-34) has pointed out that in the whole of Greece different ceramic schools flourished during the 8th and 7th centuries BC, despite the fact that communication both within the Aegean and with areas outside it was steadily increasing.

[67] Desborough 1952, 259-60, 270-71; see also Coldstream 1968, 335; *id.* 1983a, 17; Morgan & Whitelaw 1991, esp. 79, 92, 100-01.

[68] Desborough defined the beginning of the PG period as the appearance of a new pottery style which either contains elements deriving from another PG style or is otherwise distinct from the preceding ceramic style: Desborough 1952, 235-36, 250; Coldstream 1968, 233-35; *id.* 1996, 414. The starting date of 970 BC is based on the classification of tomb material from the Fortetsa cemetery by Brock (1957). This has since been generally accepted and even the new findings from the Knossos North Cemetery give no reason to alter these dates; see Coldstream 1972, 65; Kanta 1980, 3-5; Coldstream 1992, 67; *id.* 1996, 409-10.

[69] Even at Knossos, however, the distinction between SM and PG is rather

Outside north-central Crete, the transition to the PG style (and hence to the PG period proper) is more diffuse and there is little evidence for direct contact with Attica. In the Mesara, Attic PG influence seems to have been experienced indirectly, through the Knossian style, while in the far west of Crete an independent PG style may have been in vogue.[72] In the region from Vrokastro eastwards, Desborough saw hardly any sign of outside influence on the local pottery, whether from Attica or from Knossos. This led him to the conclusion, recently confirmed by M. Tsipopoulou, that in eastern Crete a SM tradition persisted until close to the introduction of the later G style.[73] The only import identified by Tsipopolou amongst the more than 1100 vases from east-Cretan tombs is a probably Euboean LPG hydria found at Kavousi.[74] The subdivision of the PG period in an Early, Middle and Late phase as based on

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subtle, as many of the old vase types continued to be made with little change in shape or decoration. Desborough (1952, 248-49) therefore considered the predicate PG not entirely warranted; see also Coldstream 1968, 234; Popham 1992, 59; Catling 1996a, esp. 308.

[70] In that period foreign relations are indicated primarily by the Cypriot-like metal objects; see Catling & Coldstream 1996b, 715.

[71] Coldstream 1996, 393-94, 402-03; Catling & Coldstream 1996b, 715-17.

[72] Coldstream 1968, 234. With the exception of the area around Vrysses, sites with traces of occupation which can be assigned to the PG period are still scarce; see Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1991, 414-15, 419-20.

[73] Desborough 1952, 260-67; *id.* 1972a, 115, 237; Snodgrass 1971, 134-35. *Contra*: Kanta 1980, 4-5. The situation in the Mirabello region, which may have formed a transitional area, remains unclear. The present excavators of Kavousi employ the term 'LM IIIC/PG', implying, contrary to Tsipopoulou, the absence of pottery of SM style and the presence of a well defined PG one; see Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1992b; *eid.* 1995, 117; Mook & Coulson 1993, 351. Also: Haggis 1993, 167.

[74] Tsipopoulou (1991, 137, 140, fig. 4) sees no influence from other PG styles until the second half of the 9th century BC.

the Knossian material is hardly applicable outside north-central Crete.[75] The situation improves somewhat in the second half of the 9th century BC, when the echoes of a new and distinctive pottery style, so-called Protogeometric-B (PGB), created at Knossos, can be traced as far as the eastern extremity of the island.[76]

The PGB pottery style (*c*. 840-810 BC) is particularly fascinating because it shows an eclectic borrowing from a variety of contemporary and older sources, of both local and foreign origin. Thus, the PGB style combines older PG motifs of Mainland origin, such as compass-drawn circles, with rectilinear motifs deriving from contemporary G Attic and Cycladic pottery and with curvilinear and freehand patterns.[77] For the latter, inspiration seems to have been drawn from two separate sources, which together also inspired the relatively early extended figurative scenes on some of the PGB funerary urns. First, a distinct revival of BA features can be detected in both vase forms and decoration. Familiarity with BA objects may have been achieved by accidental discoveries made during reuse of earlier sites. At Knossos, the home of the PGB style, it is clear that BA vases and larnakes were encountered during the clearing of LBA tombs for new burials.[78] This represents one of the earliest known instances of active rediscovery of the local BA past on the island—an interest that seems to have persisted in later times.[79] Secondly, the curvilinear patterns of the PGB style show a borrowing of Oriental motifs, which may have been seen on metalwork, textiles or ivory objects of Near Eastern origin.[80] In this respect, the PGB style betrays increased receptivity to the cultures from the Near East at an early and formative stage—some 150 years before the beginning of the period conventionally labelled 'Orientalizing'.[81]

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[75] See Coldstream 1977a, 48; *id.* 1996, 414-15; Coulson 1998, 42 The dates for the subdivisions within Cretan PG proposed by Brock (1957, 214) were adjusted by Coldstream (1968, 330): EPG 970-900 BC, MPG 900-870 BC, LPG 870-840 BC. In the following discussion of EIA sanctuaries the generic and necessarily more vague term 'PG' will be employed.

[76] Coldstream 1968, 235-39.

[77] Brock 1957, 143; Coldstream 1968, 235-39; *id.* 1988; *id.* 1996, 416-17; Blome 1982, 8-10.

[78] Boardman 1961, 130-31; *id.* 1967, 66; Coldstream 1968, 238; *id.* 1988; Snodgrass 1971, 407; Catling & Coldstream 1996b, 719.

[79] In the sanctuary at Syme, Minoan stone offering tables were depicted on 7th-century BC bronze plaques and were actually reused in O and HL times: Lebessi 1985b, 126-27; Kanta 1991, 483, 485. From Prinias there is a funerary stele of 7th-century BC date which shows a female figure standing on a Minoan incurved altar; see Lebessi 1976a, 173-74, pls. 4-5.

[80] Brock 1957, 143; Coldstream 1968, 347-48; *id.* 1977a, 69-70; *id.* 1984b, 93-94; *id.* 1988, 166; Levi 1969, 8; Snodgrass 1971, 407.

EIA Crete is indeed relatively rich in early Near Eastern imports and in examples of Oriental influence on its material culture. The island now figures prominently in discussions of the extent of Near Eastern influence on Aegean EIA culture.[82] Before reviewing the available evidence, however, it must be emphasised that, just as with the acceptance of the Attic-inspired PG pottery style, responses to Near Eastern influence within the island seem to have varied on a regional scale and to have changed through time. Obviously, influence is not a 'natural' or logical result of contact with other civilisations, but involves culturally determined choices and a greater or lesser degree of reinterpretation and reworking.[83] In a balanced assessment, De Polignac cautions against the tendency to apply models of passive reception of Eastern influence to the Greek EIA. In his words, pointing out similarities in the form of objects or customs in different cultures is not sufficient to understand 'le sens de cette innovation dans le contexte de 'réception'. Even in the case of unchanged appearances of Oriental motifs and themes, it has to be assumed that meaning changes with the transference into a different cultural context.[84] Both De Polignac and Burkert give examples of how in ancient Greece foreign terms, names and images were sometimes entirely reinterpreted in a process of 'creative misunderstanding'.[85] In other cases, however, prolonged personal contact will have led to more than superficial similarities in form. Explicit theoretical models to approach these questions, however, are only beginning to be developed.[86] In the current absence of comprehensive, contextual studies of the use of Oriental and Orientalizing objects and styles in EIA Crete, only some broad developments and approaches may be pointed out here.

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[81] Coldstream 1968, 347; *id.* 1982, 272; I. Morris 1997, 32-34, 42. For the term 'Orientalizing': Burkert 1992, 4 n. 17 (with further refs.). In recent studies the interesting suggestion has been made that the later perception by mainland Greeks of the island being 'different' stemmed to no small degree from its Oriental connections: S. Morris 1992a, 152-72; Sherratt 1996.

[82] Such issues became fiercely debated after Bernal's publication of *Black Athena* (1987), in which he described classical scholarship as thoroughly imbued with hellenocentrism and racism; for reactions on Bernal e.g. Peradotto & Myerowitz Levine (eds) 1989; Boardman 1990; S. Morris 1990; Lefkowitz & MacLean Rogers (eds) 1997. For more balanced perspectives on East-West relations, including brief historiographies of the subject: Coldstream (1982, 261-63) and especially Burkert (1992). For the material evidence from Crete e.g. Poulsen 1912, esp. 74-82, 161-68; Demargne 1947; Boardman 1961, 131-44; S. Morris 1992a, 150-94; Hoffman 1997.

[83] See esp. I. Morris 1997, 9-10, 43; also Whitley 1994, 61-62.

[84] De Polignac 1992, 114-15, 117.

[85] This could happen especially easily in the case of linguistic borrowing, via

Problems also remain at the more basic level of trying to determine the point of origin, the period and the mechanisms of transmission of individual objects, techniques and motifs. A complication here is the intensive contact and mutual influence that already characterised relations between the Aegean and the Near East in various periods of the BA. For Crete, such intensive contact goes back to at least the MBA, while the LBA saw the unfolding of exchange networks encompassing most of the eastern Mediterranean, with the Mycenaeans gradually assuming a leading role.[87] These repeated episodes of prolonged and intense contact sometimes make it difficult to assess whether the transference of techniques or motifs took place in the BA or EIA, or in what amounted to a continuous process of cross-fertilisation.[88]

As to the points of origin of Oriental influence on EIA Crete, Boardman has recognised two dominant strands: one pointing to North Syria (and indirectly to Assyria) and the other to the Levantine or Phoenician-Palestine area, where art was more Egyptianizing in style. Cyprus, where a Phoenician colony was established at Kition around 850 BC or earlier, may have been an important intermediary. In the 8th and especially the 7th century BC there also appears to have been direct contact between Crete and Egypt.[89] It

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'popular etymology', but also in the adoption of certain iconographic motifs; see Burkert 1983b; *id.* 1992, 6-7, 35, 77-78, 82-85; De Polignac 1992, 114-15, 117, *passim*. For the idea that Eastern representations could provide the initial inspiration for Greek epic and myth, with little or no connection to the original meaning: S. Morris 1997, 63.

[86] See also: S. Morris 1992b, xvi; De Polignac 1992, esp. 114; Kopcke 1992, 103-04; Osborne 1989; Whitley 1991a; *id.* 1994.

[87] See esp. West 1997, 4-9.

[88] On the 'international style' of the LBA: Crowley 1989, esp. 286-87. See also: Demargne 1947, 294; Burkert 1987b, 13-14; *id.* 1992, 5, 128; Kopcke 1992, 105; S. Morris 1997, 56-58. On the issue of 'migration' versus multiple, independent invention, of myths: Burkert 1987b, esp. 10-12 (with further refs.), 17, 19-20.

[89] Boardman 1961, 149-52; *id.* 1980, 55-56; Markoe 1985, 3-4; Bisi 1987, 229, 235; Hoffman 1997, 123-25 (for possible 8th-century BC Egyptian imports);

should be noted, however, that the exact places of origin of Oriental imports and influence are not always clear. To some extent this is due to incomplete knowledge of the different workshops in the Near East itself. In addition, various scholars point out that there are inherent problems in applying an ethnic connotation such as 'Phoenician' to the artistic output of a heterogeneous population such as that of the coastal cities of the Levant. The term 'Phoenician' is therefore increasingly used to denote a specific artistic style which eclectically combines different Near Eastern traditions.[90]

EIA Cretan interaction with Near Eastern cultures is usually placed against a background of growing international trade and communication. In this, the search for raw materials, especially metals, is believed to have been an important incentive.[91] Among the groups who were active in the establishment and exploitation of the major sea routes from an early date onward Phoenicians and Euboeans are most notable.[92] Cretans, on the other hand, may not have assumed a prominent role in these long-distance trading networks. Coldstream has argued that the island, like Rhodes, primarily shared in the developing EIA trade because it was a natural staging post on the maritime route from the Levant to the West Mediterranean. He points in this context to the scarcity of Cretan-made objects abroad.[93] Crete is also strikingly absent in the early colonising movement. Apart

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Stampolides 1998, 180; Watrous 1998, 75. Muhly (1970, 45-46) considers a late 10th-century BC date for Kition possible. The high dates for Phoenician presence in the Aegean proposed by Negbi (1992) are unsubstantiated; see e.g. Hoffman 1997, 175-76, 189.

[90] Frankenstein 1979, 288; followed by S. Morris 1992a, 129-30, 161-62; Hoffman 1997, 9, 15, 250-51. Also: Markoe 1985, 2-3; Osborne 1996, 38.

[91] See esp. West 1997, 609. A lively picture of the trade in luxury goods and other commodities in the Near East in this period is given by Frankenstein (1979, 272-75). The importance of the iron supplies of Crete is, however, exaggerated by S. Morris (1992a, 101, 118, 131-32, 134; with ref. to Faure 1966); see also the critique by Sherratt (1993, 917). Varoufakis (1982, 318, 320 Fig. 1) has suggested the possibility that deposits of phosphorous iron ore in west Crete were exploited in ancient times. Crete was not, however, among the earliest regions which adopted the use of iron on a large scale; see Snodgrass 1982b, 287, 291 (table 3).

[92] Coldstream 1968, 383; *id.* 1977a, 20; Boardman 1980, 37, 40-43. For a recent monograph on the role of the Euboeans in EIA colonization and trade: Crielaard 1996. For Euboean EIA pottery in Crete: Popham, Pollard & Hatcher 1983; Rocchetti 1988-89, esp. 220; Lebessi 1996, 146.

[93] Coldstream 1982, 261, 264. For Cretan pottery in Italy: Lo Porto 1974. S. Morris (1992a, esp. 131-32) considers Crete a metal-rich area which for that reason attracted foreign traders; see n. 91 above.

from the joint founding with the Rhodians of Gela in Sicily in 689 BC no such activities are attested.[94] While there may be some evidence of Cretans going abroad and serving as mercenaries,[95] foreign enterprises organised on a larger or more formal scale are not immediately apparent.

As pointed out by West, however, trade contacts are not a guarantee for widespread or pervasive cultural influence, as ‘the sale or exchange of goods need not in itself involve much meeting of minds’.[96] The situation becomes different with the establishment of fixed trading posts or the migration of merchants, craftsmen and others. In these cases, prolonged contact, perhaps together with intermarriage, would considerably add to the chances of intercultural transmission—involving not only exchange of goods, but also of skills, ideas, stories and myths. In this context, it is of importance that changes in the political situation in the Near East, in particular the rise and subsequent expansion of the Assyrian empire, may have stimulated overseas activities and the movement westwards of inhabitants of the Levantine city-states and kingdoms during the first half of the 9th century BC and again from *c.* 745 BC onward.[97] As will be seen below, Crete has yielded indications of more than sporadic and elusive trade contacts in different parts of the EIA.

Beginning with the material evidence for Cretan contact with the Near East, *c.* 115 objects from 9th-8th century BC Cretan contexts have been accepted as ‘real imports’ in a recent and critical study by G. Hoffman. Most of these objects were found in the central regions of the island and they consist primarily of small, portable luxury items in ivory, faience and metal and of terracotta unguent flasks.[98] One of the oldest (Cypro-) Phoenician objects found in a Cretan EIA context is a bronze bowl with owner's inscription, which accompanied an early 9th-century BC burial in Teke Tomb J at Knossos.[99] In addition, there is a large group of locally made objects in orientalizing styles. As has been noted especially for Knossos, both imports and locally made 'orientalia' are often found in rich EIA tombs. This suggests that in the PG-G period there was limited or restricted access to orientalia and that these played a role in the articulation of elite groups in society, by setting them apart from other community members.[100]

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[94] The Cretan pottery from Gela is closest to that of the Mesara; see Coldstream 1968, 375, 383; *id.* 1977a, 289-90. For other possible Cretan influence in Gela: Raccuia 1992 (with further refs.).

[95] Burkert (1992, 25) gives the (uncertain) example of *Krethi* serving in the bodyguard of King David. Snodgrass (1974, esp. 200-01) suggests Cretan mercenaries were responsible for the dedication of Cretan votive armour at 7th-century BC Bassae in the Peloponnese; see also Cooper 1996, 73.

[96] West 1997, 609.

[97] Coldstream 1982, 261; *id.* 1989, esp. 92, 94; Muhly 1970, 49; Burkert 1992, 6, 9-14. *Contra*: Negbi (1992) who believes there were permanent Phoenician trading posts before the close of the 10th century BC. Frankenstein (1979, esp. 269-73, 290) argues for the development of a symbiotic relationship between the Phoenician mercantile cities and the expanding Assyrian empire rather than a threatening situation and forced exodus; also Kopcke 1992, 106-07; S. Morris 1992a, 122, 125-26.

Among the Near Eastern imports an important class is composed of (Cypro-) Phoenician bronzes such as relief bowls. These were also locally imitated and are stylistically and technically related to the Cretan bronze shields with figurative decoration (Plates 56, 58-59 and 74).[101] The creation of a long-lasting Cretan tradition in (figured) metalwork perhaps forms the most undisputed and distinct example of the presence of immigrant craftsmen in the island.[102] Throughout the period of production of the Cretan shields (from the late 9th perhaps into the 7th century BC) their style remained close to Oriental metalwork.[103]

The involvement of immigrant craftsmen from the Near East has also been proposed for a series of other new industries in EIA Crete, although there is, as of yet, little unanimity of opinion on this subject.[104] A well-known case is that of a Knossian workshop for orientalizing gold jewellery, the development of which has been traced by Boardman. The workshop was active from the PGB period until the early 7th century BC, the earliest known product being a gold diadem from Tholos Tomb 2 at Chaniale Teke. From the 8th and early 7th centuries BC there is reliefwork in gold and bronze in similar style and workmanship from various tombs around Knossos and from one at Kavousi. The style of this workshop became increasingly 'Hellenized', but it is evident that the employed techniques (filigree and granulation) and the heraldic scenes of warriors fighting lions, helmeted sphinxes and later also griffins are of Oriental origin.[105] The proposal, by Boardman, that this workshop was set up by an immigrant goldsmith from the Near East is to a large extent based on the fact that the diadem mentioned above was part of a homogeneous hoard of jewellery and some unworked gold, which was buried in two pots near the threshold of Tomb 2. According to Boardman this represents a foundation offering to reconsecrate the BA tomb for its new incumbent.[106] Lebessi has objected that the earliest jewellery from this Knossian workshop presents too much of a mixture of Oriental and local elements to be made by an Eastern goldsmith.[107] Her argument has recently been taken up by Hoffman who emphasises the lack of tools, which would indicate that the buried person was a craftsman, the lack of parallels in the Near East for foundation offerings in tombs, and the need for detailed technical analysis of the jewellery itself.[108]

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[98] Hoffman 1997, 24-95, 247. For earlier overviews: Boardman 1961, 149-52; *id.* 1980, 62-83; Coldstream 1968, 340, 348; *id.* 1984d; *id.* 1996, esp. 406-08; Demetriou 1989, esp. 75-77.

[99] Catling 1976-77, 12-13, fig. 27; Coldstream 1982, 263-64, 271; Catling & Coldstream 1996a, 30 (no. 1), fig. 157. Sznycer (1979) dates the inscription to *c.* 900 BC but this is not undisputed; see Boardman (1990, 177) and Hoffman (1997, 120-23) for further refs. and a discussion of alternative dates, the earliest of which is the 11th century BC.

[100] This matter will be discussed more fully in section 4 of this chapter, p. 363-66.

[101] See esp. Markoe 1985.

[102] Dunbabin 1957, 41; Coldstream 1982, 268. Also Coldstream 1974, esp. 162.

[103] Boardman 1961, 134-38; Coldstream 1977a, 287-88; *id.* 1982, 268. For the shields: Kunze 1931. For further discussion of the date of these shields: see section 4 of the present chapter, p. 368-70.

[104] Most recently, Hoffman (1997, esp. 3 n. 11, 13-17, 252-53) has scrutinised

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the proposed evidence and casts doubt on several of the earlier identifications. Emphasising that the criteria for recognising foreign presence in the material record are not easily defined, her conclusion is nevertheless that circumstantial evidence makes it likely that Oriental craftsmen resided in the island. Hoffman's critical remarks, though not always accepted, are incorporated in the following.

[105] Boardman 1961, 134-38; *id.* 1971; Lebessi 1975b, 172 n. 32 (for the early 7th-century BC pieces). See also Demargne 1947, 236-38; Coldstream 1977a, 100-01, 284-85, fig. 92a.

[106] Boardman 1967, esp. 63; *id.* 1980, 56-57; Coldstream 1977a, 100, 103-04; *id.* 1982, 267. The tomb was excavated in 1940 by Hutchinson; see Hutchinson & Boardman 1954.

[107] Lebessi 1975b, 173.

[108] Part of the discussion concentrates on the question whether the employed techniques of filigree and granulation needed to be taught to Cretan jewellers or whether they would have been able to 'reinvent' them after having seen Oriental prototypes; see Hoffman 1997, 191-240, 253 (who does not present an alternative for the interpretation of the buried pots with jewellery and gold as foundation offering).

Likewise, the identification of an 8th-century BC Near Eastern unguent factory at Knossos (comparable to ones established earlier on Rhodes and Kos) has been questioned. The locally produced, terracotta perfume bottles which imitate Cypro-Phoenician Black-on-Red juglets can be interpreted as evidence for settling of Near Eastern perfume makers but equally for local bottling of imported bulk or for local imitation of both flasks and perfume.[109] For ivory objects the raw material certainly had to be imported from the Near East and it is clear that finished objects also reached the island. It has been suggested that other ivories were made in the island by itinerant or established Levantine craftsmen, who may have taken on local apprentices.[110] The hand of a North-Syrian sculptor has been recognised in an 8th-century BC limestone head with inlaid ivory eyes from Amnisos, to date the earliest known piece of large-stone sculpture from Crete. A final class of evidence for possible foreign presence is of funerary nature. Boardman has convincingly argued that a group of 8th-7th century BC burials discovered in the EIA cemetery of Aphrati, in the east part of the Mesara, belonged to immigrants from North Syria. The type of burial—cremation urns placed in stone dishes and covered with large terracotta basins—is unknown in Crete but has parallels in Karkemish.[111] A Phoenician presence is now suspected at Eleutherna, on the basis of three Phoenician-type funerary *cippi* in the principal EIA cemetery.[112]

Least easy to trace archaeologically and therefore most susceptible to differing interpretations, are the dissemination of Eastern practices, ideas and beliefs. Of these, the introduction of writing in the 8th century BC is perhaps most tangible.[113] Crete was among the first of the Greek speaking areas to adopt the Phoenician alphabet, as can be deduced from the close similarities in letter forms.[114] The relatively early appearance of legal inscriptions on the island, in the second half of the 7th century BC, has further invited conjecture that the idea of inscribing laws in stone and even elements of their contents were inspired by Near Eastern or Phoenician examples.[115] A striking example is the similarity in 7th-century BC Cretan and Near Eastern inscription headings, which both begin with an invocation of 'the gods'.[116] In the field of literature and religion, attention has recently been refocused on the often striking parallels between Near Eastern and Greek epic, myth and iconography.[117] Burkert argues in particular for an important role of itinerant seers, who are already mentioned by Homer among the craftsmen of his day. What little is known of their activities in this and later times often corresponds remarkably, as demonstrated by Burkert, to practices described in Sumero-Akkadian incantation texts. Rites of purification, which hardly play a role in the Homeric epics but appear to be of great concern to Archaic Greeks, may also have been introduced from the Near East. Crete comes to the fore in this respect with famous diviners such as Thaletas of Gortyn (*c.* 670 BC) and Epimenides (*c.* 600 BC), who also provided their services on the Greek mainland.[118] The island further provides one of the rare instances of archaeological evidence for local and foreign cult practice at the same site. Recent excavations at the EIA sanctuary of Kommos, on the coast of the Mesara, have yielded imported pottery and faience which seem to indicate the presence of Phoenician traders during much of the 9th century and perhaps as early as the 10th century BC. A tripillar shrine, set up around 800 BC, probably owes its form to Phoenician examples (Plate 65). The joint worship of Phoenician traders and local Cretans makes Kommos, in the words of Burkert,

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[109] Coldstream 1982, 268-69. For critiques: Frankenstein 1979, esp. 276; Bisi 1987; Jones 1993, esp. 294-96; Hoffman 1997, 176-85.

[110] Barnett 1948, 6; Sakellarakis 1990, 361; *id.* 1992, 116-17. *Contra*: Frankenstein 1979, 273-74; Hoffman 1997, 157-59, 253.

[111] Boardman 1970, 18-23; *id.* 1980, 60; Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 173, fig. 29; Coldstream 1977a, 277. *Contra* Hoffman (1997, 188, 253) who finds the parallels not close enough.

[112] Stampolides 1990a, 104; *id.* 2003. For comparable *cippi* from Herakleion and Knossos: Stampolides & Karetsou 1998, 276 (nos. 348-49).

[113] Jeffery 1990, 12-21, 374. See also: Johnston 1983; Whitley 1997, 638 n. 9.

[114] Jeffery 1976, 1-12, 310; *ead.* 1990, 1-10, 40-42; Burkert 1992, 25-29. For the extent of literacy in Crete: Stoddart & Whitley 1988; Whitley 1997, esp. 649-60.

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[115] Boardman 1970, 23; S. Morris 1992a, 165-66, ns. 73-74 (with further refs). *Contra*: Whitley 1997, 649-60, esp. 659. The possibility that the Phoenician model of city-state and the associated political institutions influenced the Greek polis was raised by Snodgrass (1980, 31-34), but Jeffery (1990, 310) and Huxley (1971, 506-07) opt for a Minoan or Eteocretan legacy.

[116] Pounder 1984.

[117] E.g. West 1997, esp. 1-60.

[118] Itinerant seers and healers were also active in Plato's time; see Burkert 1983b, 115-16 (with ref. to *Od.* 17.383-85); *id.* 1992, esp. 6, 41-46, 56-64. Also Finley 1979, 55; Bremmer 1996, 98. On Epimenides: Plut. *Solon* 12; Dodds 1951, 141-42; Burkert 1972, 150-52.

'one of the most remarkable meeting points of Phoenician and Greek religious practice'.[119]

Although Crete's long-distance contacts in the EIA may have been mainly initiated from outside, closer to home there are indications of enhanced and perhaps more active Cretan participation in Aegean networks from the 8th century BC onward—something that is pertinent to questions concerning the degree of Hellenization in the island. Coldstream has identified Cretan Geometric pottery in the Cycladic islands of Melos, Delos and Andros, although only the nearest neighbour, Thera, seems to have been a regular receiver.[120] One of the signs of increasing communication within the Aegean is the widespread adoption, from *c.* 800 BC onward, of the Attic MG II pottery style, including in parts of Crete. Pottery imports in the Knossian tombs of this period also include Corinthian, Argive, Cycladic and East-Greek wares.[121] With regard to burial practices, it has been suggested that the growing popularity of cremation and of funerary symposia in Crete represents a certain community of custom and belief that links the island with mainland Greece.[122] Attention has further been drawn to the occurrence in the island of 'Homeric' burial rites, i.e. rites corresponding to those described in the Homeric epics. It is important to add, however, that the earliest instances of cremation in Crete date to the LM IIIC-SM period and that the custom was not uniquely 'Hellenic'.[123] Of more relevance for the issue of Hellenization is that some types of Cretan votive objects, in particular the bronze tripod-cauldrons (Plates 60-61), which like the MG II pottery style make their appearance around 800 BC, compare closely to those then in vogue in the large Mainland sanctuaries. This, as well as the presence of some Cretan-made jewellery, bronze weaponry and other objects at Olympia and Delphi, suggests the participation of inhabitants of the island in Panhellenic festivals.[124]

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[119] Burkert 1992, 20-21; Hoffman 1997, 188. *Contra*: S. Morris (1992a, 126) and Negbi (1992, 608-09) who opt for an earlier date. For the archaeological evidence: J. Shaw 1989a and cat. entry B.57.

[120] Coldstream 1968, 382 (with further refs.); *id.* 1977a, 52, 70.

[121] Coldstream 1977a, 73, 102-03; *id.* 1996, 393-405.

[122] Cavanagh 1996, 675.

[123] See also the discussion in section 4 of this chapter, p. 362-63. Melas (1984) argues for an Anatolian/North-Syrian origin of the custom and a subsequent spread to the west and southwest coast of Asia Minor, and then to the Aegean islands and Greek Mainland. Karageorghis (2003, 342) believes the custom may have reached Cyprus from Crete in the 11th century BC.

As with influence from the Near East, it should be emphasised that Cretan appreciation of this developing Panhellenic culture may have been partial and idiosyncratic. S. Sherratt notes a 'Homeric ambivalence towards Crete', the *Iliad* reflecting admiration of the Cretan heroes of the BA, the *Odyssey* portraying the island in contemporary times as linguistically diverse and cosmopolitan and therefore perhaps not fully in line with 'the "ideal" discourse of an emerging panhellenism.'[125] The impact of the Homeric epic on the culture of the Cretans was already questioned in antiquity. In Plato's *Laws*, the Cretan Klinias is made to say that Homer, being a foreign poet, was not much read in the island.[126] In the same context, the lack of 'hero cults' in EIA Crete seems significant, as this is a phenomenon which on the Mainland has been related to the attempts of the emergent elite to legitimise their rule in reference to a heroic past of a kind also described in the Homeric epics.[127] This does not mean that appropriation of the past did not play a role in the articulation of Cretan aristocratic structures in this time—rather, that it took its own, idiosyncratic form without finding expression, as in several other regions, in cult activities at BA tombs.[128]

In the same context, it should be noted that the figurative art of EIA Crete is different from that from elsewhere in the Greek world in the Geometric period. Crete is known for the early appearance of figurative scenes—on 10th-century BC and later pottery and on metalwork from the 9th century BC onward—which include subjects such as the hunting and the fighting of animals by fully armed warriors.[129] However, these scenes frequently contain allusions to a supernatural world in the form of anthropomorphic divine figures and fantastic animals such as griffins and sphinxes—motifs with a clear Oriental origin (Plates 56, 74). In contrast, funerary, naval and battle scenes on Mainland G pottery represent a 'heroic' but thoroughly human world, which, though not directly inspired by that pictured in the Homeric epics, may be seen as a parallel and akin phenomenon.[130]

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[124] Coldstream 1968, 382 (with further refs.); *id.* 1977a, 52, 70; Maass 1977, 34; Rolley 1977, 8, 103, 145-46 (tripods, fibulae, mitra, helmet, figurines in Delphi). For late 7th-century BC wooden and ivory votives of Cretan manufacture found in the Heraion on Samos: Kyrieleis 1980, 94-102; *id.* 1983, 298-300; Lebessi 1983a. *Contra:* Carter 1985, 207-13.

[125] Sherratt 1996, esp. 92. For a discussion of the different Cretan peoples, towns and other places mentioned by Homer: Aposkitou 1960.

[126] Plato *Laws* 3.681c; discussed by Van Effenterre 1948a, 53.

[127] I. Morris 1986, 128-29.

[128] Discussion of Cretan cults which may refer to the past is reserved for a later section, as it involves the location of cult places more than specific types of votives; see section 8, p. 508-54.

[129] Blome 1982, 65-107; Coldstream 1984b; *id.* 1988. There is one PG krater from Knossos with a ship: Brock 1957, pl. 135.

Once again, it is necessary to emphasise that responses to incipient Panhellenism were not the same everywhere on the island, but varied from region to region. Evidence for 'Homeric burials' so far comes from only three sites: Knossos, Prinias and Eleutherna, in the central and west-central parts of the island.[131] More often, there seems to have been an adherence to older funerary traditions. Cremation in rock-cut chambers or tholoi, for instance, was popular in much of central Crete. At Vrokastro cremation burials are found in unroofed 'bone enclosures', while at Dreros cremation occurs in individual pits and cists in a cemetery which also contained inhumations. East of the Gulf of Mirabello inhumation (in tholoi and small caves) prevailed throughout the EIA.[132] Less is known about the west of Crete.[133]

An equally distinct regionalism is apparent in the differential acceptance of the MG II Attic pottery style in the 8th century BC. Different pottery styles continued to exist, largely along the geographical divisions already noted for the PG period. As before, Knossos must have maintained direct relations with Attica, judging from the abundant imports from that area found in the tombs of the EIA cemeteries.[134] The influence of the Knossian ceramic style made itself felt as far west as Eleutherna and as far east as the Mirabello region, but a more conservative school reigned in the Mesara. The ceramic styles of the eastern and especially the western extremities of the island show few links with the Knossian sequence.[135] In the region east of Mirabello, PG vase forms survived and freehand curvilinear motives—probably a legacy of the earlier PGB style—were preferred to the more rectilinear decoration adopted in central Crete; of the little outside influence there is, Cycladic seems most pronounced.[136] This regionalism did not disappear when after *c.* 700 BC Geometric pottery styles gave way to ones in which curvilinear Oriental motifs were dominant.[137]

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[130] See esp. Snodgrass 1998a; also Boardman 1983; Osborne 1989, 311.

[131] Catling 1995 (Knossos); Rizza & Rizzo 1984, 234-38; Rizza 1991, 331-34 (Prinias); Stampolides 1995 (Eleutherna).

[132] Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 171-73; Coldstream 1977a, 276-77. For east Crete also: Tsipopoulou 1984. For west Crete: Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1991, 414-15.

[133] Systematic excavations and surveys in western Crete are a relatively recent phenomenon. Extensive traces of G occupation are now known from sites such as Chania, Aptera, Vrysses and Kavousi (near Phalasarna); see esp. Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1991.

[134] According to Coldstream (1977a, 73, 99, 102-03; 1996, 393-402), these imports include a wide range of Attic vessel shapes, several of which were rarely exported to other areas.

The introduction of the Orientalizing pottery style in the 7th century BC marks a significant change in the character and scale of response to Oriental culture. In contrast to the earlier periods, application of Orientalizing styles was now extended to non-monumental and non-prestigious objects, which include, besides pottery, mouldmade terracotta votives (Plates 20f-g, 21, 33, 35, 54). This implies a certain loss of elite connotations. The use of moulds for serial production of small terracotta figurines and plaques[138] probably derived from central Syria, where this technique had been current since the 14th or 13th century BC.[139] Mouldmade terracottas are more numerous in Crete than anywhere else in the Greek world[140] and the specific Orientalizing style that goes with them may well have been developed in the island. Called Daedalic after the legendary Cretan artist, this style shows strong affinities with the Egyptianizing art of North Syria and Phoenicia; in contrast to G styles it is conventional rather than naturalistic. The triangular or trapezoidal faces of the human figurines and the layered hair or wigs are characteristic.[141] The most popular types of Cretan mouldmade votives represent frontal standing females, which may be nude or dressed, often wearing poloi, and which display various arm gestures. These are often—though inappropriately—referred to as 'Astarte figurines' after similar depictions of the popular Syrian goddess.[142]

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[135] On the lack of rapport between the central and western styles: Coldstream 1977a, 275-76; Stampolides 1993, 19-20.

[136] Coldstream 1968, 234; *id.* 1977a, 271, 275-76; Tsipopoulou 1991, 140-41. An extreme example of local peculiarism is the handmade G pottery from Ayios Georgios Siteias; see Tsipopoulou 1992.

[137] Coldstream 1968, 333.

[138] When they are moulded in one piece they form a plaque with flat background, but sometimes the surrounding clay is cut away and the plaque comes close to a figurine: Boardman 1961, 108. For the technique and other aspects of production: e.g. Walters 1903, xxii-xxvi; Knoblauch 1937, 105-106; Nicholls 1952, 220-24; Higgins 1967, 1-5, 26-27.

[139] Not via Cyprus, as previously thought: Böhm 1990, 107-16, 120-21. For earlier studies: Riis 1949, 84, 88-89; Boardman 1961, 108-09; *id.* 1980, 76-77.

[140] Böhm 1990, 77-78, 103-04. Mouldmade plaques are also known from Rhodes, Samos, Ephesus, Attica, Corinth, Argos, Laconia and Western Greece. For the date of the earliest mouldmade figurines in Crete: Boardman 1961, 109; Higgins 1967, 28; *id.* 1973, 57.

The broadening of the use of Orientalizing styles in the 7th century BC coincides with a shift in the areas that provided inspiration. According to some scholars, Egyptian influence became more pronounced, while others point to the impact of East-Greek Orientalizing styles.[143] On the one hand, Cretan stone statues and reliefs of this period maintain a relatively close link with Oriental prototypes. They all belong to the category of architectural sculpture and, made in limestone, display little relation to later Greek sculpture in marble. Among these early Cretan statues are some of the earliest known seated female figures in the Aegean, such as the examples from Prinias and Gortyn (Plates 23-24, 30).[144] East-Greek influence, on the other hand, has been detected in some of the 7th-century BC Cretan jewellery.[145] Conversely, Cretan jewellers may have stood at the base of the so-called Island Workshop[146] and products of a Cretan school of ivory working have been identified outside the island, most notably in the Heraion of Samos.[147] This mutual influence and borrowing within the Aegean goes together with a certain weakening of Eastern style elements. While Cretan EIA metal work long remained thoroughly Oriental in style, both the 7th-century BC jewellery and ivory workshops of Crete seem to have fully incorporated or 'hellenized' Oriental motifs and techniques.

As noted in a number of recent studies, the growing popularity of Orientalizing styles in the 7th-century BC Greek world did not always entail a complete degradation of Geometric art.[148] In some areas the two styles coexisted for an extended period of time and may have formed competing modes of expression.[149] Some scholars believe that the appearance of an Orientalizing pottery style in Attica represents a conscious rejection of the older Geometric tradition with its 'heroic' connotations.[150] As for Crete, however, I. Morris has suggested that Orientalizing styles were seen in a different way. The island's long history of contact with Cyprus and the Near East gave the increased incorporation of Orientalizing elements in its material culture more of a flavour of continuity.[151] This implies less of a contradiction or opposition would have been felt between Geometric and Orientalizing styles. Examples of the combination of Oriental and Hellenic styles can be found repeatedly in EIA Crete. For the PGB pottery style, Whitley has observed that the use of Orientalizing and Attic Geometric motifs on the same pots conveys an eclecticism unimaginable in contemporary Attica.[152] A later, 7th-century BC example consists of the architectural sculpture of Temple A at Prinias, in which the style of the Orientalizing female figures forms—at least in the eye of the modern beholder—a contrast with the Subgeometric style of the frieze of horse riders (Plate 23).[153]

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[141] Jenkins 1936, 12-19; Higgins 1954, 11; *id.* 1967, 25-28.

[142] Depictions of a frontal nude woman clasping her breasts are known in Mesopotamia from the 3rd millennium BC onward: Riis 1949, 69, 77. See also: Boardman 1961, 109; Higgins 1967, 26-28; Böhm 1990, 103.

[143] Boardman 1961, 149-52; Higgins 1996, 542; Watrous 1998.

[144] Adams 1978, 1, 5, 13-14, 142-43; Ridgway 1980, 182; Donahue 1988, 234-35; S. Morris 1992a, 129 n. 114. Watrous (1998) emphasises Egyptian influence on these statues, *contra* Adams 1978, 142-43.

[145] Higgins 1996, 542.

[146] Lebessi 1975b, 172-73.

[147] See Kopcke 1967, 104-05, n. 11; Lebessi 1983a; Stampolides 1992, 148-49.

Concluding remarks

In summarising the main developments in EIA Crete, it should first be emphasised that the island shared to a considerable degree in the general patterns of internal growth and intensification of contact that characterised large parts of the Greek world in the late 9th and especially the 8th century BC. Within the broad parameters of change affecting the Aegean, however, attention should be drawn to a number of Cretan idiosyncrasies and a certain divergence from patterns elsewhere. One idiosyncrasy concerns the internal development of the Cretan polities. The fact that large, nucleated settlements and primary cemeteries continued to exist from the LBA onward has consequences in understanding the way in which the Cretan poleis developed, as well as the spatial arrangement of their territories and hence the placement and function of EIA sanctuaries.

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[148] Whitley 1994, 53; S. Morris 1997, 64.

[149] See also Helms (1992, 162) on the cross-cultural differences in willingness to make political use of contact with foreign cultures.

[150] Osborne 1989, 318-19.

[151] I. Morris 1997, esp. 10, 32-34, 42.

[152] Whitley 1994, 53.

[153] See cat. entry B.15.

Another idiosyncrasy concerns the distinctive nature and effect of Crete's external relations. EIA Crete does not appear to have been an active agent in the developing overseas networks. Nevertheless, Near Eastern imports and instances of Near Eastern influence on the island's material culture are well-attested from an early date. In addition, there is plausible evidence for the actual settlement of people from the Near East in Crete. These immigrants may have been instrumental in the inception of several new industries in the island, such as that of decorated metalwork, as well as in the transference of less immediately visible skills and ideas. In the case of overseas contact within the Aegean world, Crete may have taken a less passive stance. This is indicated, on one side, by the presence of Cretan-made objects in the Aegean and, on the other, by the island's sharing in the widely accepted Attic MG II pottery style. In some cases, contact appears to have been direct and personal—perhaps taking the form of gift-exchange—as suggested by certain types of Attic imports in EIA tombs at Knossos. The simultaneous adoption of the custom of dedicating bronze tripod-cauldrons of Mainland type points to more than superficial contact and exchange. Crete, however, should be considered neither a prominent nor a typical participant in the incipient Panhellenism. As noted above, evidence for interaction with the Greek mainland is restricted to certain regions of the island and within these regions to certain social groups. Developments are most pronounced for the central regions of the island, where the import and use of foreign objects—both from the Aegean and the Near East—appears to have been the prerogative of an elite until at least the 7th century BC.

Despite this selectivity, contact with both the Near East and the Hellenic world was clearly of importance for the development of the island and the issue of outside influence must be addressed in respect to cult practices and religion in the island. Again, it should be emphasised that developments within the island will have differed considerably on the regional or even the subregional level. For each area, the pace of internal development will have varied, and so will the amount and impact of foreign influence. The role of older, BA traditions will have ranged from residual influence to active preservation and to rediscovery and reuse. It is the interplay between these factors that ultimately determined much of the cultural variety within the island. Pronounced differences between sanctuaries are to be expected in the degree of preservation or elaboration of local traditions and in the association with new or foreign cult forms. This, in combination with the issue of the social standing and outlook of the cult participants, may have affected not only the form and appearance of the sanctuaries, but also of the specific cult practices and the deity worshipped.

2. Catalogue B (part one): PG-O Urban and Suburban Sanctuaries

As in other regions of the Aegean world, material evidence for cult activities in Crete increases considerably in the course of the EIA. Catalogue B lists 69 sites, of which 62 may be considered to have yielded plausible evidence for cult activities (Map 4).[154] Large numbers of votive dedications are known especially from the 8th and 7th centuries BC, something which facilitates the identification of sites as cult place. An increase in number of votives is detectable in sanctuaries of all kinds and both urban, suburban and extra-urban cult places are far more numerous in this than in the previous, LM IIIC-SM period. Of the 49 (possible) urban and suburban sanctuaries that will be discussed in this first part of Catalogue B, the large majority consist, at present evidence, of new foundations. Only at four EIA (sub-)urban sanctuaries there may have been similar LM IIIC-SM cult practices at the same spot: at Krousonas (B.11), the Acropolis of Gortyn (B.23), the Vitzelovrysis spring at Karphi (B.29) and at Vrokastro (B.36).

As for the urban sanctuaries, it is important to note that a substantial number of Cretan EIA settlements remained in use until HL or later periods, when they were often thoroughly rebuilt. In cases where EIA settlements were deserted or the centre of habitation shifted to another (usually lower lying) area, earlier constructions, including cult buildings, are sometimes well preserved.

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[154] Evidence for EIA cult activities is absent at 'Temple C' at Prinias (B.16) and uncertain at the acropolis of Knossos (B.17), at Phaistos (B.20 and 21), Zakros (B.49) and the caves of Stravomyti (B.55) and Skoteino (B.62).

Included in this section of the catalogue are the suburban sanctuaries, a category rarely attested in the LM IIIC-SM period, but here making up 20 to 26 entries.[155] Examples of domestic sanctuaries, on the other hand, become much sparser in the EIA. This is perhaps to be explained more by the vagaries of excavation than by a real decline in their use. As noted in the introduction to Catalogue A, the extensive excavation at such well-preserved LM IIIC-SM settlements as Karphi may have skewed the sample in favour of domestic cult expressions.

EIA suburban sanctuaries occur in considerable variety. Instead of presenting them by type (such as spring or cemetery sanctuaries), they are described together with the nearest large settlement. This is done with the explicit aim of gaining more insight into emerging configurations of settlement, cemetery and sanctuary during this period. It should perhaps be added that the predicate 'suburban' is rather broadly applied. It includes not only sanctuaries at a settlement's edge,[156] but also those in the immediately surrounding valley or hillsides. Absolute distance is of less concern than the association with a major settlement centre in terms of accessibility and visibility.

In addition, it should be noted that the sites of two votive deposits have been included, Siteia (B.41) and Lapsanari (B.43), for which no contemporary settlement has yet been identified. The justification is that the composition of these deposits corresponds closely to that of suburban assemblages. Further, it is clear that in both cases the absence of an associated settlement may simply be due to the incomplete nature of archaeological investigation.

The order and way in which the sites are discussed follows that described for Catalogue A in Chapter Three. For the (few) sanctuaries with a distinct LM IIIC-SM phase the title heading of the entry contains a reference to the relevant description in Catalogue A.

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[155] B.4, B.7, B.8, B.9, B.10, B.13. B.18, B.19, B.25, B.29, B.30, B.35, B.37, B.39, B.40, B.42, B.45, B.46, B.47, B.48; possibly B.6, B.23, B.26, B.34, B.41, B.43. Only B.23 and B.29 may have been used during the LM IIIC-SM period as well, but the evidence is not conclusive.

[156] As is done, for instance by De Polignac (1995b, 22).

B.1-4 *Eleutherna*

Ancient Eleutherna is situated in the NW foothills of the Psiloritis or Ida mountains. Its vestiges are spread over two flat-topped but steep spurs, Prines in the E and Nisi in the W, which are delineated by N-S running streams. The site was visited by several early travellers, including Spratt and Mariani who provided the first extensive descriptions.[157] A brief excavation was undertaken by Payne in 1929 for the British School, yielding scattered remains of predominantly CL and later date but also some of the EIA.[158] Large-scale systematic investigations for the University of Crete were begun in 1985 by Kalpaxis, Stampolides and Themelis, who excavated in different places on both spurs. Results indicate that there was habitation in FN/EM and LM times as well as from the EIA into Byz times. The principal area of settlement in all periods was on the Prines hill, especially on the summit (Pyrgi) and E slopes, where there are PG-G and later traces of habitation. Some 7th-century buildings have been excavated at Xeniana, on the lower NW slope of the Prines hill.[159]

The incorporation of several A inscriptions in an Early Christian church at the N part of Pyrgi suggests that this may have been the location of an A public area.[160] The site of a possible sanctuary of LG-O date was found nearby (**B.1**). Two other possible urban sanctuaries of the same date have been located on the summit (**B.2**) and on the upper E slope (**B.3**) of Pyrgi respectively.[161] No further details have as yet been published. A larger cult place, to be discussed below, was excavated by Kalpaxis on the Nisi hill, S of a smaller EIA settlement nucleus.

On the lower W slope of the Prines hill, *c.* 100 m above the Chalopota stream, part of an important EIA cemetery has recently been excavated by Stampolides. Different burial practices are attested in different sections of the cemetery. Types of burial vary from open burials and child inhumations in pithoi to various types of cremations (from the PG period onwards). A number of rich, so-called Homeric cremation burials belong to the 8th century BC. These involved elaborate rituals, including the sacrifice of human victims.[162] To the 7th century BC belongs a funerary monument with sculptural decoration of warriors. Fragments of three larger statues—a kore and two kouroi (one of the latter a chance find made by farmers in 1891)—have been dated to the LDaed period and early 6th century BC.[163]

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[157] For the topography and history of research: Themelis 1992, 91; Stampolides 1993, 21-31; Kalpaxis 1994, 17 n. 1. See also: Spratt 1865a, 89-98; Mariani 1895, 212-16.

[158] Woodward 1928-29, 224-26. For the PG-A pottery: Hartley 1930-31, 108-14.

[159] Stampolides 1993, 34-35.

[160] E.g. G-O pottery on the east slope, below the CL-HL constructions; see Kalpaxis 1991, 11, 14-15, fig. 3; *id.* 1994, 17-18, 20; Themelis 1992, 91; Stampolides 1993, 25, 34.

[161] Stampolides 1993, 34; Kalpaxis 1994, 18-19.

B.4 *Nisi*

The Nisi spur, W of Prines, has two summits, of which the S one (measuring *c.* 300 x 150 m) forms the area of an EIA and later sanctuary. This is located on an ancient road which leads to a contemporary settlement some 300 m further N.[164] Only brief preliminary reports are available and these mention large numbers of terracottas of anthropomorphic and especially zoomorphic form, including large animal figures. A portion of these is said to be of PG-O date.[165]

B.5-10 *Oaxos; Plates 18-21*

Oaxos or Axos is situated on an imposing acropolis in the N foothills of the Psiloritis mountains. It overlooks a large part of the Mylopotamos valley which, until recently, formed the main route from central to W Crete. Ongoing chance finds and investigations by the Greek Archaeological Service point to a LM IIIB or IIIC origin for the settlement and to substantial habitation at and around the acropolis hill in subsequent periods. An extensive A-R cemetery has recently been reported at its foot.[166] The ancient name, attested to by HL inscriptions found at the site, survives in that of the modern village on the lower slope of the hill.[167]

After the discovery of numerous inscriptions by 19th-century travellers, the first excavation was conducted in 1899 by Halbherr, Di Sanctis and Savignoni for the Italian School. Substantial architectural remains, possibly belonging to cult buildings, were brought to light at the top of the acropolis and in an area described as 'the lower part of the town'.[168]

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[162] Stampolides 1990b; *id.* 1993, 36-52; *id.* 1998.

[163] Joubin 1893; Adams 1978, 37-40; Stampolides 1990b, 398-400, figs. 25-26; *id.* 1993, 41.

[164] Kalpaxis 1989-90, 271; *id.* 1991, 15; Schnapp 1994, 22.

[165] Catling 1987-88, 66; Stampolides 1993, 24, 36; Kalpaxis 1994, 18.

[166] Kanta 1980, 201; Rizzo 1984a, 65; French 1989-90, 78; *id.* 1990-91, 77.

[167] *IC* II, 42-82; Kirsten 1937a, 1687-88; Rizzo 1984a, 65. Oaxos is also mentioned by Herodotus (4.154) as birthplace of Phronime, daughter of king Etearchus and mother of Battus of Thera, the legendary founder of Cyrene.

B.5 *The building at the top of the hill*

The presence of several fragments of A inscriptions suggested to Halbherr and his colleagues that the top of the hill may have been a public area. Among the partially uncovered remains is a monumental building, with walls of large and roughly hewn polygonal blocks (at places 1.33 m wide). It consists of at least two rooms on a NE-SW axis, and measures more than 9.8 x 9 m, but its date remains unknown.[169]

From the description of the (unillustrated) finds it may be inferred that cult activities took place from at least the 7th century BC onwards: excavation in front of the building yielded a black layer with animal bones, fragments of 'Archaic' pithoi, terracotta animal figurines and a terracotta boar's head. A possible rock-cut altar, 10 m in front of the building and a rock-cut cistern to its W, filled with pottery and animal bones (e.g. deer, agrimi, bovids and sheep), remain undated.[170] Halbherr noted that one of the inscriptions associated with the building at the top of the hill mentions the provision of food 'in the andreion', but the building is usually referred to as a temple, because of the black layer with bones and terracottas. Kirsten proposed a function as major urban sanctuary and archive, dedicated to Apollo Pythios, Apollo Delphinios or Zeus.[171]

B.6 *The sanctuary lower down the hill*

A possible sanctuary at the lower part of the settlement hill was excavated more completely than the structure at the summit, but still awaits full publication. A rectangular building of three rooms (*c.* 15 x 6.5 m) and a stone-built altar probably belong to the HL period. However, the discovery in this area of a fragment of stone sculpture, probably showing a male-female couple, and of a limestone head perhaps belonging to a sphinx (*c.* 570 BC) suggests the presence of an earlier structure.[172] Two substantial votive deposits belong to the EIA: a group of bronzes, found at three different spots along the E side of the HL building, and a large number of terracottas from four places to the S.[173]

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[168] For a summary based on the notes of the first excavators: Levi 1930-31, 43-57; Rizzo 1984a, 65. No overall plan of the site has been published.

[169] Comparetti 1893, 381-418; Taramelli 1899, 312-13, figs. 4-5; Levi 1930-31, 44-47, figs. 3-4. Weickert (1929, 64) considered it an adyton-temple of A type, but also compared its masonry to that of a Late CL-HL temple at Lato.

[170] Halbherr 1899, 537-38; Levi 1930-31, 44-48.

[171] Halbherr & Comparetti 1888, 130-38. Levi (1930-31, 44-45) and Kirsten (1937a, 1687-89) accept the identification as a temple.

The identifiable bronzes consist exclusively of pieces of armour and have most recently been dated to the end of the 7th or early 6th century BC. There are fragments of at least nine *mitrai*, part of a cuirass and two lance heads, a helmet incised with winged horses and other fragments (Plate 18).[174] Of the mitrai several are decorated with winged horses, another with lions flanking a tripod, from which a small figure holding a shield decorated with an octopus emerges (Plate 19). The figure, initially interpreted as Apollo, has now been identified as female by Hoffmann. The scene seems to represent the epiphany of a warrior goddess.[175]

The deposits with bronzes contained only a few small pieces of terracotta figurines or pottery. A large group of more than 100 terracottas was retrieved from a black layer with carbon, burnt matter and animal bones in front of the later building.[176] The vast majority of these figures, figurines and plaques depict females (Plates 20-21). The 29 earliest terracottas are either entirely handmade or combine cylindrical wheelmade and handmade parts in one figure.[177] They are difficult to date, and Rizza, who published the deposit in 1967-68, speaks of SM and G types rather than assigning them individually to specific periods (Plate 20a-d).[178] Although PG characteristics are not mentioned, it may be suggested that a number of figures belong to that period. The SM types appear to be more similar to PG and G cylindrical figures from other Cretan sites than to the LM IIIC-SM wheelmade figures discussed in the previous chapter.

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[172] As was already suspected by Halbherr (1899, 539). For the sculpture: Rizza 1967-68, 287 n. 1, fig. 56; Alexiou 1952; Adams 1978, 80-85. The HL building also incorporates a block with an A inscription: Levi 1930-31, 50-51, 55; Sanders 1982, 163.

[173] Savignoni 1900, 311-12; Levi 1930-31, 56-57, fig. 6; Rizza 1967-68, 211, fig. 1.

[174] Hoffmann 1972, 41-46. Levi (1930-31, 135) initially opted for a date of *c.* 650 BC.

[175] For an identification as Apollo: Levi 1945, 293-302; *id.* 1952. As Athena: Guarducci in *IC* II, 47; Hoffmann 1972, 37, pls. 43:1, 45; Blome 1982, 85-86.

[176] They were found at D, E and G, and a smaller number at F, see: Levi 1930-31, 56-70, figs. 6, 13-27, pls. X-XV.

[177] The gender of the handmade ones (nos. 9-29) is more difficult to assess: Rizza 1967-68, 214-18 (nos. 1-29), 272-73.

Fourteen handmade seated figurines (Plate 20e), most of them female, date to the G and O periods.[179] Mouldmade plaques and figurines do not appear at Oaxos until the MDaed period, after which they constitute the bulk of the votive material (Plates 20f-g, 21). Rizza has noted a certain dependency on central Cretan (esp. Gortynian) examples, as well as the persistence of certain local features, such as the application of large ornamental discs at the ears (Plates 20d, 21b and d).[180] The mouldmade plaques and figurines depict both dressed and nude females who wear poloi and display familiar attitudes and gestures: both arms along the body, both hands at the breasts or one at the breasts and the other at the pubic area. Of rarer type is the figurine of a female exposing her pubic area by opening her skirt (the gesture of '*anasyrma*', see Plate 21c).[181] There is one handmade terracotta head of a warrior.[182] Animal figures or figurines consist of two horses, two indefinite quadrupeds and a boar.[183]

The cult at this EIA sanctuary of unknown form is usually assigned to Astarte-Aphrodite on the basis of the female terracottas.[184] Kirsten, however, proposes a cult for (an early) Artemis, which is attested in later times by the Oaxian coins. Rizza, in an equally cautious vein, has suggested that the different iconographic types of terracotta votives may reflect a gradual development from an undifferentiated female deity, associated with fertility and the forces of nature and war, to a more canonical Greek type in CL times.[185]

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[178] The terracottas are dated by Rizza on stylistic grounds, the main reference group being the deposit from the acropolis of Gortyn. Some of the extremely elongated types resemble earlier Minoan 'tubes': see Rizza 1967-68, 213, 269-72.

[179] One is of indefinite gender. For the G ones: see Rizza 1967-68, 218 (nos. 22-23, 25), 273, fig. 3; for the Daed ones: *ibid.* 240 (no. 94), fig. 13.

[180] Rizza 1967-68, 213, 269-73.

[181] She is represented by at least nine LDaed examples: Rizza 1967-68, 238 (no. 86), fig. 12, 279.

[182] Rizza 1967-68, 22 (no. 31), fig. 4.

[183] Rizza 1967-68, 266 (nos. 187-191). Judging by the illustration no. 187 (0.15 m high) may be a hollow figure.

[184] Halbherr 1899, 539; Levi 1930-31, 50; Rizzo 1984a, 65.

[185] Kirsten 1937a, 1689; Rizza 1967-68, 293.

B.7-10 *Leivada, Bouno, Aimonas and Drakopigado*

In the environs of Oaxos several deposits of terracotta votives have been found by chance. From Leivada (**B.7**), the village on the hill to the NE, anthropomorphic and animal figures are reported. They vary in size and form, some of them being cylindrical. The terracottas were found in a burnt layer, not far from a structure of which a corner was exposed. Decorated eave tiles and plain rooftiles probably derive from this building, which may well be a (later) temple. In the nearby locality of Bouno (**B.8**) a group of PG animal and anthropomorphic figurines was brought to light.[186]

In the area of Aimonas (**B.9**), a modern village *c.* 3.5 km NE of Oaxos, a large number of terracotta plaques and figurines in Daed style were found by chance and handed over to the Archaeological Service. Most of these are of the type of the standing nude female, although some fragments of thrones were also found. Associated pottery consists of plates and cups and some miniature jugs.[187] Terracotta votives 'of types known from Oaxos' were further reported from Drakopigado, Pharatsi (**B.10)**, 4 km NW of Oaxos.[188]

B.11-13 *Krousonas*

Krousonas is situated in the E foothills of the Psiloritis, halfway between Tylisos and Prinias. On the Koupos hill, S of the modern village, remains of a substantial G-O settlement were reported by several 19th-century and later travellers. Chance finds at the nearby locality of Choiromandres point to the existence of a cemetery of the same period.[189] The preliminary results of recent excavations in the settlement, which were initiated by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1983, indicate occupation from the LM IIIC period onwards.[190]

B.11 *The structure on the Koupos hill*

A substantial building with possible cult functions was partially uncovered in the centre of the settlement. Of LM IIIC origin, the main and most recent phase of use dates to the LG-O period. In its final form the building consisted of an inner room, two side rooms and an anteroom (4.75 x 2.40 m) with two large entrances opening onto a paved forecourt. On the short side of the anteroom was found a large rectangular hearth with a thick layer of ash. One of two side rooms, measuring 3 x 5 m, contained a central column base and three pits: one with LM IIIC material and another with material from the latest phase of use of the building. A pit of intermediate date, lined with stones and covered by a slab, contained the shell of a tortoise, and charcoal and pottery in a thick layer of stones. On top of the slab lay tens of clay and stone roundels, several of them with impressed or incised decoration.[191] Other finds from the building also seem to point to ritual activity. Apart from LM IIIC, G and especially G-O decorated pottery there were miniature vases, some ten terracotta figurines (bovids, a horse and a ram), an anthropomorphic figurine, a Daed plaque, a small clay wheel (possibly of a miniature chariot), a bronze and a bone pin, a small iron spear, stone and iron tools, clay beads and spindle whorls, and various stone objects and tools. Below the paving of the forecourt an older wall and the remains of a pyre with animal bones were discovered.[192]

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[186] Alexiou 1963b, 412; *id.* 1964, 447.

[187] For a description: Alexiou 1963b, 412; *id.* 1964, 447.

[188] Platon 1949, 595.

[189] Mariani 1895, 188-89, 230-31; Pendlebury, Eccles & Money-Coutts 1932-33, 92; Xanthoudides 1948, 538.

[190] French 1993-94, 78.

B.12 *The votive deposit from the Koupos hill*

A votive deposit, not explicitly connected with any of the buildings, contained Daed clay plaques with standing nude females and with horses. Daed plaques with female figures from the Koupos were also bought and illustrated by Mariani in 1895.[193]

B.13 *Volakas*

In the area of Volakas, seven PG and G terracotta animal figurines were brought up by ploughing and handed over to the Ephoria.[194] Their presence may indicate the existence of a suburban sanctuary nearby.

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[191] A whole series of LM IIIC-G pits, containing stones, carbon, animal bones, pottery and stone tools, was recently discovered at the summit of the Kephala hill near Sybrita: see cat. entry A.1.

[192] Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 1987, 530-31; French 1993-94, 78; Catling 1986-87, 55; *id.* 1983-84, 64.

[193] Catling 1983-84, 64; Mariani 1895, 188, fig. 25; Böhm 1990, 74, fig. 14.

[194] Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 1987, 550; French 1993-94, 78.

B.14-16 *Prinias (see also A.3); Plates 22-24, 81*

As described in the first part of Catalogue A, during the early excavations at the Patella hill at Prinias, the remains of two large buildings, situated side by side, were discovered on the slightly raised area in the SE of the plateau (Plate 22). The excavator, Pernier, labelled them 'Temple A' and 'Temple B'.[195] Investigations by Rizza, from 1969, have exposed more of the surrounding settlement, which continued in use into the first half of the 6th century BC.[196] At the SW foot of the Patela, at Chalavra, further traces of 7th-century occupation were found, while 8th- to 6th-century industrial activities are attested at the kiln-complex 'Mandra di Gipari' immediately to the W.[197] The large cemetery at Siderospilia remained in use during the whole EIA.[198]

B.14 *Temple B*

Of the two large buildings excavated by Pernier, the southern one, Temple B (Plates 22 and 81), is probably the oldest. Its orientation, almost E-W, corresponds to that of the surrounding structures which were probably laid out in the 8th or 7th century BC.[199]

Temple B is not entirely rectangular but converges slightly towards the E (with dimensions of *c.* 18 x 6/5 m). It consists of a pronaos, a cella with central hearth and a third room at the rear. Pernier suggested the backroom may have been a later addition, as its N wall is not bonded to the cella. The walls, *c.* 0.53 m thick and preserved up to a height of 0.95 m, were laid out in horizontal courses of roughly shaped medium-sized blocks. A stone threshold, 0.75 m wide, leads into the pronaos; inside, a stone base with rectangular hole for the doorpost was found. The floors in all rooms consist of earth with an occasional stone slab. Five blocks with opposing convex sides, probably to hold the roof beams, were found inside the cella. The S wall of Temple B extended for another 10.60 m to the E, defining an open space in front.[200] A parallel running wall, starting at Temple B's NE corner, may have been added after the erection of Temple A.[201]

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[195] Pernier 1908, 457-62; *id.* 1914, esp. 19.

[196] Rizza & Rizzo 1984, 234; Rizza 1991, 335-36. The defensive system with towers is probably HL, but may have had an A predecessor in the form of rock-cut observation posts: Rizza & Rizzo 1984, 234; Rizza 1991, 343.

[197] Rizza 1991, 334-35, 344-46.

[198] There were individual LM IIIC cremations in rock-cut pits. A second group consists of inhumations in small stone-built tholoi, of which 12 were accompanied by horse burials; in the third phase cremation urns were placed in small stone-built structures. See Rizza & Rizzo 1984, 234-38; Rizza 1991, 331-34.

[199] Rizza 1983, 46; Rizza & Rizzo 1984, 234; see also Pernier 1914, 47. Mazarakis Ainian (1997, 225) considers a SM-PG date possible.

The rectangular central hearth, made of upright stones *c.* 0.10 m in height, measures 2.75 x 1/0.9 m; the earth inside was reddened by fire. A slab (0.67 x 0.32 m) at the E side of the hearth may have served as a column base. A grooved conical stone (0.37 m high, ø 0.34-0.17 m), flattened to fit against the W side of the hearth, was interpreted by Pernier as the stand of an altar or offering table. A stone basin (ø 0.45 m and 0.20 m deep) next to a slab (1 x 0.65 m) in the NW corner of the cella was thought to have been a receptacle for offerings or libations.[202] Finds from Temple B, however, do not support the idea of cult use: 'ordinary' sherds were noted, two grind stones and possible spindle whorls, while the backroom was filled with the shattered remains of at least six pithoi.[203] The identification of this building as a temple is to a large extent based on the correspondences in plan with Temple A immediately to the N. D'Acunto therefore prefers to see it as 'chieftain's dwelling'.[204]

B.15 *Temple A*

Temple A, facing SE, has a slightly different orientation from Temple B and other surrounding structures and is therefore considered to be of later date (Plates 22 and 81).[205] With proportions of almost 1:2, it is of less elongated form than Temple B and lacks a backroom. The slightly trapezoidal cella, with an earth floor, measures 5.93/6.35 x 9.70 m, while the pronaos is *c.* 3 m deep; the latter may have been paved. The cella was entered through a door with stone threshold (2.07 x 0.73 m) and two half columns on either side of the interior. The lowest courses of Temple A's walls (*c.* 0.55-0.63 m wide, on a rubble foundation *c.* 1 m deep) are built of roughly squared small stones (max. 0.34 x 0.14 m). The upper courses were not preserved.[206] Some of the walls to the N and E of Temple A may belong to later, not precisely datable structures.[207]

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[200] Pernier 1914, 29, 35-36, 41-42.

[201] Beyer (1976, 22-23) thinks it marked Temple A's temenos.

[202] Pernier 1914, 42, figs. 15-16, 92.

[203] Pernier 1914, 29.

[204] Pernier 1914, 91-92. D'Acunto 1995, 26-29.

[205] Rizza 1983, 47-48; Rizza & Rizzo 1984, 234. Originally, Pernier (1914, 22) saw Temples A and B as contemporaries because of the similarities in plan, masonry and in the types of sherds found at the floor levels. For the earlier walls: Beyer 1976, pl. 11:1 (A-D, M).

From the trenches exposing the foundations of Temple A, Pernier reported fragments of relief pithoi and painted sherds, both of which indicate a 7th-century construction date.[208] Stylistic analysis of the associated architectural sculpture, which includes two statues of seated females and reliefs of mounted warriors with spears and shields, narrows this date down to the second half of the 7th century BC (Plates 23-24).[209] The current excavator, Rizza, regards the erection of Temple A as part of a general reorganisation of the settlement, which included expansion to the SW foot of the Patela. Considerable effort was spent in levelling the bedrock of the open area (12 x 14 m) in front of both temples with a mixture of pumice and crushed pottery and in the possible provision of drains.[210] Temple A may have overlapped in use with Temple B rather than replacing it,[211] but the evidence is far from conclusive. The use of both buildings must have ended in the first half of the 6th century BC, when the houses to the E were also destroyed.[212]

Various reconstructions of Temple A have been proposed, allowing for influence from different building traditions and partially based on parallels in the form of EIA terracotta architectural models.[213] The first reconstruction was by the excavator, Pernier, who envisaged a temple with pronaos, the horsemen frieze—analogous with later Greek temple architecture—high up in the E façade and a door lintel crowned by the two statues of seated females (Plate 23).[214] Pernier's conclusion that the *c.* 0.9 m high relief of horsemen, despite its 'Geometric' appearance, was contemporary with the other, more recent looking sculpture is generally agreed on.[215] As most pieces of architectural sculpture were found in or just outside the pronaos, it is indeed likely that they were incorporated in the front part of the building.[216] Several objections have been raised, however, to Pernier's restoration of the horsemen relief as a sima along a flat roof, sustained by three pillars in the front: one is that the weight would have been too much, the other that the long-legged horses are required to be seen at eye or breast level.[217] In an alternative reconstruction, which supposes Near-Eastern influence, the building has an antithetic orthostate or dado frieze.[218] However, the earlier reconstruction is based on the excavator's observation that the fragments of the horsemen frieze were found in a line 2-3 m E of the pronaos. This suggests they fell from higher up. In a recent article with a new reconstruction, Watrous gives Egyptian parallels for such an arrangement.[219] Given the existence of a corner fragment with the paw of an animal to the right and the feet of what was probably a frontal nude female on the short side, it may be assumed that another, short dado frieze (without the riders) flanked the entrance into the cella.[220]

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[206] Pernier suggested their irregular surfaces may have been plastered; Pernier 1914, 30-32; Beyer 1976, 21.

[207] Pernier 1914, figs. 7, 13. Kirsten (1940d, 1144-45) pointed to a small rectangular structure at the NE corner of Temple A, which Beyer (1976, 22-23, pl. 11) considers part of a larger building.

[208] Only the painted sherds were illustrated; see Pernier 1914, 22, fig. 40; *id.* 1934, 175. The latest sherds were dated to 650 BC by Kirsten (1940d, 1148).

[209] Most recently proposed dates are 625-600 BC (Rizza & Rizzo 1984, 230) and 650-640 BC (D'Acunto 1995, 41). Pernier (1914, 105; 1934, 175) opted for an early 7th-century BC date, which was followed by Beyer (1976, 36-37). For a more complete review of dates: Adams 1978, 66-75; Blome 1982, 47; D'Acunto 1995, 30.

[210] Rizza 1983, 47; *id.* 1991, 336-38, 347.

[211] D'Acunto 1995, 28.

[212] Rizza 1991, 335-36, 343. A fragment of Temple A's horsemen frieze was reused in the HL defences.

[213] For an overview of reconstructions: Stucchi 1974, 89-90; D'Acunto 1995, 20-24.

Most later constructions have adhered to a position for the lintel with seated females (*c.* 0.70 m in height) above a door, either the door with stone threshold leading into the cella (as proposed by Pernier) or a hypothetical door in the E façade (proposed by Beyer). Of these two options Pernier's is to be preferred: fragments of the lintel group were also found in the pronaos and a block with incised meanders, interpreted as the cornice for a door, was discovered on the threshold of the cella.[221] The use in Cretan EIA architecture of windows above the door, similar to the one reconstructed for Temple A, seems confirmed by a subsequently discovered PG architectural model from Knossos.[222] A frontal position of the statues, with lintels continuing the lateral cella walls or the door corners, has been proposed by Kirsten and Kalpaxis. As a parallel they refer to a terracotta model from Lemnos already illustrated by Pernier.[223] According to Beyer, however, the deeper incisions on the one side of the most completely preserved statue suggest that it was intended to be seen from the left.[224]

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[214] Pernier 1914, 75-85, pl. VI; *id.* 1934, 173-74.

[215] Pernier 1914, 19-25, fig. 2; *id.* 1934, 175; Adams (1978, 72-75); D'Acunto 1995, 39. *Contra*: Jenkins (1936, 79-82), who dissociated the frieze from the statues of the seated females and dated the latter to the Post-Daed period.

[216] According to Pernier, the wider east foundation (1.33 m) would have provided the necessary sturdy base for a superstructure with stone sculpture; see Pernier 1914, 75-76; Beyer 1976, 21-22; Coldstream 1981, 345. Marinatos (1936a, 248), Kirsten (1940d, 1147) and Kalpaxis (1976, 67) consider this wider wall to be a krepidoma.

[217] Karo 1922, 1796; Weickert (1929, 60) suggested a separate altar decorated with the horsemen; Adams 1978, 76-77.

[218] Karo 1922, 1796; Kirsten 1940d, 1146; Beyer 1976, 24-25; Ridgway 1980, 403.

[219] Watrous 1998, 75-76. See Pernier 1914, 19, fig. 2 (with find spots), 53-54, figs. 18-19; accepted by Stucchi 1974, 92-95.

[220] Pernier 1914, fig. 20; Weickert 1929, 59-60; Kirsten 1940d, 1146. The fragments with nude females were recently identified by Beyer (1976, 25-27, pls. 15, 17:3-4) in the Herakleion Museum and as a result no exact findspot is known. The findspot of the fragments with horsemen precludes Beyer's suggestion that these would have decorated the south side of Temple A.

As regards the plan of Temple A, opinions differ further as to whether it consisted of a main room with porch *in antis* or of two closed rooms.[225] Although the position of the door in the cella wall and the possible stone paving in the pronaos favour the excavator's idea that the front was partially open, a proposed reconstruction of a dado frieze in the façade precludes this. The roof was most likely flat, as no roof tiles were found.[226] Several later reconstructions, however, show a slanted roof.[227]

Inside Temple A no sculpture was found, but a small bench (1.48 x 0.23 x 0.30 m high) against the middle of the S wall has sometimes been interpreted as the base for a cult statue.[228] A central feature of the main room is the rectangular hearth (2.40 x 1.40 m), made of regular slabs

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[221] Pernier 1914, 19-26, fig. 2 (with find locations), 54-63, 91, figs. 21-25; *id.* 1934, 175-76; also Stucchi 1974, 90; Watrous 1998, 75-77. For placement of the main door in the façade: Beyer 1976, 26-27; D'Acunto 1995, 24 fig. 9.

[222] Drerup 1969, pl. IVb.

[223] Kirsten 1940d, 1147; Kalpaxis 1976, 68, fig. 46; referring to Pernier 1934, 176, pl. XXb.

[224] Beyer 1976, 27-28.

[225] Pernier 1934, 173. Weickert (1929, 57), Kalpaxis (1976, 66-67) and Stucchi (1974, 93) consider it an antae building, while Beyer (1976, 21-31, pl. 24) opts for a two-room structure with a door into the pronaos.

[226] Only a stone gutter or drain were discovered, as well as a few blocks with opposing concave sides such as found in Temple B. Pernier placed stone volutes at the corners of the roof (found in front of the temple and in the cella) and two stone sphinxes (of which a few small fragments were discovered in the pronaos) in the middle: Pernier 1914, 19-20, 25, 64-70, figs. 27-28.

[227] Stucchi 1974, 97, 99-101; Beyer 1976, 30; D'Acunto 1995, 26. *Contra*: Coldstream 1981, 345; Watrous 1998, 77, fig. 8.1.

[228] Pernier 1914, 32-34. Kirsten 1940d, 1149-50; Beyer 1976, 37.

c. 0.12 x 0.30 m in size. This contained ash and burnt animal bones on a layer of baked earth which in turn rested on a bed of small stones. Stone column bases (ø 0.47 m, with incised circles of ø 0.28 m for wooden columns) were found at the E side and at the NW corner of the hearth; to its SW were a rectangular slab (0.55 x 0.45 m) and an almost square block.

Finds from the cella were few, but included a small bronze disc (ø 0.07 m), two perforated pieces of sheet bronze and a terracotta lion's head from close to the E wall. Fragments of animal bones and carbonised wood were found widely scattered over the floor, as were sherds of relief pithoi and fine pottery, some of it with 'geometric motifs'.[229] Directly in front of the temple were the fragments of a large relief pithos (its decoration of a winged Potnia Theron with horses and frieze of chariots, horsemen and tripods reminiscent of the iconography of the temple's sculpture), as well as terracotta griffin's and lion's heads, probably from a clay cauldron.[230]

Tests below the floor of Temple A's cella revealed possible evidence for earlier ritual activities. Pernier discovered a curving line of 12 stones in the SE and four more stones roughly on the same line but at a slightly higher level. These may have belonged to earlier altars or hearths, as both lines of stones were associated with different layers of burnt earth, ash, carbon, animal bones, teeth and horns and 'geometric' sherds. The layers seem to have extended beyond the perimeter of Temple A, where earlier walls, presumably from houses, were encountered. Pernier further noted terracotta animal figurines (a bovid and a horse are mentioned), spindle whorls, a bone and a bronze pin, two 'loose' column bases near the N wall of Temple A and a stone slab with incised decoration near its W wall.[231] A test below Temple A's hearth, executed in 1968 by Lebessi, revealed a 0.45 m thick layer with LG sherds over a packing of stones and below that a layer with bones, charcoal and LM IIIB-C sherds.[232]

Pernier's identification of Temple A as that of Rhea is based on the iconography of the sculpture. The seated females wear a polos and a skirt which is elaborately decorated with a sphinx, feline and horse. The lintel bears a relief of deer and felines on the sides and of frontal polos-wearing females at the underside. Pernier interprets the seated females as Potniai Theron, and the reliefs of the standing females as her *korai* Britomartis and Diktynna.[233] It is important to note, however, that the statues did not serve as cult images but were part of the architectural decoration of the building. As a whole, this decoration betrays strong influence (perhaps transmitted via Cyprus) from North-Syrian and Egyptian architecture and minor arts, as revealed in a detailed analysis by Adams. Besides affinities with Near Eastern ivories in the depiction of the deer, she also recognises Corinthian traits in the animal frieze and Ionian influence in such details as the position of the hands and the central folds of the skirts.[234] In a number of recent studies, however, a principal function as dining hall has been proposed for Temple A.[235]

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[229] Pernier 1914, 25, 66, 74, figs. 34, 41-42.

[230] Pernier 1914, 19-20, 64-70, figs. 36-39 (pithos), fig. 30 (griffin).

[231] Pernier 1914, 25-26, 34-35, 73-75, figs. 40-41.

[232] Alexiou 1968, 184-85.

B.16 *'Temple C'*

Continued excavations, in 1994-1996, in the area S of Temples A and B revealed the existence of a third supposed cult building, 'Temple C', built against the S side of a larger edifice. It consists of three axial rooms, with over-all dimensions of 5 x 11 m, and has a rectangular hearth (1 x 1.75 m) in the middle of the main room. A street approaching the complex on the E widens in front of the entrance. The construction date of 'Temple C' has not yet been established, but the complex to which it is attached had at least two building phases, the last one involving a relocation of the entrance and a change in room function.[236]

The reasons for identifying 'Temple C' as a cult building have not been made clear. D'Acunto suggests this was based only on similarities in plan with Temples A and B and therefore rightly questions the identification.[237]

B.17-19 Knossos *(see also A.4); Plate 1*

Although Knossos is one of the best-known and most important EIA sites of Crete, no centrally located sanctuary comparable to those at Dreros and Prinias has been located. Most knowledge about EIA

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[233] Pernier 1914, 54-63, 91, 110-11, figs. 21-25. Nilsson (1950, 455) opts for Artemis.

[234] Adams 1978, 66-70, 142.

[235] E.g. by Koehl 1997; Carter 1997.

[236] Rizza 1995, 807-08, figs. 6, 8; Rizza 1996.

[237] D'Acunto 1995, 17, n. 15.

Knossos derives from tombs, which were found in large numbers in the Fortetsa and North Cemeteries. Stratigraphically, at Knossos, EIA settlement material is usually wedged in between more monumental BA and Late CL-HL construction and therefore very disturbed. From the distribution of these fragmentary EIA domestic deposits it can nevertheless be inferred that PG-G habitation was concentrated in a zone from the N to the W of the former palace and may have extended as far as its S side. The (largely unexplored) Monasteraki hill immediately W is thought to have served as an acropolis, perhaps housing public buildings. In the LG-O period the settlement expanded northwards, eventually covering an area of more than 500 x 500 m.[238]

Indications of cult activities within the area of the EIA settlement consists of isolated finds only. Chance finds on the upper E slope of the acropolis might indicate the presence of an urban sanctuary with a G origin (**B.17**): part of a Doric capital, fragments of large roof tiles, G pottery and a Daed figurine provide the somewhat heterogeneous indications.[239] In the area to the NW of the Minoan palace fragments of a possibly 7th-century terracotta architectural relief were turned up, depicting the lower part of a human head with layered hair. Trials in the immediate surroundings failed to reveal signs of the temple to which this relief must have belonged.[240] More is known about two sanctuaries at the confines of the contemporary settlement, the so-called sanctuary of Rhea, in the SW quarter of the former Minoan palace, and that of Demeter on the Gypsades hill to the S.

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[238] Hood & Smyth 1981, 16; Coldstream 1991; Cadogan 1992c, 133, 139. For recent evidence of EIA habitation and industrial activities directly W of the palace: French 1991-92, 59-60; *ead.* 1992-93, 68; Coldstream & Macdonald 1997.

[239] Hood & Smyth 1981, 18, 45 (nos. 145-146), 47 (no. 178). Evans proposed an identification as the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios in which, according to HL inscriptions, the Knossian treaties were kept: Evans 1928, 844 n. 3-4.

[240] They were found together with a fragment of an early 6th-century relief with a running figure and with part of an A inscription: Megaw 1936, 150; Hood & Smyth 1981, 50 (no. 209). Hood & Smyth (1981, 20) suggest that the reliefs were brought here from a hypothetical temple on the E slope of the acropolis, but it seems equally valid to suggest that they belonged to the so-called Rhea sanctuary on the site of the Minoan Palace (to be discussed below)—or to a sanctuary yet to be discovered.

B.18 *The 'Rhea sanctuary' at the palace*

A rectangular building in the area between the Minoan Grand Staircase and Central Court was discovered in 1900, the first season of Evans' large-scale excavations.[241] Character and date of this structure were then poorly understood: not until more than 20 years later did the unexpected find of a small votive deposit in the area of the Central Court lead to the conclusion that there had been an EIA sanctuary. It was then that Evans associated the building with the 'House of Rhea and a cypress grove' mentioned by Diodorus Siculus as being 'in the land about Knossos'.[242] To the present day, however, controversy surrounds the rectangular building, which most probably postdates the period under consideration here. Thus, architectural remains that can be dated with certainty to the EIA are absent and cult may have taken place in the open air. It is tempting to associate with this sanctuary the 'darker soil full of wood ashes and bones, possibly of a sacrificial nature' in the same area, which was mentioned in the first excavation report, [243] but subsequently forgotten.

The material from the Central Court which was kept by Evans included sherds of G and perhaps PG one-handled cups, G skyphoi and bowls, a krater, two clay animal figurines, one possibly a griffin from a clay cauldron, and perhaps an askos (duck vase).[244] Significant is Evans' remark that this small deposit constituted the only Postminoan material found in the area of the earlier palace, by which he implied an avoidance of the area for habitation by the later Knossians.[245]

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[241] Evans 1899-1900, 17; *id.* 1900-01, 21.

[242] Evans 1928, 5-7 (referring to Diod. Sic. 5.66).

[243] Hence before Evans realised the presence of the later sanctuary: Evans 1899-1900, 17. The stratigraphical relationship of this dark earth with the Neolithic yellow clay deposit and the rectangular building is not specified in Evans' report.

[244] Hartley 1930-31, 92-93, 108, figs. 23, 33:4, pl. XVIII:4; Popham 1978, 185-87, n. 34, pl. 27a (A); Evans 1928, 5-7; Hood & Smyth 1981, 20, ns. 72-73. The askos was found in the brief excavation by Minos Kalokairinos in 1878; see Hallager 1977, 85, fig. 59a. It is dated to LM IIIC-SM by Guggisberg (1996, 163, no. 571) and to MG by Coldstream (2000, 286). Evans assigned two of the four Aeginetan coins to the 7th century BC, but they probably all date to the 5th century BC; see Coldstream 2000, 287-88, pl. 58.

[245] Evans 1928, 7, 346 n. 1; *id.* 1899-1900, 68. PG-G-O pottery from the early excavations was published by Hartley 1930-31, 75-98; see also Hallager 1977, 98-103.

B.19 *The sanctuary of Demeter*

During the EIA an open-air cult place existed on the lower slopes of the Gypsades hill, which gently rises to the S of the contemporary settlement. While the sanctuary probably overlooked most of the settlement, it was also separated from it by the Vlychia streambed. After chance finds of terracotta votives in 1927 the area was briefly tested by Payne, only to be fully excavated from 1957-60 by Hood and Coldstream for the British School.[246]

With the exception of two stretches of a rubble terrace wall facing W, no architecture can be attributed to the EIA phase of the sanctuary's existence. A LG sherd in the fill behind the terrace wall indicates that it may have been built around 700 BC.[247] The earliest unambiguous signs of cult activity consist of the fragments of five wheelmade terracotta bull and two boar figures which have been dated to the 2nd half of the 8th or the beginning of the 7th century BC.[248] Handmade figurines depict men and women in a G style, while the handmade animals (bulls, horses, a cow, pig and a bird or siren) are generally dated to the 7th century BC. The later 7th century BC is represented by Daed mouldmade clay plaques and protomes of the usual female types, most of them dressed.[249] Votives of materials other than clay consist of G bronze beads and perhaps one of silver,[250] 7th-century bronze ornamental pins and fibulae and bone fibulae probably of the same date.[251] Preliminary study of the animal bones from G-O sacrificial deposits showed a preponderance of goat or sheep (54%), while cattle and pig were each represented by 17%.[252] An isolated sherd deposit from the SE of the sanctuary contained fragments of kraters, skyphoi and kotylai, aryballoi, painted and stamped pithoi and domed pithos lids. Most of this pottery belongs to the LG and EO periods, but some of it is MG or perhaps even PGB.[253] This suggests that cult may have already been in existence before the better represented LG and EO periods.[254]

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[246] The material from Payne's tests was lost; see Hood & Smyth 1981, 56 (no. 286).

[247] Coldstream 1973a, 12, fig. 1 (B 2-3).

[248] Higgins 1973, 89-90 (nos. 252-58), pls. 64-65.

[249] Higgins 1973, 57-58 (nos. 1-5), pl. 33, 90-91 (nos. 259-63, 265), pl. 65, 58 (nos. 7-10), pl.33.

[250] Hughes-Brock 1973, 118 (nos. 26-27, 29).

[251] Coldstream 1973c, 145-48 (nos. 115-33), 153-54 (nos. 187-91), 169, (nos. 304-07).

[252] Jarman 1973, 177-78.

[253] An unstratified Attic and a Corinthian skyphos, and an Attic or Cycladic amphora also date to MG; Coldstream 1973b, 18-22 (nos. 1-34), 52 (nos. 1-3).

As the lower Gypsades hill formed the southernmost section of the LM settlement, the question of a possible continuation of a BA cult has been addressed. According to the excavators, however, there were no signs of cult activities before the PG period at the earliest.[255] There is little doubt that from the CL period onwards Demeter was the principal deity worshipped here: both an inscription on a ring and the later presence of typical 'Demeter-votives' corroborate this. The foundation of the sanctuary, which replaced or perhaps continued earlier cult at the nearby Spring Chamber, has therefore been attributed by the excavators to a Dorian initiative. The members of one of the Dorian tribes recorded at Knossos, the Pamphyloi, are known from later (HL) inscriptions as worshippers of Demeter.[256]

B.20-22 *Phaistos (see also A.5); Plates 25-26*

The settlement history of EIA Phaistos, in the W part of the Mesara plain, seems to have been broadly similar to that of Knossos. The large BA town, around a palace which was second in size and importance only to Knossos (Plate 25), remained inhabited. The exact extent and density of the EIA habitation is not known, but it may have covered much of the 700 m long hill chain which also formed the BA settlement. During the long period of Italian research, from 1900 onwards,[257] house remains were uncovered at places as far apart as the W slope of the westernmost and highest of the three hills (Christos Ephendis) and the bottom of the palace hill, at Chalara and Ayia Photini. The majority of the buildings belong to the LG period but a continuous series of domestic deposits from the LM III through the PG period has been established. Particularly well-preserved PG-G houses and a stone-paved ramp are to be found in the area of the BA West Court. Two G pottery kilns were discovered below O houses at Ayia Photini and one in the area W of the

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[254] Coldstream & Higgins 1973, 180. Some clay beads are either PG or G: Hughes-Brock 1973, 117 (nos. 19-22).

[255] Coldstream & Higgins 1973, 180-81. For the BA remains also: Hood & Smyth 1981, 56-57 (no. 297).

[256] Coldstream & Higgins 1973, 180-82. For the reading of the ring as dedicated to 'Demeter' instead of to 'Meter', as stated in the excavation report, see Van Effenterre 1977, 154.

[257] See La Rosa & D'Agata 1984, 121-60.

Minoan palace. Phaistos may have suffered from an earthquake in the 7th century BC, and O remains seem to be scarcer.[258] PG tombs which probably belong to a larger cemetery were located on the N slopes of the settlement hills. Other tombs were found at nearby Ayios Ioannis and Petrokephali.[259]

B.20 *The structure at Ayios Georgios*

No public area or central sanctuary belonging to the EIA was identified with certainty, but a possible candidate is a building partially uncovered in 1958. It is situated on the saddle between the Christos Ephendis and the central hill, directly E of the Venetian church of Ayios Georgios. One of the 19th-century explorers, Taramelli, suggested that this area—'sheltered from the winds between the two acropoleis and yet commanding the valley of the Lethaeus and the plain of the city'—could have housed such a public centre. He noted terracotta architectural fragments on the surface, which he believed were indicative of an 'Archaic' temple.[260] More architectural fragments and the head of a 'Hellenic' terracotta bull were found in a cistern excavated by Pernier in 1900-02.[261] Excavations in 1958 revealed a building which on the basis of its plan has been assigned a sacred character. Pottery from the G-O period found inside provides a *terminus ante quem* for the construction date,[262] but so far no votives or paraphernalia which could support the identification as a cult place have been published.

B.21 *Area 48 of the Minoan palace*

Remains of a (possible) votive deposit were identified in the NE quarter of the Minoan palace, N of Area 48. Only a brief report was given by Pernier in 1902 and his descriptions would apply equally well to O as to later classes of votives: mentioned are statuettes and low reliefs in terracotta, fragments of painted vases and a mould for 'Artemis figures'.[263] A terracotta head found in 1909, *c.* 0.14 m high and with blue inlaid eyes, may have belonged to the same deposit.[264]

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[258] Levi 1961-62, 399; *id.* 1965-66, *passim* (with further refs.); Coldstream 1977a, 278; La Rosa 1992b, 235, 240; Cucuzza 1998, 62-63. For the PG-O pottery: Rocchetti 1974-75. For the kilns: Levi 1961-62, 476-77; Tomasello 1996.

[259] Levi 1957-58a, 355-61; *id.* 1961-62, 467-68; Cucuzza 1998, 62-64.

[260] Taramelli 1901, 427; see also Pernier 1935, 22 (with refs.).

[261] Pernier 1902, 15-16; *id.* 1935, 23.

[262] Levi 1957-58b, 393-94; *id.* 1961-62, 466-67.

[263] Pernier 1902, 21.

B.22 *The structure southwest of the Minoan palace*

A possible cult building was excavated at the SW foot of the former Minoan court in 1900 and 1906 but unfortunately never fully published (Plate 26). Pernier suggested that the now visible HL structure covered a precursor of 'Archaic' date. Numerous fragments of 9th-7th century bronze vessels and shields came from beneath the pavement of the later structure.[265] These bear decoration of grazing deer and sphinxes in relief, while one of the shields had a depiction of a nude female with raised arms. Another shield was provided with a central boss in the shape of a lion's head.[266] Tests in 1992 by La Rosa yielded pottery of 8th- and 7th-century date in foundation pits, confirming the idea formulated earlier that a first and smaller cult building was erected late in the 7th century BC.[267]

Pernier proposed a cult for Rhea on the basis of the iconography of the bronzes and a HL inscription referring to the 'Great Mother' found at Ayios Ioannis one kilometre to the S.[268] This identification has been disputed recently by Cucuzza, who, though accepting the link with the inscription, prefers a cult for Lato, in connection with initiation rites.[269]

B.23-25 *Gortyn; Plates 27-36*

Gortyn, in the Mesara plain, is especially known as the site of the more than 200 ha large HL-R city which, after the R conquest of 67 BC, became capital of the province of Crete and Cyrene. Excavations began in 1884, when Halbherr, near the riverbed of the Mitropolianos, uncovered the famous Gortyn Law Code, a 5th-century inscription in twelve columns. Work by the Italian School has, with few interruptions, continued to the present day.[270]

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[264] Minto 1911, 110-11, fig. 1.

[265] Pernier 1902, 18, fig. 4; *id.* 1907, 263-64; *id.* 1910, 242-45.

[266] Pernier 1910, 245-50, figs. 1-15; Kunze 1931, 5, 13-14 (no. 9), 27 (no. 55), 29 (nos. 60, 62), pls. 24-25, 44.

[267] Ricciardi 1986-87, 56, 58 n. 194, fig. 46; Cucuzza 1993, 21; French 1993-94, 79-80.

[268] *IC* I, 3, xxiii; 3, 272-273; Pernier & Banti 1947, 56-57; La Rosa 1992b, 235, 238. See also Nilsson 1950, 463-64 for a critical note.

[269] Cucuzza 1993, esp. 24.

[270] For a history of research: Di Vita 1984a; *id.* 1992.

Despite traces of N and M habitation and the presence of a LM villa at Kannia,[271] the site at Gortyn does not appear to have had a BA predecessor. In this respect its history differs from that of other EIA settlements in central Crete, such as Knossos and Phaistos. In recent decades, exploration of the 250-300 m high hill range bordering the HL-R city to the N has led to the discovery of two important EIA sites: a large PG-O settlement on the Prophitis Elias and Armi hills and, W of this, a site with LM IIIC-SM origin on the summit of the Ayios Ioannis or Acropolis hill (Plate 27).[272] The two EIA sites are separated by the steep streambed of the Mitropolianos which until recently served as a primary route from the Mesara to Prinias and N Crete. The Italian excavators believe that this strategic position was intended as 'a stronghold against the north'.[273] Smaller EIA sites may have existed in the surrounding countryside, but the two settlements in the hills appear to have been major nuclei.[274] Recent excavations suggest that the Prophitis Elias was abandoned in the EO period, probably after a destruction by the same earthquake that affected nearby Phaistos.[275] The precise extent of the EIA habitation at the Acropolis is not known, due to R and Byz overbuilding.[276] Excavations at the Acropolis, by Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari in 1954-57, revealed an important EIA sanctuary with altar and temple. If the settlement at the Acropolis was abandoned at the same time as or before the Prophitis Elias, the sanctuary would have assumed a suburban function in the course of the 7th century BC. Another cult building, probably overlapping in use with the one at the Acropolis, was located in the plain at the foot of the hills by Halbherr in the late 19th century.

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[271] Johannowski 1960, 988; Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 4.

[272] The Prophitis Ilias and Armi hills were explored in 1981-86, with a test excavation in 1987: Allegro 1991. For the Acropolis: Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968. The earliest pottery from the settlement at the summit of the Acropolis has (*contra* Di Vita 1992, 100) been dated as LM IIIC-early by Kanta (1980, 91-92) and Desborough (1964, 32, 183).

[273] Di Vita 1991, 309; Allegro 1991, 321 n. 4. The Mitropolianos was still a perennial stream when Taramelli (1902, 105) explored the region in 1894. Gortyn is called 'of the great walls' by Homer (*Il.* 2.646), but the identification of an EIA defensive wall by Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari (1968, 21-22; accepted by Di Vita 1984a, 111) is doubted by Hayden (1988, 12-13).

[274] The Italian excavators (e.g. Di Vita 1984a, 70) employ the term '*kata komas*' to describe the settlement organisation of early Gortyn. A few G sherds from unclear contexts were reported near the Ayios Titus, near the Odeion and from a small valley W of Ayios Ioannis; see Di Vita 1991, 309, 317. For small G sites N of the major nuclei: Di Vita 1985, 366. For a PG tomb in the plain: Alexiou 1966.

[275] For a late 8th- or early 7th-century date: Allegro 1991, 327, 329-30. Coldstream (1977a, 278) considers the earthquake at Phaistos an early 7th-century BC event.

[276] E.g. Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 20. The intended final publication of the pottery from the Acropolis has not yet appeared.

B.23 *The sanctuary at the Acropolis*

In its 7th-century form, the sanctuary at the Acropolis consisted of an ashlar cult building, crowning the SE section of the summit, and a large stone-built altar on the upper of two monumental terraces, *c.* 30 m to the E and 18 m below the level of the temple (Plates 28-29).[277] When cult activities began is not entirely clear, as the stratigraphy is confused and the construction date of the temple disputed.

The largest quantity of votive material, including some of the earliest terracottas, was found in the area of the altar. Here, on the steep slope above the Mitropolianos a terrace wall, 2.8 m high and 1.8 m wide, was constructed during G times.[278] The lowest stratum at this terrace contained a mixture of LM IIIC-SM, PG and G material. The mixing may have been due to gradual washing down of earlier material from the buildings at the summit, although the possibility that LM IIIC-PG habitation had stretched down the E slope cannot be excluded.[279] It is therefore hard to decide whether the earliest terracottas, four Phi- and Psi-figurines of Mycenaean type, derive from earlier houses or mark the beginning of communal cult practice.[280] The published pottery associated with the altar area covers a wide variety of shapes and ranges in date from the PG to the O period.[281]

In the second half of the 7th century BC a second terrace wall was constructed, 6.8 m W of the G one, dividing the area into two levels. In addition to sustaining walls, the new wall was provided with a foundation trench full of rubble, to relieve pressure of accumulating rain water. Its 'checkerboard' masonry consists of smaller slabs regularly interspersed with large square blocks. Preserved over a length of 11 m, the entire terrace would have measured 9.4 x 23 m.[282] The excavators assumed that the 'checkerboard wall' was erected to protect an already existing altar but were not able to ascertain if this would have been the exposed stone-built one or a less monumental predecessor.[283] The altar, of which only the two lowest courses have been preserved, measures no less than 2.2 x 13 m along a N-S orientation. It is made of large alabaster slabs (0.6 x 1.5 x 0.16 m) on a foundation wall of smaller limestone blocks.[284] Although its construction date remains uncertain, it was obvious that for its construction earlier deposits with votives and animal bones had been levelled and distributed over a wide area.[285]

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[277] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 103, pl. E.

[278] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 99, 113-14, 146, figs. 196-97, pl. E-F.

[279] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 144-45.

[280] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 158 (nos. 25-28), 207, pl. VII. *Cf.* Coldstream 1977a, 280.

[281] For different kinds of cups, plates (one with painted inscription), kraters, hydriai, oinochoai, lekythoi, lekanides *etc.*: Levi 1955-56, 227-31, figs. 15-24.

Found near the altar was the lower part (0.80 m high) of a seated female statue in limestone (Plate 30). The skirt is elaborately decorated with incised and red-painted motifs. Dating to *c.* 650 BC or earlier, the statue forms one of the earliest large-scale sculptures in Greece. The unworked back and holes at the sides of the stool indicate that it was part of a structure, perhaps the altar itself.[286] Alternatively, it may have adorned the temple at the summit and been buried down the slope after a redecoration. Adams suggests that several smaller pieces with the same incised patterns belonged to a second seated statue. If this is true, the existence of a sculptural group similar to, but earlier than that at Prinias may be postulated.[287]

Portable cult equipment was found in the form of a possible clay altar (ø of base 0.91 m), its conical top decorated with a band with feline heads in relief.[288] Clay tubes and stands may have carried offering bowls, while the numerous multiple vases or kernoi may have been votives rather than cult equipment, as the constituting vessels were closed or solid.[289]

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[282] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 105-10, figs. 180-81, 183, pls. F, G:8. Di Vita (1991, 310) opts for a date of *c.* 620 BC.

[283] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 147-49; see also: Di Vita 1991, 310 n. 3.

[284] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 99, 102, figs. 172-77.

[285] Levi 1955-56, 219-27; Di Vita 1984a, 111. Levi (1956, 289-90) considers both altar and 'checkerboard wall' late 7th-century constructions.

[286] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 150 n. 71, 156 (no. 7), pls. II-III. For a Proto-Daed date: Davaras 1972, 52; Beyer 1976, 59-61; Fuchs & Floren 1987, 124-26. Adams (1978, 25-26) opts for 650-625 BC.

[287] Adams 1978, 25-27; referring to Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 16-17 (nos. 5-7), pls. II-III, V-VI.

[288] Levi 1955-56, 230, fig. 27.

Also from the area of the altar is a group of small limestone votive statues. A fragmentary statuette of a robed female (0.135 m high) is fully Daedalic in style, as are a group of smaller heads and busts; the latter may, according to Adams, imitate contemporary terracottas.[290] Two other statuettes, of robed figures standing on drum-like bases (0.29 and 0.17 m tall as preserved), display Cypro-Rhodian and North-Syrian traits and date to 650-600 BC.[291]

The majority of bronzes from the altar terrace consisted of miniature tripod legs and armour (mitrai, cuirasses, shields, greaves; for comparable examples, see Praisos, Plate 53), but finds also include a few fragments of life-size mitrai and of a bowl, a lamp, a plaque with incised female, an applique in the form of a Daed female figurine, a figurine arm, and perhaps some of the fibulae and pins illustrated in a preliminary report.[292] Clay versions of miniature helmets and griffin cauldrons also occurred, while there were several hundreds of terracotta votive shields.[293]

With the exception of a few fragments of faience,[294] the rest of the immense and varied group of votives consists of terracottas: handmade, wheelmade and mouldmade items, as well as some figures in combined techniques.[295] Handmade anthropomorphic figurines of female and male type, including two or three warriors, span at least the PG to G period, with the earliest ones (with outstretched arms) displaying LBA stylistic traits.[296] Handmade animal figurines consist of horses, bovines and other quadrupeds, birds and a snake.[297] Wheelmade figures represent females and horses (Plates 32 and 36), including one with a saddle and one with a rider, but no definite males. With the exception of three earlier female figures, they all date to the 7th century BC. These later examples are often provided with elaborate painted decoration or plastic attributes, such as the well-known Palladion with matching helmet and perhaps a spear in the right hand (Plate 32).[298]

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[289] Levi 1955-56, 270-71, figs. 24, 30-31; *id.* 1956, 290 fig. 3.

[290] Adams 1978, 22-23; referring to Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, nos. 1, 2, 11, 12, 13, pls. I, V.

[291] Adams 1978, 19-21; referring to Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, nos. 3, 10, pls. I, V.

[292] Levi 1955-56, 231-32, 260-61, figs. 33, 35, 71-74; Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 157-58 (nos. 18-21), pl. VI. Two fibulae are dated to the G period by Sapouna-Sakellaraki (1978, 20-21).

[293] Levi 1955-56, 227, 231, 261, 269-70, figs. 16-19, 28, 81.

[294] Levi 1955-56, 229, fig. 36.

[295] Levi 1955-56, 232; Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 165 (no. 88), pl. XIV, 208-11.

[296] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 158-60 (nos. 23-50), 206-8, pls. VII-IX. The ones with outstretched arms are related to the already mentioned Mycenaean types.

The bulk of terracottas is made up of different types of very fine and often painted mouldmade figurines and plaques. Covering the whole Daed sequence, they illustrate the development of a Gortynian school from the end of the G period onwards. A small Proto-Daed group consists of (nude and dressed) female figurines with polos and plaques with sphinxes[299]—two themes which remain popular in the following decades: there are numerous mould series of frontal nude and robed women with varying arm positions (Plate 33).[300] Of the large quantities of separate or broken off heads most are of female or indefinite gender.[301] Less common types consist of a dressed female carrying a disc-like object on the head (Plate 33e), a female holding a shield and depictions of multiple female figures, sometimes in a 'naiskos' or other structure (Plate 33c).[302] Worthy of note is a small group of seated dressed females, which are reminiscent of the limestone female statue.[303] Males are depicted as warriors (Plate 34a), while there are unparalleled examples of a MDaed youth with both hands at the chest (Plate 34b) and a plaque with two nude males flanking a lyre.[304] Representations of both a Potnia and Potnios Theron (Plate 35b) occur,[305] as well as sphinxes (Plate 35a) and, less often, felines, horses or floral motifs.[306] There are further a few examples of painted and of cut-out clay plaques and one example of a Humbaba mask.[307] A small group of LDaed plaques depict a horseman fighting a three-headed monster and another group, a male and female attacking a seated warrior.[308]

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[297] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 188-89 (nos. 267-79, 293-304), pls. XXXVIII, XLI.

[298] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 189-90 (nos. 280-92, horses), pls. XXXIX-XL, 160 (nos. 49-51, early females), 208, pls. VIII-IX, 160-61, 167-68, 171-72, 188 (nos. 53-56, 58-59, 102-104, 128, 264, later females), 217, pls. IX-XI, XVIII, XXII, XXVII.

[299] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 161-63 (nos. 60-66), 213, 218, fig. 243, pl. XII. For a small Post-Daed group: *ibid.* 183, 188 (nos. 213-14, 261-66), pls. XXXIII, XXXVII. See also Cassimatis 1982, 455; Böhm 1990, 81, 162-65.

[300] For a typology: Cassimatis 1982. Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 165-67 (nos. 89-95, 100), pls. XV, XVII, 169-74 (nos. 109-112, 114, 119-21, 132, 150-53), pls. XIX-XXIV, 177-80 (nos. 174-86, 189-90, 206), pls. XXVIII-XXIX, 188 (nos. 258-60), pl. XXXVII. Dressed females: *ibid.*, 163, 165-69 (nos. 71-72, 85, 96, 101, 105, 113), pls. XIII-XIV, XIV, XVII, XIX, 171-74 (nos. 125-26, 131, 134-36, 139, 141, 143, 146, 148-49, 154-56), pls. XXI-XXIV, 178-80, (nos. 187 (with painted inscription), 197-202, 204), pls. XXIX-XXX, 187 (nos. 244-54), pls. XXXVI-XXXVII.

[301] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 170-73, 179 (nos. 118, 129, 133, 140, 142, 190 female), fig. 329, pls. XXI-XXIII, XXX, 163-65, 167, 170-75, 179-80 (nos. 67-70, 73, 75-77, 86-87, 97-98, 115-17, 123, 137, 144-45, 147, 157-60, 165, 191-96, 205, indef. gender), pls. XIII-XIV, XVII, XX-XXI, XXIII-XXV, XXIX-XXX.

Votives similar to the ones from the altar terrace were encountered in the area of the temple, though in far smaller numbers and with their exact provenance not always being clear. Among these are several handmade animal figurines, mouldmade female figurines, such as the one holding up a shield, and a MDaed naiskos with three polos wearing nude females.[309] A thick layer of ash, carbon and burnt bone fragments S of the temple yielded a G fibula.[310] The stratigraphical relationship of this ash layer to the temple is, unfortunately, unknown.

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[302] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 176 (no. 167, with disc-like object), pl. XXVI, 163-64, 175 (nos. 74, 164, with shield), fig. 292, pls. XIII, XXV, 167, 171, 177 (nos. 99, 124, 171, multiple females), pls. XVII, XXVII, XXI.

[303] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 180, 187 (nos. 203, 255-56), pls. XXXI, XXXVII.

[304] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 175-76 (nos. 161, 168, 170), pls. XXIV, XXVI-XXVII.

[305] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 164, 173, 185-86 (nos. 78, 80, 138, 233, 235, Potnia), pls. XIII-XIV, XXIII, XXXV, 171, 175 (nos. 127, 163, 166, Potnios), fig. 326, pls. XXI, XXV-XXVI.

[306] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 164, 169-72, 175-77, 181 (nos. 79, 107-08, 122-30, 162, 169, 171-72, 207, 230, 232, 240, sphinxes), pls. XIV, XIX-XXII, XXV-XXVII, XXX, XXXIV-XXXV, 184, 186 (nos. 216-18, 237, felines), pls. XXXII-XXXIII, XXXV, 186 (nos. 238-39, 241-42, horses and floral motifs), pl. XXXV.

[307] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 165, 186 (nos. 82-84, 243, painted plaques), pls. XIV, XXXVI, 168-69, 181, 185 (no. 106, 208, 225, cut-outs), pls. XIX, XXXI, XXXIV, 183 (no. 215, Humbaba), pl. XXXI. See also Levi 1955-56, 232.

[308] The latter scene has been interpreted as the murder of Agamemnon by Klytaemnestra and Aigisthos; see Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 182-83 (nos. 210-11, 213, pl. XXXII; Blome 1982, 101-02.

[309] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 54-55 figs. 83-84, 85d-f, 86, 163-64, 169-70, 188 (nos. 74, 81, 114c, 266), fig. 292, pls. XIII-XIV, XX, XXXVII, 171 (no. 124, naiskos), pl. XXI.

The monumental temple was most probably built in the 7th century BC (Plate 29). Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari initially opted for a date of 850-750 BC, interpreting a deposit of ash and small cup fragments covered by a stone slab below the larger ash layer as a PG foundation offering.[311] As pointed out by Schäfer, however, the excavators also reported O sherds of the 'first and middle phases' from the 'predominantly PG level' above bedrock, which points to disturbance of earlier deposits in the 7th century BC.[312] Most likely, this happened when part of the existing houses and sloping terrain were levelled and cut in for the construction of the cult building.[313]

The exterior dimensions of the temple are 13.65 (E-W) x 16 (N-S) m; like the 7th-century altar, it is made of alabaster slabs (*c.* 1.5 x 0.5 m) combined with limestone at less visible places.[314] Its interior plan has no parallels in EIA Crete: an E-W running strip of pavement, *c.* 0.9 m wide, divides it into two halves, with a series of small-stone cross walls forming at least three cellae in the SW corner; a bothros of alabaster slabs, 1.2 x 1.43 m and 1.50 m deep, is set roughly in the centre. As the N half of the building showed no signs of inner walling, the entrance and main façade have been restored in the N.[315] Associated with the temple were several fragments of architectural sculpture, amongst which are two relief plates (*c.* 1.5 x 1.07 m); these depict two frontal, polos wearing females flanking a striding male (Plate 31) and two females respectively.[316] Despite some stylistic differences, they were probably part of the same LDaed building program[317] which confirms the idea of a 7th-century construction date for the temple.

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[310] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 25-26, fig. 31.

[311] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 25-26, 47, figs. 44-45. This was accepted by Drerup (1969, 33-34) and is still adhered to by Di Vita (1991, 310 n. 3, 317).

[312] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 46. Schäfer (1972, 187-88) considers 750-700 BC the earliest possible construction date; Beyer (1976, n. 107 on 95) gives a date of 735-680 BC and Johannowski (1960, 988) opts for a date of 675-650 BC.

[313] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 23.

[314] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 23-24, fig. 43, pl. B; Levi 1955-56, 210.

[315] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 38, 47-50, fig. 76, 53. Schäfer (1972, 187) calls the Italian reconstruction hypothetical, while Altherr-Charon (1977, 420-21) is critical of two rows of three *cellae* as proposed by Levi (1955-56, 210) and Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari (1968, 50).

The excavators have pointed to North-Syrian and Egyptian influence on the 'tripartite' plan of the cult building, its masonry and sculptural decoration, which may have been due to the involvement of Oriental artisans.[318] The relief plates have been reconstructed as an orthostate frieze around the base of the temple.[319] Watrous, who opts for Egyptian parallels, has recently suggested the relief plaques may have adorned the rear inner wall of the temple.[320] A third sculpture from the temple may represent a lion-headed sphinx in the round, for which, analogous to North-Syrian examples, a function of door guardian has been proposed.[321]

The cult building at the Acropolis is commonly referred to as the temple of Athena Poliouchos, primarily because of the many CL and HL clay figurines which clearly represent this goddess. Rizza, however, emphasises that in the EIA the functions of the venerated goddess may have been less differentiated and canonical, since the votives of this period seem to indicate a more general concern with 'forces of nature, the mystery of procreation and forces of war'. An interesting observation by Cassimatis pertains to the lack of female terracottas referring to pregnancy, childbirth or kourotrophic aspects. She therefore proposes a cult associated with young, unmarried women.[322]

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[316] Most of them incorporated in the superimposed Early Christian church: Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 50-51, 156-57 (nos. 8-9), figs. 77-78, pls. III-IV. For Gortyn as a major centre of 7th-century Cretan sculpture: Adams 1978, 19.

[317] Rizza (Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 52-53) believed fragment no. 8 was earlier, but this has been refuted by Adams (1978, 23). Schäfer (1972, 188) opts for a date around 650 BC.

[318] Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 54-56, 150. The possibility of Eastern influence is accepted by Altherr-Charon (1977, 420-21) and Hayden (1981, 1553). Schäfer (1972, 188) and Mazarakis Ainian (1997, 227) doubt the reconstruction of three cellae and opt for four rooms in the SW part.

[319] As in Zinjirli (9th-8th century BC) and Karatepe (8th century BC); see Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 50. For a critique: Watrous 1998, 75.

[320] Watrous 1998, 75.

[321] Dating to *c.* 650 BC: Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 50-52, figs. 79-82, 157 (no. 14), pl. V. For a LDaed date: Adams 1978, 24-25. Davaras (1972, 54) considers the fragment a female torso.

[322] Cassimatis 1982, 449, 462.

B.24 *The Temple of Apollo Pythios*

The temple of Apollo Pythios is situated approximately 650 m SE of the foot of the Acropolis and is built up against a small hillock in the plain (Plate 27). It was first excavated in the period from 1885-1899 by F. Halbherr and tested again in 1939-40. It has been restudied by Ricciardi as part of a topographical research program of the city and its territory.[323]

The construction date of the temple remains uncertain, as no stratigraphical evidence, votives or sherd material have been published. Most Italian scholars adhere to a date in the second half of the 7th century BC,[324] but this is based solely on the date of the inscriptions, which is disputed. Halbherr found numerous A-HL inscriptions around the temple, while others were carved on the outer surface of the walls.[325] Contrary to the opinion of Halbherr, Jeffery has concluded that, although a 7th-century date can not be entirely ruled out, a date of 600-525 BC for the earliest inscriptions is more likely.[326] The restudy by Ricciardi adds details about the architecture of the building, but does not offer new chronological evidence.[327]

In its earliest construction phase, the temple consisted of one almost rectangular room with exterior dimensions of 17.66 x 19.85 m. The façade, with a 1.9 m wide entrance, was on the longer, E side. The temple is built of ashlar and has a stepped krepidoma.[328] The floor may have consisted of earth instead of having been paved, as previously assumed.[329] The roof must have been supported by four wooden pilasters, of which the stone-lined post-holes have survived.[330] No remains of architectural decoration were found, except for one block with a moulded edge and an inscription, which has been assigned to the 7th century BC by Ricciardi.[331] The first excavator suggested that the interior surfaces of the walls, which were rather rough and provided with small holes, may have been decorated with bronze revetments, but Ricciardi opts for a coat of plaster.[332]

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[323] Halbherr 1889, 8; Ricciardi 1986-87, 7-9; Di Vita 1992, 97.

[324] Halbherr 1889, 25; Savignoni 1907, 206; Colini 1974, 132; Di Vita 1984a, 84; Ricciardi 1986-87, 119; Di Vita 1992, 100. For a 6th-century date: De Sanctis 1907, 304; Johannowski 1960, 990.

[325] Halbherr 1889, 18-25, 32-76; Comparetti 1889.

[326] Jeffery 1990, 311-13, 315. *Contra*: Guarducci 1967, 184.

[327] Ricciardi 1986-87.

[328] Halbherr 1889, 12, 18-20; Ricciardi 1986-87, 17, 19.

[329] Ricciardi 1986-87, 34-35.

[330] Colini 1974, 131, fig. 1.

[331] Ricciardi 1986-87, 28-30, referring to a parallel moulding in a funerary monument at Prinias; see also Lebessi 1976a, 35 (B14), pls. 38-39.

A bothros (1.62 x 1.01 x 2.37 m deep) in the NE corner of the temple, on the right when entering, is constructed of well-cut stones joined with tail-shaped iron and lead clamps. Though its orientation is different from the surrounding walls, it is usually considered to belong to the initial construction of the temple. Most parallels listed by Ricciardi, however, date to the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC.[333] Perhaps the bothros was a later addition, contemporary with the HL rebuilding of the temple.

The identification of the building as a temple for Apollo Pythios is based on the contents of a HL inscription found at the temple. It concerns a treaty with Knossos, copies of which had, according to the text, to be set up in the Pythion of Gortyn and the Delphineion of Knossos. The existence of a Pythion in Gortyn is also attested to by Stephanus of Byzantium.[334]

B.25 *The sanctuary at Vourvoulites*

During the survey of 1985-86 La Torre discovered a probable sanctuary *c.* 2 km NE of the Prophitis Elias hill. The site is located N of and just below the 517 m high summit of Vourvoulitis, in an area with several small EIA settlements. It lies on the route that leads to the N via Prinias.[335]

The sanctuary consists of a rectangular building measuring 13.95 x 11.30 m, with 0.90-1.20 m thick walls and an L-shaped 'bench' of natural rock against the N wall. A wall surrounding the building to the W, S and E may have served as a peribolos. La Torre assigns the cult building a possible date in the 7th century BC on the basis of similarities with the Temple on the Acropolis.[336] As remarked by Mazarakis Ainian, however, the building could be earlier.[337]

Among the votive material found at the surface are fragments of handmade human and animal figurines (mostly bovids) 'of SM and PG type'. Some fragments of mouldmade plaques have also been illustrated, but these defy further identification.[338]

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[332] Halbherr 1889, 24-25; Savignoni 1907, 220.

[333] Halbherr 1889, 26-27; Savignoni 1907, 227-30; Ricciardi 1986-87, 40-42. There is a 7th-century bothros in the temple on the Acropolis of Gortyn (B.22); in the latter, however, the bothros takes a central position.

[334] *IC* IV, 259-62 (no. 182). Halbherr 1889, 50, 54, 57; Colini 1974, 133.

[335] Di Vita 1985, 366.

[336] La Torre 1988-89, 290-94, pls. I-II, figs. 14-18; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 227-28, fig. 479b.

[337] Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 227.

B.26 *Rotassi*

An extensive EIA and later site on the Kephala hill S of Rotassi was already identified as ancient Rhytion, known from inscriptions, by Spratt. No systematic investigations have taken place as of yet. Pendlebury saw many wall remains, some of them megalithic. Surface sherds apparently belong to the O period and later.[339] However, the presence of G graves at the N foot of the Kephala and of a large PG-O tholos, excavated by Platon in 1958, may indicate earlier occupation at the site.[340]

Modern construction work in 1972 led to the discovery of the remains of an EIA sanctuary, which was briefly explored by Alexiou. Finds, all in terracotta, consist of three bull figures and one in the shape of a fish, three ring vases, three aryballoi, a skyphos, two cups, a small lid, a stamped lid with 'tree of life' design, and part of a vessel with ram protome (perhaps a small imitation shield). Portions of two walls, 3 and 8 m long, are interpreted by the excavator as a possible cemetery peribolos. From here came the back part of another bull, part of a probable horse figure or figurines, a bronze fibula as well as pottery, amongst which were five small bowls, probably of LG date.[341]

B.27 *Smari; Plate 37*

During visits in the years 1931-34, Pendlebury, Eccles and Money-Coutts observed several ancient sites in the somewhat isolated valley around modern Smari, central Crete, which is separated by hills from the larger Pediada plain to the E.[342] From 1977-79 the Smari area was surveyed more systematically by Chatzi-Vallianou. She has found evidence for occupation from the MM period onwards, with EIA sites including a substantial SM-O cemetery at Riza, N of Smari, and settlements at Spitakia to the S, and at Moni Kallergi in the hills forming the E edge of the valley. The most prominent site is 'Troulli tis Korfis' on the almost 600 m high Prophitis Elias, just N of Kallergi. Here, Chatzi-Vallianou has excavated several well-built SM-O structures, at least one of which had a religious function.[343]

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[338] Di Vita 1985, 366, fig. 47; La Torre 1988-89, 296-97, figs. 19-21.

[339] Spratt 1865a, 332-36; Pendlebury, Eccles and Money-Coutts 1932-33, 86; Pendlebury 1939, 327, 343, 353; Alexiou 1972b, 622.

[340] Platon 1958, 468; Daux 1959, 734-35.

[341] Alexiou 1972b, 622, pls. 581-82.

[342] Pendlebury, Eccles & Money-Coutts 1932-33, 81-82.

B.27 *Troulli tis Korfis*

During the survey, Chatzi-Vallianou noted SM-O settlement material on the W and S slope of the Prophitis Elias, which has two springs.[344] In the ensuing excavations (which took place for four years between 1983 and 1995), attention was focused on a monumental structure on the summit of the hill, which had been described by Pendlebury, Eccles and Money-Coutts as 'a small fortress which looks Hellenic'.[345]

This structure, measuring *c.* 30 x 40 m and provided with tower-like projections and a possible stepped entrance at the SE side, was constructed in MM II times. In the EIA, it acted as a platform for a complex consisting of three joining, E-W oriented megara, ancillary rooms and courtyards (Plate 37). Probably of LM IIIC-SM origin, this complex was abandoned around the middle of the 7th century BC. All three megara (A, B and D) have a central hearth and two of them (A and B) have benches around the walls of the central rooms. Animal bones (sheep, pig, bird) were common, but especially abundant in the prodomos of Megaron A, which also yielded burnt matter. Chatzi-Vallianou emphasizes the lack of cult objects from the complex and characterises it as the dwelling of a local ruler.[346]

In 1995, however, a small freestanding cult building (**B.27**) was uncovered in the area between Megaron A and the N peribolos. It measures 5.40 m (E-W) x 3.80/4.00 m (N-S) and is well-built with small stone slabs. There is very narrow prodomos (only 0.70 m deep) with a one metre wide door opening in the E. Opposite the entrance, a small construction, consisting of four stone slabs placed on top of each other, probably served as an altar or table of offerings. Around it were found charcoal, burnt animal bone, more than 35 terracotta votive figurines and plaques and pottery ranging in date from the 7th century BC to the R period (indicating that cult continued until long after the abandonment of the settlement). The EIA votives include 7th-century BC female heads with poloi and one plaque of a male horseman with sword and breastplate. In addition there are a number of votive plaques, probably of the same date, which depict a standing, robed and helmeted female (0.185-0.23 m tall). Chatzi-Vallianou proposes an identification as Athena and notes the presence of similar plaques at Lato, Avdou and at Papoura and Plati in the Lasithi plateau. The EIA pottery includes fragments of pithoi and some cups. The presence of two LM IIIC-SM walls and an associated sherd with Double Axe below the cult building may indicate earlier cult activities at the same spot.[347]

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[343] Chatzi-Vallianou 1980, 27, 42-43; *ead.* 1984, 9; *ead.* 1989, 441.

[344] Chatzi-Vallianou 1980, 44, 56.

[345] Pendlebury, Eccles & Money-Coutts 1932-33, 82; Chatzi-Vallianou 2000, 505.

[346] Chatzi-Vallianou 1980, 49-52; *ead.* 1984, 12-21, 30; *ead.* 1989, 442, 446; *ead.* 2000, 506-07; Chatzi-Vallianou & Euthimiou 2000.

B.28 *Aphrati; Plates 38-40*

The area around the modern village of Aphrati, in the eastern Mesara, was first explored in 1893-94 by Halbherr, who described a large number of LM IIIC-SM and EIA sites, most of them located on spurs extending from the Lasithi mountains. At Ayios Elias (or Aï-Lia), an extended hill separating the smaller Embaros valley from the rest of the Mesara, Halbherr noted a large 'Mycenaean' to CL settlement, with an abundance of G-O surface sherds. The 689 m high hill overlooks the principal routes to the S coast and to Viannos further E. Near Panagia, at the W foot of the hill, Halbherr cleared some tholoi of a largely pillaged SM-PG cemetery.[348] Excavations by Levi, in 1924, were directed at a larger cemetery of PGB-O date on the upper W slope.[349] Tombs consist of small tholoi, containing both inhumations and cremations, and, more peculiarly, of urns placed on dishes and covered with basins; the latter date to the 7th century BC and display such close parallels with tombs in Karkemish that the presence of a group of immigrants from North Syria is suspected.[350] At the summit of the hill Levi excavated some N as well as CL-HL remains, including a cistern and a fort with round towers. Traces of BA habitation were discovered at on the N slope, while EIA and later houses seem concentrated on the E slope.[351] There seems therefore little reason to accept Levi's idea of a settlement organisation '*kata komas*', in dispersed villages.[352]

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[347] Chatzi-Vallianou 2000, 507-21, figs. 1-8, 10-12. For a 6th-century date of the Athena plaques, see Boardman 1961, 112.

[348] Halbherr 1901a, esp. 262, 283; *id.* 1901c, 394; Savignoni 1901, 405-06, 414; Rizzo 1984b, 257-58. For the tomb material: Desborough 1952, 253-54.

[349] Coldstream 1968, 255-57.

[350] Boardman 1970, 20-23; Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 173.

Subsequent research has been limited to rescue excavations, and knowledge of the size and lay-out of the site is therefore fragmentary. An important rescue dig was undertaken by Lebessi in 1968-69, in response to the appearance on the international art market of a large number of bronze weapons (Plates 38-40) and pithoi.[353] Following confessions by the robbers, the origin of the hoard was traced to a possible cult building, to be discussed below, on the SE slope of the Ayios Elias or Aï-Lia hill.

Levi's identification of the site as ancient Arkades, mentioned by Polybius, Pliny and Seneca, as well as in inscriptions found in the area, was generally accepted until the recent proposal by Viviers to identify the site as Dattalla. Viviers refers to the Late Archaic inscription of an agreement between the scribe Spensithios and the 'Dataleis' on a bronze mitra in the British Museum, which is similar to the stolen bronzes from Aphrati.[354] The toponym Dattalla is, however, also known from a HL border inscription between Lato and Olous and may therefore have to be placed in the Lasithi mountains between Lyttos and Lato.[355]

B.28 *The complex at the southeast slope of the Aï-Lia*

In 1968-69, Lebessi conducted excavations at the spot indicated by the robbers, *c.* 280 m SE of the summit, and uncovered the much disturbed remains of an EIA complex which still contained fragments of bronze weaponry. It is situated close to a number of houses excavated by Levi.[356]

In its latest construction phase, probably dating to the 7th century BC, the complex consisted of a walled rectangular space of at least 12 x 22.5 m, with a rectangular room of 12 x 6.8 m in the NW corner.

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[351] Levi 1927-29, 32-57.

[352] Levi 1927-29, 15-22; Guarducci 1932; Willetts 1955, 147 n. 1.

[353] The bronzes and other finds ended up in collections in Greece and abroad: Hoffmann 1972, xi; Lebessi 1969, 415.

[354] Viviers 1994, 232-41.

[355] As proposed earlier by Watrous (1982, 21, 39-40), who places Dattalla at Papoura.

[356] Levi 1927-29, 38-57; Lebessi 1969, 415.

The interior of this room was disturbed down to bedrock, but it was clear that a continuous bench (0.4 x 0.45 m high) had lined all walls; an interruption along the S wall indicates the existence of an entrance, which was later blocked and perhaps replaced by a door on the shorter E side. Finds from the mixed fill included another bronze mitra, many LG-EO sherds, animal bones, agrimi horns, but also LO and Byz sherds and a CL Attic 'Bandschale'.[357] The stolen bronzes consist of five helmets, eight cuirasses and 16 mitrai, 14 of them with incised decoration and inscriptions with names of owners or dedicators. They have been dated to the period of *c.* 650-625 into the early 6th century BC (Plates 38-40).[358] Among chance finds handed over by local inhabitants is a clay antefix in the form of a LDaed female head. Its exact find spot is unknown, but the presence of a similar antefix among the objects in a foreign collection suggests it belonged to the pillaged complex.[359] Likewise, a number of relief pithoi sold on the international art market may have come from here.[360]

The 7th-century structure overlay an earlier building of at least three rooms, which may date to the LG period. To the E of this building, in a burnt layer on a partially preserved earlier paved floor, were found a terracotta griffin's head (probably from a cauldron), a LG lekythos, a bronze male figurine and other 'less important' votives. The paving probably belongs to the earliest period of use, dated to the 9th century by a number of PGB vases, when open-air cult activities seem to have included animal sacrifice.[361]

Lebessi bases her identification of the complex as a sanctuary on its size, the presence of the bench and the associated bronzes and other votives. Other scholars, not supported by the excavator, have suggested that it was dedicated to the war goddess Athena, while Viviers opts for a principle function as andreion.[362]

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[357] Lebessi 1969, 415, 417; *ead.* 1970, 458.

[358] Hoffmann 1972, esp. 1, 15-16, 41-46.

[359] Alexiou, Platon & Guanella 1968, 216, 227; Hoffmann 1970a, 292.

[360] Hornborstel 1970.

[361] Lebessi 1970, 456-58; *ead.* 1980, 87-89.

[362] Lebessi 1969, 417; Hoffmann 1972, 16; P. Demargne 1980, 200; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 224; Viviers 1994, 244-49; see also the discussion in the section on metal armour in section 4 of this chapter, p. 385-86.

B.29 *Karphi: Vitzelovrysis (see also A.6-14)*

The Vitzelovrysis spring is situated SW of the LM IIIC-SM refuge site of Karphi, at the upper edge of the associated cemetery of Ta Mnemata. The spring has an ancient stone-built catchment basin and water channel leading to a cistern. The area of the spring was excavated by Pendlebury as part of his investigations at Karphi in 1937-38.[363]

Despite the abandonment of the settlement in or after the LM IIIC-SM period, several tombs in the cemetery continued to be used during the EIA.[364] At the same time, the rocky knoll ca. 0.25 m above the spring served (or perhaps continued to serve), as a sanctuary. None of the votives were fully published and their exact dating is not possible. They consist of at least seven fragmentary clay animal figurines, two heads of human figurines (one of them Daed), two clay plaques and a disc-headed bronze pin. There was little pottery, which was labelled 'Archaic'. Other clay figurines (four bovids, one sheep, and one male head) were found at the spring itself and others in the area of the cemetery.[365] Pendlebury concluded they had washed down from the sanctuary above the spring. Watrous, on the other hand, considers these votives as having been deposited at the tombs and interprets them as offerings to the buried ancestors.[366]

B.30 *Anavlochos*

In the steep Anavlochos hills, N of the modern village of Vrachasi, are the remains of a large but hardly investigated EIA refuge site. It was first described by Mariani, who noted large-stone construction as well as several terracotta votives.[367] The site, with a clear view of the sea, overlooks a route leading from Milatos at the N coast towards the Gulf of Mirabello, while the inland route from central Crete passes along the S. The settlement covers at least three hills connected by saddles. A brief test excavation, by P. Demargne for the French School in 1929, revealed G house remains at the NW slopes and a cemetery with small PG-G tholoi at Lami, *c.* 800 m to the N. Halfway down the steep N slope of the Kako Plaï, the NW hill of the Anavlochos range, he unearthed a deposit of G-CL terracotta votives.[368]

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[363] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 98-99, fig. 1, pl. XI.

[364] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 136; Watrous 1982, 40.

[365] Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 99-100, pl. 32:3-4.

[366] Watrous 1982, 21.

[367] Mariani 1895, 244-46.

B.30 *The votive deposit at the Kako Plaï*

In the absence of architectural remains, Demargne suggested that the votive deposit from the Kako Plaï may have consisted of material washed down from a cult place higher up.[369] Most numerous were hand- and mouldmade terracotta figurines and plaques. Among the former, at least 12 are of human shape with outstretched arms and have been dated to the G period; on only one is the (male) gender indicated. Another eight, very coarse anthropomorphic figurines are more difficult to date.[370] Twelve separate human heads with tenons may have belonged to wheelmade bodies such as found both by Demargne and in illicit excavations.[371] Mouldmade plaques and figurines depict robed and polos-wearing as well as nude females of different type.[372] Of less common type are a plaque representing two frontal, robed females with polos, a plaque showing a nude male and one with a human figure in a niche-like structure.[373] There also is an example of a sphinx or griffin.[374] Seven animal figurines and two animal protomes were, with the exception of a horse, too crude to be further identified.[375] Among the few whole EIA pots in the deposit are two domed lids with suspension holes (perhaps imitation shields), some plain cups and bowls, a Protocorinthian aryballos and several 'saddle-shaped' objects and small closed vessels of unclear function. Fragments of relief pithoi and spindle whorls were also frequent.[376]

Because of the presence of the plaques with two similar females, the excavator believed these votives were to be associated with a cult for a multiple deity, most probably the Eileithyiai.[377]

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[368] Béquignon 1929, 528; P. Demargne 1931, 365-74. For pottery from the tombs: Desborough 1952, 260, 326. Possible LM IIIC material is noted by Kanta (1980, 128).

[369] P. Demargne 1931, 379-80.

[370] P. Demargne 1931, 386-89, 392-94, figs. 24-26, 27:b, 29-30, pl. XIV:1-2.

[371] P. Demargne 1931, 389-92 (nos. 13-27), figs. 27:a,c, 28.

[372] P. Demargne 1931, 396-98, 400-01 (nos. 45-48, 51-57), fig. 32, pls. XV:2-3, XV:3-5.

[373] P. Demargne 1930, 195, pl. X; *id.* 1931, 398-403 (nos. 49-50), figs. 31, 34, pl. XVI:2.

[374] P. Demargne 1931, 402 (no. 60), fig. 33.

[375] P. Demargne 1931, 394-95 (nos. 36-44).

[376] P. Demargne 1931, 380-84, figs. 18-23.

B.31-32 *Dreros; Plates 41-43, 81*

The settlement of Dreros is situated on two hills and a connecting saddle with a clear view of the Bay of Mirabello to the E (Plate 41). Ancient walls are concentrated on the N slopes, from where there is easy access to the small plain of Phourni. To the S, at a walking distance of *c.* 45 minutes, lies the larger valley of Neapolis which forms a major thoroughfare between central and E Crete.[378] Although the settlement itself has so far only yielded G and later material, the presence of LM IIIC-SM, PG and G tombs in the cemetery at the foot of the hill points to earlier occupation of the site.[379] A chance find, in 1854, of a HL inscription recording the civic oath of 180 Drerian *agelaoi panazostoi* (*ephebes*), provided the ancient name of the city.[380] There are two structures which may have served as cult buildings during the EIA.

B.31 *The building on the West hill*

In 1917 Xanthoudides excavated on the top of the West hill, at the place where the inscription had been found, and uncovered a monumental structure, measuring 10.70 x 24 m, with 1.25-1.35 m thick walls of large roughly hewn blocks (Plate 81). The building, which has a NW-SE orientation, is divided in an eastern 'pronaos' and a larger 'naos' in the W and probably had a flat roof. Traces of fire and charcoal were noted in a π-shaped hearth roughly in the centre of the W room. Two stone column bases (ø 0.40 m) were found along its W side but were not *in situ*. Adjacent to the hearth several paving slabs remained. A smaller room (4 x 4 m) was set at the NE corner of the large building. Although no finds were reported,

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[377] P. Demargne 1930, 200-02; *id.* 1931, 399-400.

[378] No systematic survey of the site has been undertaken. For a description of the standing remains: Marinatos 1936a, 214-28; P. Demargne & Van Effenterre 1937a, 6-9. The existence of a defensive wall, reported by Marinatos, is denied by Kirsten (1940a, 129-30) and by Hayden (1988, 17-18).

[379] Van Effenterre 1948b, 15-22. The pottery from Tomb 1 is dated to LM IIIC-late by Kanta 1980, 133. On Dreros in general: Tiré & Van Effenterre 1978, 93-96; Van Effenterre 1992a, 86-90 (with bibliography).

[380] It dates to the late 3rd or early 2nd century BC: *IC* I, 83-88; see also Van Effenterre 1937, 327-32.

Xanthoudides called this a possible archive, where other inscriptions beside the HL oath would have been kept,[381] thus implying that the building had stayed in use for a long period of time. With the exception of an EO lekythos and the mention of LG and 'Archaic' sherds,[382] no pottery from the building was published, but most of the associated finds seem to date to the 7th century BC.

Among the abundantly encountered pieces of bronze from the interior of the building Xanthoudides recognised fragments of shields (one of which perhaps with a lion protome), mitrai, cuirasses, greaves, helmets and vessels. Three complete mitrai and a larger helmet fragment have been published and dated to the late 7th or early 6th century BC.[383] Few terracottas were found in the proximity of the building. Of note are the upper half of a plaque of a female, probably of the 7th century BC, fragments of (undated) bull figurines and spindle whorls.[384]

The impressive construction of the building, its plan and prominent location, as well as the character of the finds, led Xanthoudides to the conclusion that it had been an important sanctuary, most probably the Delphineion mentioned in the oath of the Drerian *agelaoi*.[385] This identification was disputed by Marinatos after the discovery of a sanctuary to be discussed below. The latter suggested that the building on the West hill constituted an andreion rather than a temple.[386] Kirsten, however, concurred with an identification as a 7th/6th-century temple and proposed a cult for Apollo Delphinios or for Athena Poliouchos, who in later times appears both in the HL inscription recording the oath and on Drerian coins.[387]

B.32 *The cult building in the saddle*

Investigations at Dreros were resumed in 1932 by P. Demargne for the French School. Work initially concentrated on the E acropolis. The accidental discovery by farmers, in 1935, of three bronze sphyrelaton statuettes in the saddle between the two hilltops led to an emergency excavation and the discovery by Marinatos of one of the oldest cult buildings of Greece, erected around 750 BC (Plates 42, 81).[388] The statuettes, a 0.80 m high nude male figure and two *c.* 0.45 m tall robed and *polos*-wearing females (Plate 43), are commonly identified as Apollo, Lato and Artemis and variously dated to *c.* 750-700 BC.[389] The concomitant find of fragments of eight 7th-century legal inscriptions[390] in an adjacent HL cistern supported Marinatos in his idea that this structure, instead of the building on the West hill, constituted the temple of Apollo Delphinios and hence the archive of the town.[391]

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[381] Xanthoudides 1918, 25-27, figs. 10-11.

[382] Xanthoudides 1918, 28; Levi 1930-31, 82, fig. 30.

[383] Xanthoudides 1918, 28, fig. 12; Levi 1930-31, 78-82, figs. 28-29. For the dates: Boardman 1961, 141-42; Hoffmann 1972, 45.

[384] None of them illustrated: Xanthoudides 1918, 28.

[385] Xanthoudides 1918, 27-28.

[386] Marinatos 1936a, 254. The issue of the identification and function of this and similar buildings will be discussed in section 6 of this chapter, p. 441-76.

[387] Kirsten 1938a, 74; *id.* 1940a, 132. Also Nilsson 1937, 45.

The area around the temple was further explored in 1936 by P. Demargne and Van Effenterre. Attention focused on the large stepped area to the E, which covers an area of *c.* 23 x 40 m and is on the same alignment as the temple. The similarities in lay-out with later agorai, such as that of nearby Lato (Plate 44), and the presence of fragments of several legal inscriptions led to its identification as one of the earliest architecturally defined places of congregation in the Greek world. The idea of contemporaneity of the Drerian temple and agora is based on the fact that the steps in the W seem to be connected with the temple.[392] Although the temple was probably built around 750 BC, most of the associated finds belong to the 7th century BC. The presence of several CL and HL objects inside and the fact that 7th-century inscriptions and building stones had apparently fallen into the adjacent HL cistern indicate that the temple remained in use in a relatively unaltered state until well into the HL period.[393]

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[388] Marinatos first proposed a construction date in the 1st half of the 8th century (1936b, 217) or 750 BC 'at the latest' (1935a, 209; 1936a, 255-56; 1937, 244); the latter date is now generally accepted, see e.g. Van Effenterre 1992a, 89.

[389] Boardman 1961, 137; Beyer 1976, 20; Lebessi 1980, 92; Coldstream 1981, 346. For the initially proposed date of 650 BC: Marinatos 1936b, 219; Kirsten 1940a, 136, 140; Richter 1960, 26; *id.* 1968, 32. For the most detailed description: Romano 1980, 281-91.

[390] Jeffery 1990, 315 (with a full bibliography).

[391] Marinatos 1935a, 209-10, figs. 9, 11; *id.* 1936a, 255. *Contra*: Kirsten (1938a, 74-75; 1940a, 137), who proposes a cult for Apollo Pythios.

[392] P. Demargne & Van Effenterre 1937a, 10-11. More recently, Van Effenterre (1992a, 89) calls the agora a 6th-century construction, for unspecified reasons. An argument may be the incorporation in the steps of the agora of a 6th-century graffiti slab with winged figure and gorgoneion. Previously, however, the incorporation of this slab was considered as due to a HL renovation by P. Demargne & Van Effenterre (1937a, 13-15, pl. I).

The temple consists of a rectangular room of *c.* 7.20 x 10.90 m, with a central hearth roughly on the N-S axis. The façade and main entrance appear to have been in the N, where a path with shallow, paved steps leads up from the lower slope. Paving stones to the E and stone steps to the S may have given access from other directions.[394] Different reconstructions of the elevation and roof of the cult building have been proposed. The construction of the façade, of thick well-dressed slabs, provides a contrast to the smaller uncut blocks of the other three walls.[395] The presence, however, of larger blocks among the debris in the HL cistern may indicate that the upper courses originally had a more monumental aspect.[396] Since no tiles were found and the wooden columns could not have carried a heavy superstructure, Marinatos envisaged a flat roof with a large pitched smoke-outlet above the hearth. As the side walls of the temple appeared to protrude beyond the facade, he reconstructed the 1.20-1.40 m wide area in front as a narrow pronaos with a flat roof supported by columns. The thicker stones at the bottom of the façade would have acted as an exterior bench. The position of the door in the middle of the façade was also reconstructed: a threshold block with pivot hole was found nearby, but not *in situ*.[397] More recently, the option of an entirely flat roof is preferred, on the basis of a PG house-model with flat roof and central chimney found in a tomb at Teke, Knossos.[398]

The finds from the surrounding terrace further led Marinatos to consider this as an auxiliary area for the temple. It would have been constructed at the same time, its roof continuing that of the temple or forming a separate portico.[399] It is difficult, however, to follow Marinatos' argument of contemporaneity of the cult building and the terrace wall which runs at an oblique angle to the W. The latter seems to have the same orientation as the walls of the five-room complex to the S and it is perhaps more likely that they were part of a different building scheme, predating the erection of the temple and agora.[400] For the same reason it is difficult to accept the reconstruction by Beyer, which involves incorporation of temple and terrace to the W in one building with flat roofs.[401]

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[393] Marinatos 1935a, 206 (statuettes), 209; *id.* 1937b, 247.

[394] Marinatos 1936a, 228; P. Demargne & Van Effenterre 1937a, 11 n. 3; Beyer 1976, 13-14.

[395] Marinatos 1935a, 206-07; *id.* 1936a, 220-22, 229. In the current reconstruction the entrance has been placed in the east wall.

[396] P. Demargne & Van Effenterre 1937a, 28-29.

[397] Marinatos gives two possible variations of a pitched roof (1936a, pls. XXVI, XXXI); see also Kirsten (1940a, 133-34) who regarded both options as uncertain. Marinatos' reconstruction of the temple was inspired by the form of the previously discovered Temple A at Prinias, modern village architecture, Homeric descriptions and two LG terracotta house or temple models from the Argive Heraion and Perachora on the Mainland; see Marinatos 1936a, 229, 233, 244-51.

[398] Mallwitz 1981, 613-14, fig. 13.

The rectangular stone-built hearth (1.47 x 0.94 x 0.25 m high) in the main room was filled with ash; the only objects found in it were a thin iron plate with irregular hole ('key-hole') and some nails.[402] A stone column base was found 0.90 m to the N of the hearth; a second one was, on the analogy of Temple A at Prinias, reconstructed at the S side.[403] Besides the hearth, furnishings consist of a stone-built bench in the SW corner, measuring 1.34 x 0.76 x 0.95 m high. It was found with several objects still on it: a clay kalathos with female protome and two pommel-shaped attachments, fragments of similar attachments and two Daed heads, two clay bases for unknown objects, a bronze gorgoneion with incised decoration and some bone and ash. Apart from the gorgoneion, which probably dates to the 6th century BC, all objects belong to the 7th century BC. Small, broken G drinking cups were found in a black layer with bits of carbon and bone (including goat horns and bovid teeth) at the base of the bench.[404]

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[399] Marinatos 1936a, 229-31.

[400] P. Demargne & Van Effenterre (1937a, 15-18) proposed a G construction date for the complex to the S; like the temple it remained in use into HL times. Its proximity to the temple and the character of some of the finds (possible Minoan stone vases and Daed terracottas) led them to suggest a public function. This has convincingly been refuted by Miller (1978, 97-98).

[401] Beyer 1976, 13-14, 17-18, pl. 7; accepted by Coldstream (1981, 345) and by Mazarakis Ainian (1997, 217-18).

[402] Marinatos 1935a, 208; *id.* 1936a, 226-27. Beyer (1976, 13) notes that the hearth is set slightly further to the SE.

[403] Marinatos 1936a, 227, 233-34.

[404] Marinatos 1936a, 257-60, 269-73, fig. 22 (kalathos), fig. 28:7 (appliqués), fig. 22 (bases), fig. 34:1,3 (Daed heads), pl. XXIV (gorgoneion). The bronze gorgoneion, with a stand at the back and therefore not a shield, is dated to the late 7th century BC by Schiering (1964, 15), to the early 6th century BC by Marinatos (1936a, 273) and Adams (1978, 80) and to 600-550 BC by Boardman (1961, 142-43). For the G cups: Marinatos 1936a, fig. 23.

A so called horn-altar or *keraton* was built up against the E side of the bench. The keraton must have been a later addition, since the same black layer that had built up against the bench continued beneath the standing slabs of the keraton. Roughly of the same size as the bench, but *c.* 0.55 m lower, it constitutes the level at which the sphyrelaton statuettes were found.[405] Marinatos suspected a wooden cover with a hole for the insertion of the horns of young goats which were found inside; one calf's horn was also noted. The keraton further contained a round sherd (perhaps to close the hole), two iron knives and a fragment of one of the sphyrelata.[406] In front of the bench and keraton, an upright slab probably carried the stone table with ø 0.90 m found in fragments next to it.[407] The rest of the temple yielded fragments of a second stone table, a stone quern, fragments of pottery and iron and two bronze rings, which may have belonged to a mitra.[408]

From the triangular area W of the temple came several finds associated with its use. Among these are the fragments of at least 12 pithoi, of which only two, dating to the 8th and 7th century BC respectively, could be restored.[409] Apart from sherds of LG and EO jugs, pithos lids and other vessels, finds include three kalathoi with rim attachments (similar to the one found in the temple), terracotta heads of rams, bulls (one of which would have been 0.40 m high) and a possible bird, a small bronze disc, a votive shield, more sheet bronze and a bead.[410] Between the temple and the terrace wall similar sherds were found, as well as a 0.18 m high sheet bronze robed figure with round shield and helmet (*palladion*). A small irregular space to the NW yielded a small terracotta bull and a ram's head, bronze and iron nails, and a bronze plaque with three holes.[411] Of several inscribed 'graffiti slabs' found near the temple only the one depicting a scene with winged figures may belong to the 7th century BC.[412]

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[405] Marinatos 1935b, 479-81. The name derives from the description of Plutarch (*Theseus* 21) of the famous horn-altar for Apollo at Delos. The difference is, however, that at Delos the altar itself was made out of the dedicated horns. See Marinatos 1936a, 224, 243; *id.* 1936b, 216; also Kirsten 1940a, 135.

[406] Marinatos 1935a, 208; *id.* 1936a, 222-25, 241-44, 274, fig. 18, fig. 39 (metal finds); *id.* 1937b, 244.

[407] Marinatos thought it might have been used for offerings of milled grain, because of the presence of grinding stones and querns in and around the temple: Marinatos 1936a, 222, 225-26, figs. 10-12.

[408] Marinatos 1936a, 227-28, figs. 39-40.

[409] Marinatos 1936a, 257, 260-63, figs. 24-27; the dates for the pithoi are those given by Schäfer (1957, 10).

[410] Marinatos 1936a, 265-68, 270, 276-78, figs. 29-33, fig. 35 (bull), figs. 41-42.

B.33-35 *Lato; Plate 44*

Ancient Lato is situated in the NE foothills of the Lasithi range, on the Goulas hill, and overlooks the coastal plain and bay of Mirabello from the SW. The settlement extends over a N and a S acropolis, joined by a saddle, around a steep natural depression or sinkhole. The site is located on an old route which leads from Neapolis, below Dreros, to Ierapetra on the S coast.

The impressive and well-preserved remains of the city were described by several early travellers, among whom Spratt, Taramelli and Mariani.[413] Initially, the remains on Goulas were thought to be of prehistoric date.[414] An identification as historic Lato was first proposed by Halbherr in 1893 and was confirmed by the discovery of a 3rd-century BC inscription during the first excavations, in 1899-1900, by J. Demargne for the French School.[415] The latter, who uncovered several buildings of the public centre or *agora* on the saddle between the two acropoleis, suggested that the date of most buildings had to be 'Archaic' or later, rather than prehistoric.[416] Small tests by Reinach followed in 1910 and more extensive investigations in 1967-71 by Ducrey, Hadjimichali and Picard.[417] The latter proved that most of the structures visible today, including the well-known prytaneion and steps on the agora, stem from the HL period.[418] The first occupation of the Goulas may, however, go back to LM III times.[419] EIA remains consist of G and O surface finds and three 7th-century BC pottery kilns on the S acropolis, but little is known of the extent or lay-out of the settlement in this period.[420] In general, building remains are concentrated on the N and NW side of the N acropolis and the E side of the S acropolis.[421] There appear to have been several EIA sanctuaries in and around the settlement. None of these have been fully investigated, and they are primarily known through the presence of terracotta votives.

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[411] Marinatos 1936a, 231-32, 260, 276-80, pl. XXX.

[412] Other slabs are later: P. Demargne & Van Effenterre 1937a, 13, fig. 7.

[413] Spratt 1865a, 128-37; Mariani 1895, 251-82; Taramelli 1900, 415-19.

[414] E.g. by Spratt (1865a, 130) and Evans (1895-96, esp. 169-70); see also Ducrey & Picard 1974, 77.

[415] Halbherr 1893, 198. The inscription records a treaty between Lato and Gortyn: J. Demargne 1901, 285; *id.* 1903, 219-26.

[416] J. Demargne 1901, 305-06. See also Kirsten 1940b, 343-44.

[417] On Lato in general: Picard 1992, 154-59; Tiré & Van Effenterre 1978, 98-105.

[418] Ducrey & Picard 1972, 589-91; *id.* 1974, 78; *id.* 1976, 487.

[419] Only a small portion of the site was explored: Ducrey & Picard 1974, 77. LM III surface sherds are mentioned by Picard (1992, 157). More extensive LM III remains, however, were located in the well-watered area near the modern village of Kritsa, 3 km to the east: Ducrey & Picard 1974, 76-78.

B.33 *The structure at the saddle*

A small rectangular structure (4.60 x 8.50 m, with walls 0.60 m high) in the middle of the saddle was excavated in 1899-1900 by J. Demargne and identified as a sanctuary on the basis of the presence of terracotta votives both inside and around it. Only few of these have been published and his brief description permits no firm dating.[422] The foundation date of the possible sanctuary remains unclear: the area of the *agora* underwent a major reconstruction in the HL period, but the latest researchers, Ducrey and Picard, allow for the possibility that the origins of the sanctuary go back to the 'Archaic' period.[423]

B.34 *The votive deposit(s)*

A large deposit of more securely dated, G-O votive terracottas was found by J. Demargne during the early excavations. At the time of their publication, by P. Demargne in 1929, their exact provenance could not be assessed.[424] P. Demargne considered the votives as belonging to one homogeneous deposit. Since J. Demargne's notes on the excavation within the city did not record such a large group of pre-HL finds, they most likely come from one of the many smaller sites in the immediate surroundings.[425]

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[420] Ducrey & Picard 1974, 78. G-O sherds were picked up by Evans (1895-96, 194; Boardman 1961, 99 (nos. 448-49), 118 (no. 516)) and by J. Demargne (1903, 230-31). The kilns were found beneath the terrace for the HL 'Large Temple': Picard 1992, 157; Ducrey & Picard 1969, esp. 822. No cemeteries are known.

[421] J. Demargne 1901, 290.

[422] J. Demargne 1903, 210-12, pls. IV-V (no. 26).

[423] Ducrey & Picard 1976, 487.

[424] The three pottery kilns (dated to 650-625 BC) on the south acropolis contained fragments of very similar terracottas: Ducrey & Picard 1969, 793, 815-16. See also Ducrey & Picard 1974, 78.

[425] Only few came from tests made by Reinach in 1910: P. Demargne 1929, 382-83; see also Ducrey & Picard 1974, 78.

At Ayios Antonis, at the foot of the N acropolis, 'later remains' and 'Archaic' terracottas were observed by both Evans and Taramelli.[426] J. Demargne himself noted 'Archaic' terracottas at the low hill of Sta Melissakia, E of Goulas, and at Marneliana, in the Oxo-Lakonia plain N of Lato; the finds from the latter site, however, have been lost or dispersed.[427] The most likely source for the votive deposit published in 1929 is perhaps a site at the W foot of the Goulas, adjacent to the old Neapolis-Ierapetra road. To this place Evans assigned a deposit of 'Greek' terracottas, of which he saw a fragmentary example representing 'a male figure naked to the waist and apparently leaning on a column'. J. Demargne referred to it in the 1901 report, expressing the intention of further publication in a subsequent article.[428]

The terracotta votives published by P. Demargne consist of large numbers of handmade figurines and especially mouldmade plaques and figurines of predominantly female type. Among the handmade figurines are a warrior with shield, and numerous generic female and male figurines, some of the latter nude or ithyphallic.[429] Of the more than 15 preserved male heads four may depict warriors.[430] P. Demargne considered the 'primitive' handmade figurines as still belonging to the G period, while dating the other types to 650-600 BC. Kirsten, however, notes a lack of G stylistic traits and dates the earliest ones to the beginning of the 7th century BC and the majority to *c.* 650 BC.[431] Animal figurines consist predominantly of bovids, but there are also few rams and horses, and a lion and griffin protome which may have belonged to clay cauldrons.[432]

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[426] Evans 1895-96, 170-71, 194; Taramelli 1900, 418. For terracottas collected by Evans, see Boardman 1961.

[427] J. Demargne 1901, 303-05.

[428] Evans 1895-96, 170, 194; J. Demargne 1901, 305; *id.* 1903, pl. XX (no. 11); another sanctuary, closer to Kritsa and off Demargne's map, might be the place where Evans (*ibid.*, 194) noted a 7th century BC relief of a sphinx.

[429] P. Demargne 1929, 383-87, 406-09 (nos. 1-10, 57-61), figs. 1-2, 17-21, pls. XXIV:1-4, XXVIII:3, XXIX:1.

[430] P. Demargne 1929, 409-11 (nos. 62-65, warriors), figs. 22b, 23c, pls. XXVIII:1-2,4, 412-13 (nos. 66-75, male heads), figs. 22a,c, 23a,b, pls. XXVIII:5-11.

[431] P. Demargne 1929, 383, 426; Kirsten 1940b, 344-45.

[432] P. Demargne 1929, 413-17 (nos. 62, 76-81, 84-91), figs. 24-26, 27:a-c, 29, 31-33. For the protomes also: Boardman 1961, 60. Two bronze bull figurines, dating to 675-650 BC, may come from the same deposit: Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 51 (nos. 114-15), pl. 10.

A series of approximately 40 cylindrical figures, with both arms along the body or one at the upper body, seem to represent males and females and probably continued to be made into the 6th century BC.[433] Of the mouldmade figurines most depict familiar types: *c.* 30 dressed females with polos and arms either along the body or with one arm at the breast and one kourotrophos; *c.* 28 nude females displaying the same variation in arm gestures, of which one wears a polos and one is seated.[434] More than 40 heads (either protomes or broken off figurines) could be either female or male.[435] Mouldmade plaques depict multiple robed females, sphinxes and winged figures, including a male flanked by horses.[436]

P. Demargne proposed a cult for Eileithyia, known from later literary sources and coins to have been one of the principal goddesses of the city.[437] Recently, however, Chatzi-Vallianou has redated a group of mouldmade terracotta plaques of a robed and helmeted female to the 7th century BC and has proposed an identification as Athena.[438]

B.35 *Mount Phylakas*

Mount Phylakas (or Thylakas) is situated *c.* 150 m SE of the EIA settlement of Lato, and is part of the same hill chain. The S side consists of a steep cliff, while from the other sides the ascent is more gradual. Phylakas, 550 m high, provides a wide view over the bay of Mirabello. As part of his investigations at Lato in 1910, Reinach explored the flat top of 12 x 25 m and the terrace along its S side.

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[433] For examples predating the 6th century BC: P. Demargne 1929, 387-90 (nos. 11-12, 14), figs. 4-5, 7.

[434] P. Demargne 1929, 390-400 (nos. 17-37), figs. 8-14, pls. XXV:1-4, XXVI:1,3. For more precise dates of some of the individual pieces: Böhm 1990, 167-68 (nos. 60-63).

[435] P. Demargne 1929, 402-05 (nos. 44-54), fig. 15, pls. XXVII:1-8; also Boardman 1961, pl. XXVII:9-10.

[436] P. Demargne 1929, 417-19 (nos. 92-94), pls. XXIX:2-4 (females); *ibid.* 420-22 (no. 95), fig. 34 (at least 11 sphinxes); *ibid.* 422-26 (nos. 96-98), fig. 35, pls. XXX:1,3 (winged figures). Similar sphinxes from Lato, in the Ashmolean, are dated to 650-625 BC by Boardman (1961, 110, 116, no. 500, pl. XXIX).

[437] P. Demargne 1929, 427-28. Kirsten (1940b, 363-65) suggested an identification as Athena or (armoured) Aphrodite; see also Boardman 1961, 112.

[438] Chatzi-Vallianou 2000, 507-21, figs. 1-8, 10-12. For a 6th-century date of the Athena plaques, see Boardman 1961, 112.

On the terrace a small room (2.50 x 2.00 m) built of field stones and with a possible forecourt, was discovered. A second concentration of stones, at the very top, may have been an altar, although, as Reinach observed, no sherds or bones were found around it. Terracotta votives, consisting of generally coarse figurines, were found in a concentration N of the small room. The deposit as a whole was dated from 750-250 BC by Reinach, but the lack of mouldmade figurines and plaques, so abundant at other sites around Lato, was striking.[439] In a more recent article, Sakellarakis has shown that several objects from this sanctuary belong to the BA: the small structure, the *kernoi* and several of the human and bovid figurines and body parts. The topographical features of Phylakas concur with those of other Minoan peak sanctuaries.[440] Finds which may point to a cult continuing into or resumed during the EIA consist of a cylindrical female figure, several fragments of male and female figurines and perhaps also some of the fragments belonging to bovine figurines, birds and other animals.[441]

B.36-37 *Vrokastro (see also A.15); Plates 45-48*

The settlement at Vrokastro, which had been founded in the LM IIIC-SM period developed into a sizeable town during the EIA, with occupation ending in the EO period (Plates 45-46). Most of the standing remains date to the PG through EO periods. In the later part of its existence the site consisted of an upper settlement, located at the very summit and overlooking the sea, and a lower settlement to the N which may have been protected by a wall. Scattered walls and tombs of various type were also encountered further SW along the spur: at Karakovilia, where there is concomitant evidence for a sanctuary, at Mazichortia and Amigdali.[442] The results of the recently conducted survey by Hayden indicate that, although Vrokastro was the largest site, there were a number of at least partially contemporary settlements in the immediate vicinity. These include a substantial site at Ayios Phanourios to the SE and a small one with G and O pottery on the coast.[443]

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[439] Reinach 1913, 278-84, 300, fig. 1; J. Demargne 1901, pl. XXI.

[440] Sakellarakis 1970, esp. 257-58, referring to Reinach 1913, 286 (no. 2), 287-88 (nos. 6a-j), 289 (no. 11), 290 (nos. 18, 41), 291 (nos. 49, 51), 293-94 (nos. 19-20), 295 (no. 73), 296 (nos. 75-77). Accepted as a Minoan peak sanctuary by Peatfield 1983, 274 (fig. 1); see also Ducrey & Picard 1974, 77.

[441] Reinach 1913, 286 (no. 1), 288-90 (nos. 7-8, 15), 291-92 (nos. 42-48, 50, 52-56, 40?), 295 (nos. 3-4?), 295-96 (nos. 30-33?, 34, 37, 39, 54); perhaps also the male head now in the Louvre and dated to 750-700 BC by Mollard-Besques (1954, 28 [B163], pl. XXI).

[442] For the early material: Kanta 1980, 133; Hayden 1992, 289. For the spread of the habitation: E.H. Hall 1914, 84; Hayden 1983a, 367-71; *id.* 1992, 286. For

Two areas in the upper settlement of Vrokastro, Rooms 8-11 and Room 17, have yielded deposits with probable cult objects, which may well indicate the presence of one or more sanctuaries. Stratigraphic contexts are, however, not clear and the exact number and location of cult places remain disputed.

B.36 *Rooms 8-11 and Room 17 in the upper settlement*

When excavating the SW part of the upper settlement, Hall retrieved a group of possible votive objects from the area of Rooms 8, 9 and 11 (Plate 46), including a large deposit of metal finds. Interpretation is complicated by the fact that several walls have collapsed down the slope, but Complex 8-11 appears to have consisted of two sets of rooms at two terraces (8 and 11, 9 and 10), perhaps linked by a passage N of Room 10. The complex is located on the N side of a street and would have been one of the first buildings seen on entering the upper settlement via the western path. Although Rooms 8-11 share their exterior (rubble) walls with the surrounding buildings, they form a separate unit, the entrance probably having been from the street. Hayden, who compared Hall's plan to the actual remains on the site, concluded that Room 8 consisted of two parts with a stone-built bench along the E wall of Room 8b.[444]

The largest number of finds from the complex was discovered against the E wall of Room 11 (Plate 48): two terracotta horse heads (one perhaps a vase attachment), a horse figure of which joining fragments were found in Room 17 (to be discussed below), an unpainted flask, a clay lid with painted rays, and a small bronze disc (ø 9.3 cm); five bronze and two fragmentary iron spearheads were

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the possible defensive wall: Hayden 1983b, 18; *id.* 1988, 8. For the tombs (tholoi, chamber tombs, pithos burials and bone enclosures): E.H. Hall 1914, 123-74; Desborough 1964, 186; *id.* 1972a, 117.

[443] Hayden, Moody & Rackham 1992, 326-29, 338, fig. 19.

[444] E.H. Hall 1914, 101; Hayden 1983a, 377, figs. 2-3; *id.* 1991, 105-09, fig. 3. Hayden (1991, 108) refutes the suggestion by Gesell (1972, 186) that Room 11 also contained a bench.

specified as coming from below the E wall.[445] Room 9 produced a terracotta human head (probably from a male cylindrical figure, Plate 47b), a pithos, a kalathos and the horns of an agrimi.[446] Hayden suggests that the finds from the lower-lying area of Room 9 may have eroded down the slope.[447] Three animal figurines, a triton shell and animal bones were recorded by Hall as coming from upper strata in the E part of Room 8, a bronze fibula and small disc (ø 3 cm) from further W, at the same depth. The S portion of Room 8 yielded three iron blades, a fragmentary bronze fibula and an almost complete pithos.[448]

A second concentration of probable votive objects was discovered below a later wall in the S section of Room 17. For the W part of Room 17 Hall noted that the stratigraphy had been disturbed.[449] Rooms 16-17 form part of one of the largest complexes in the settlement, with Rooms 12-13 perhaps serving as ancillary areas.[450] The deposit in Room 17 contained the upper part of a male figure with a cylindrical base (Plate 47a), terracotta animal figurines (a sheep or bovine and handmade horses), fragments belonging to the horse figure from Room 11, as well as fragments of a second, similar figure, the horns of an agrimi, a triton shell, fragments of an iron bar and blade, and a glass bead.[451]

The deposits from Rooms 8-11 and 17 present a similar combination of finds, i.e. terracotta (probably male) figures, animal figurines, agrimi horns, triton shells, iron bars and blades. This may point to the same cult, characterised by a masculine or warlike aspect.[452] The occurrence of joining fragments of the same horse figure in Rooms 11 and 17 led Hall to suggest that the two concentrations represent dumps from the same sanctuary.[453] That this fill was widely dispersed she thought corroborated by the presence of other cult objects in neighbouring rooms: cups of a clay kernos in Room 21, a figurine of chariot and driver from Passageway 25, a small animal figurine from Room 27, and the head of a third, possibly female, figure from Room 26 (Plate 47c). A stone kernos, recently found at the surface, a goat figurine and another chariot driver, identified among the old excavation finds by Hayden, probably also came from somewhere in the upper settlement.[454] In addition, there were fragments of at least nine bovine figures and five bovine figurines[455] and evidence for iron working in Room 24.[456]

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[445] E.H. Hall 1914, 101-06 nos. 1-3, fig. 56A-B, F; Hayden 1991, 128-30 nos. 26-27, 32-33, figs. 10-11, pl. 53 (horses); E.H. Hall 1914, 102-04 no. 4, fig. 57E (flask), no. 5 (lid), no. 6, fig. 58H (disc), nos. 7-11, figs. 59A-D, F (spearheads).

[446] E.H. Hall 1914, 101, fig. 55B; Hayden 1991, 134 no. 39, fig. 12, pl. 55. According to Nicholls (1970, 12) the head displays 'Subminoan traits'.

[447] Hayden 1991, 109.

[448] E.H. Hall 1914, 99-101, pl. XIXb (fibula); Hayden 1991, 105.

[449] E.H. Hall 1914, 108.

[450] Hayden 1983a, 377, 385.

[451] E.H. Hall 1914, 108 no. 1, fig. 55A; Hayden 1991, 135-36 no. 41, fig. 13, pl. 56 (male figure); E.H. Hall 1914, 108-09 no. 2, fig. 56E-F; Hayden 1991, 116-17 no. 13, fig. 6, 122 no. 22A, pl. 52 (animals); E.H. Hall 1914, 109 nos. 3, 5 (iron), no. 4 (bead).

[452] Sekunda 1982, 252; Hayden 1991, 109, 143.

Hayden, however, dissociates the two deposits because of their distance and the absence of connecting corridors between the two areas. In view of its size, she considers Room 17 as a sanctuary in itself, in which a large rock outcrop may have served as a bench. Room 1 would be another possible candidate, because it is isolated, with (indirect) access from the street. Erosion would then have been responsible for the redeposition of some cult objects in adjacent areas.[457]

B.37 *Karakovilia*

A small rectangular building (*c.* 4.3 x 5.3 m), with an entrance on each short side, was discovered by Hall close to the ossuaria ('bone enclosures') at Karakovilia (Plate 45). The building stood out because of its isolated position and its construction of well-cut blocks, a quality not met in the houses of the settlement. An identification as a sanctuary is suggested by the associated finds: a terracotta stand or offering table with rosette decoration, an Atticizing MG II krater from the interior of the building and fragments of a terracotta male figurine (perhaps a warrior), a clay duck and a horse (perhaps a handle for a lid) from nearby. According to Hayden, dates of the first two figurines may range from LM III to the 8th century BC, while the horse can be dated more precisely to the G-A period.[458]

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[453] E.H. Hall 1914, 108-09; followed by Sekunda 1982, 252-53.

[454] E.H. Hall 1914, 110-11, fig. 63; Hayden 1991, 134-35 no. 40, fig. 12, pl. 55 (head); Hayden 1991, 110, 113 no. 4, fig. 4, pl. 58 (goat), 134 no. 37, fig. 11, pl. 54 (chariot).

[455] Some or all of these could belong to LM IIIC-SM, as there were also one or two terracotta Horns of Consecration of that period; see Hayden 1991, 114-26 (nos. 5-22), figs. 4-1, pls. 49-52.

[456] E.H. Hall 1914, 110-11.

[457] Hayden 1991, 109-10.

Hall suggested a cult connected with burial rites because of the close proximity of the bone enclosures. The use of the latter did probably not begin until the LPG period.[459]

B.38-40 *The Kastro, Kavousi; Plates 49-51, 76*

The Kastro at Kavousi forms a distinctive, 710 m high peak at the NW border of the Thripti mountains, E of the isthmus of Ierapetra. In the LM IIIC period a settlement was founded on the summit, which expanded in the PG and G periods, to be abandoned in the course of the O period. The site is strategically located at the start of three routes through the Thripti mountains and, to the N, overlooks the coastal route to E Crete. After visits by Evans in 1896 and 1899, who secured the illegally dug contents of one or more EIA tholos tombs for the Herakleion Museum, part of the settlement was excavated in 1900 by Boyd for the American Exploration Society. Excavation and survey by members of the American School, from 1978 onwards, have expanded knowledge of the settlement at the Kastro and of several smaller, contemporary habitation and burial sites around it.[460] According to Haggis, EIA settlements at the Kastro, Azoria and Panagia Skali formed part of an interdependent 'Kavousi group', making use of the same land and water resources.[461]

Although the settlement at the Kastro was of considerable size and might have served as a centre for the smaller settlements around it,[462] no freestanding public sanctuary has been identified within its confines. Complex 9-12W, which has been considered as the house of one of the community's leading inhabitants because of its size and the large proportion of fine pottery, has not yielded unambiguous cult equipment or votives.[463] A paved court at the top of the Kastro, 13.2 x (at least) 4.8 m, may have served as a public gathering place, but again no sanctuary or other public building has been found.[464]

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[458] E.H. Hall 1914, 170-72, figs. 104-06, pls. XXIII:2, XXIV:2; Hayden 1983a, 375, n. 17; *id.* 1991, 110-12 (no. 2), fig. 4, pl. 48 (duck), 129 (no. 31), 133 fig. 11, pl. 53 (horse), 133 (no. 34 or 35), 137, fig. 11, pl. 54 (male), 142-43. For the krater: Coldstream 1977a, 102.

[459] E.H. Hall 1914, 170; accepted by Gesell 1985, 59. For the date of the tombs: Desborough 1964, 186; *id.* 1972a, 117.

[460] Boyd 1901, 129-30; Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1992a, 120; Coulson 1998, 40.

[461] Haggis 1992, 302-312; *id.* 1993, 144-53; *id.* 1996, 408-15.

[462] Cf. Nowicki 1987b, esp. 215, 219.

B.38 *The Kastro, Room 2*

In Room 29, part of a three-room complex in the middle section of the settlement, the new excavations yielded five coarse, handmade figurines on a bench. Two of these certainly represent females, as the breasts and pubic area are clearly indicated (Plate 76). With the figurines were found two handmade cylindrical vessels, one with a lid. Other pottery associated with the complex is of LG date.[465]

B.39 *Plaï tou Kastrou*

In 1901, Boyd discovered the remains of a small building, much disturbed by ploughing, on the slope of Plaï tou Kastrou just S of the settlement peak. The structure, of which one of the walls was preserved to a length of 2.2 m, was situated on a rocky ledge of 10 x 4.5 m, some 40 m NE of the plundered tholos tomb(s) recorded by Evans. The presence of seven terracotta animals, mixed with burnt earth, charcoal and some potsherds and the character of the wall fragments led Boyd to an identification as 'small shrine' rather than another tholos tomb. Five of the terracotta animals are bull figures or figurines, while two others may depict a stag and a dog.[466] None of them has been securely dated.

Only from the saddle at the side of Plaï tou Kastrou is it relatively easy to reach the steep top of the Kastro. Although this saddle has not been excavated, surface remains seem to indicate that the settlement extended across it, probably as far as Plaï tou Kastrou.[467] Thus, the sanctuary may have been situated in an area forming the transition between settlement and burial ground. The tombs at Plaï tou Kastrou range in date from SM to EO and contained a large number of decorated vases, bronze fibulae and pins, and bronze and iron weapons and tools.[468]

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[463] Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1985, 353.

[464] From the court steps lead up into Room 1, in which a stone table with cupules was found by Boyd (1901, 141-42, fig. 7). Considered by some as *kernoi* for offerings, Boyd and the current excavators favour an interpretation as gaming table: Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1985, 333, fig. 2. See also cat. entry A.20.

[465] Catling 1987-88, 72; Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1991, 171-72; *id.* 1992a, 120; *id.* 1995, 113. The figurines lack close parallels but resemble ones found at Anavlochos: Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1988, 300, pl. 83d-g.

[466] Boyd 1901, 149-50, pl. V; Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1983, 391.

[467] Boyd 1901, 137; Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1985, 354; *id.* 1992a, 122.

B.40 *Pachlitzani Agriada*

In a gorge at the W foot of the Kastro, at a locality named Pachlitzani Agriada or Makellos, the remains of a small sanctuary (Plate 49) were exposed in the course of the laying of a water pipe in 1950. Subsequent rescue excavations were conducted by Alexiou for the Archaeological Service.[469]

Only little was preserved of the small cult building, which was situated on a rock ledge just above the streambed: *c.* 3.5 m of the E wall and 1.4 m of its return to the S, with a corner for the entrance; both walls were 0.6 m wide. The limited extent of the ledge indicated a restored size of *c.* 4.5 x 3.5 m for the whole building. The use of roughly hewn medium-size limestone blocks conforms to the masonry in the houses on the Kastro. Along the interior of the E wall was a stone-built bench (*c.* 0.4 m wide and 0.3 m high), on which were found the base and feet of a large, wheelmade terracotta human figure (Plate 50), a female figurine and a bowl with three projections at the rim. The terracotta base, 0.35 m in diameter and 0.135 m high, would have carried an almost life-size figure, presumably a cult image. The decoration of the base points to a 7th-century date.[470]

The remaining objects were not found *in situ*, but probably came from inside the building. Their dates, established on stylistic grounds, fall within the range from the PG into the CL period. The earlier date is taken as the construction date of the cult building.[471] The only bronze find, a female figurine (Plate 51a), has recently been dated to PG. A terracotta figurine of a parturient woman may belong to the PG or G period (Plate 51b), while some of the terracotta heads display a mixture of 'Subminoan' and later traits; two Daed plaques of nude females clearly belong to the 7th century BC. The neck of a larger, probably cylindrical figure with half-moon pendant remains undated.[472]

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[468] Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1983, 391; *id.* 1985, 354; Boardman 1971.

[469] Platon 1950, 533; Alexiou 1956, 7.

[470] Alexiou 1956, 7-8, 11-12, 14 (cat. nos. 6, 3, 16) fig. 1, pls. C:1, B:1, D:4. See also Gesell 1985, 57.

[471] Alexiou 1956, 9, 14; Platon 1951b, 442-43; Mazarakis Ainian 1985, 16. Drerup (1969, 8) proposed an 8th-century date.

The predominance of female figurines, one of them pregnant or parturient, has led the excavator to propose an identification of the worshipped divinity as Eileithyia, goddess of childbirth.[473]

B.41 *Siteia*

In the modern harbour town of Siteia in E Crete, a group of nearly 900 terracotta votives came to light during building activities in the years 1966-77. According to the excavator, Papadakis, these objects are of high quality and date to the G-O period, the majority being MDaed. They had been deposited in different pits, but due to the modern overbuilding no further information on the lay-out or possible architectural remains of the sanctuary could be retrieved. Part of the deposit has been preliminarily published, and a selection of finds is on display in the museums of Siteia and Ayios Nikolaos. Papadakis also lists the numerous earlier chance finds, recorded from the late 19th century onwards, which may derive from the same site. So far, there is no other evidence for EIA activity in the area of modern Siteia.[474]

According to the excavator, mouldmade female figurines and plaques are most common: of the latter the Siteia museum exhibits 10 nude polos wearing females with both hands at the breast, four nude females with bent knees (possibly of seated type), nine dressed polos wearing females with the right hand pushing up one breast, 11 robed females of kourotrophos type, 14 robed females without polos and two hands at the breasts and 15 elongated dressed females in very low relief with tall polos and arms beside the body.[475] In the same display case are *c.* 35

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[472] Naumann 1976, 94, 99, pl. 20:1; Alexiou 1956, 10-12, 14-15 no. 1, pl. A1 (bronze), no. 2, pl. A2 (parturient female), nos. 4-5, pls. B2, D2 left, D1, D2 right (heads), nos. 9-10, pls. C2 (plaques), no. 7, pl. D1 right (cylindrical figure). Also: Böhm 1990, 93, 169-70 (TK 79-80).

[473] Alexiou 1956, 15-19.

[474] Papadakis 1979, 375-77; *id.* 1980, 62 n. 2; *id.* 1983, 104-04; *id.* 1989, 121-22. Earlier finds were acquired by Mariani (1895, 175) and various local collectors. For finds from Siteia in the Louvre: Mollard-Besques 1954, 29-32 (nos. B164-66, B170, B183-84), pl. XXI.

[475] Papadakis 1980, 64-65, fig. 3. For the polos wearing types with right hand at the breast and kourotrophoi see also types from Praisos: Forster 1904-05, 245, fig. 1.

cylindrical figures, mostly of indefinite gender and without heads; in some cases the bodies have painted, linear decoration. Recurrent arm gestures correspond to those known from other 7th-century female plaques and figurines, and it may therefore be assumed that the cylindrical figures also represent females. In other cylinders, however, no attempt has been made to articulate the body or limbs; these may originally have carried the male Daed heads with tenons found in the same deposit.[476] Some 35 similar heads, varying in size, lack these projections and may have been dedications in their own right. Of less common type are the seven fine plaques of a male and female in a chariot. Both of them are depicted frontally, and clothed; the male seems to hold the female by the shoulder.[477] On display in the Ayios Nikolaos Museum is also a plaque with robed male as known from Praisos, several sherds with painted or applied snakes, and a terracotta shoe. Papadakis further mentions G anthropomorphic figurines, plaques with male figures, bird figurines and kernos fragments.[478]

Of special note are the three large LDaed terracotta heads, one of which (15.5 cm high) depicts a male with short, layered hair and low hat.[479]

B.42 *Roussa Ekklisia, Anixi*

Near the spring of Anixi, *c.* 3 km E of the modern village of Roussa Ekklisia in the Siteia mountains, illegal excavations brought to light a rich deposit of terracotta votives. Systematic investigations were conducted by Platon for the Archaeological Service in 1954 and again in 1982 by Papadakis. In the immediate environs Platon noted an 'Archaic' acropolis at Kato Lagokephalo and a fortified later settlement, called Kastri, on a hill lower down.[480]

At Anixi, Platon found numerous terracotta figurines and votive plaques, but no architecture, for which reason he speaks of an open-air sanctuary. He describes plaques with sphinxes, warriors and polos wearing figures, and fragments of kernoi. The excavations by Papadakis added plaques of a robed young man of a type also found at Vavelloi, Praisos.[481] Presently on display in the Siteia museum are two cylindrical figures (one of them robed, the other possibly with a round object in the left hand), four plaques of a robed male, part of a plaque with a helmeted male, a fragmentary plaque of a griffin or sphinx, a possible kourotrophos and at least six plaques of (nude) polos wearing females of types also known from Praisos (Vavelloi).[482]

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[476] Papadakis 1980, 64, figs. 2, 4; *id.* 1983, fig. on 102.

[477] Papadakis 1980, 65, fig. 5; *id.* 1989, 133. He considers an identification as Hades and Persephone.

[478] Papadakis 1980, 62 n. 2 (st).

[479] Papadakis 1980, 65, fig. 1.

[480] Schachermeyr (1938, 474-77) saw lamp and kernos fragments from this site in Siteia. Walter 1940, 305; Platon 1954; Papadakis 1982, 389; *id.* 1983, 86.

B.43 *Lapsanari*

In Lapsanari, located near the modern village of Achladia and known for its copious spring, terracotta votives and some pottery were found, some of which are now on display in the Siteia museum. Seven plaques of a nude female and one of a sphinx are of the same type as found at Praisos.[483] Other finds consist of a female head with polos and a worn plaque of a draped female and, possibly of later date, a one-spouted lamp and two small handmade cups. A brief find report also mentions plaques with male figures.[484]

B.44-47 *Praisos; Plates 52-54*

Mentioned as the seat of the Eteocretan ('True Cretan') population by ancient authors such as Herodotus and Strabo, Praisos, in the E part of the island, attracted scholarly attention from an early date. The remains of the ancient settlement near the Medieval village of 'Prassus' were already identified as Praisos by Venetian antiquaries (Plate 52).[485] In its greatest extent, during the CL-HL period, the settlement covered two large but steep hills, called the First and Second Acropolis. They overlook most of the valley to the N and are connected with the S hinterland by a narrow saddle or ridge. Praisos lies roughly halfway on an ancient route from the N to the

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[481] Platon 1954, 364 (not illustrated); Papadakis 1982, pl. 273b.

[482] See Halberr 1901b, pl. X:1-3.

[483] See Halbher 1901b, pl. X:1-2; Forster 1904-05, fig. 19. The female plaques come in different sizes, perhaps indicating the use of second generation moulds.

[484] Platon 1960, 261.

[485] Hdt. 7.170-71; Strabo 10.4.6-12; Eteocretans are listed among the fives peoples living on Crete by Homer (*Od.* 19.172-77). See Pashley 1837a, 290 (with refs.); Bosanquet 1901-02, 231; Whitley 1992, 256; Whitley, O' Conor & Mason 1995, 405.

S coast and has easy access to the Siteia mountains to its E.

Archaeological exploration of the site and its environs began in 1884, when Halbherr, for the American Institute, found the first of the so-called Eteocretan inscriptions on the hill S of the settlement (later named the Third Acropolis or Altar Hill). These inscriptions, dating from the 6th to the 4th century BC, are written in the Ionic Greek alphabet, but use an unknown language which may be that of the indigenous or Minoan population of the island.[486] In 1894 Halbherr undertook a small-scale excavation, hoping to uncover more inscriptions but finding two large votive deposits instead, one at the Altar Hill and another at the modern village of Vavelloi.[487] After visits by Evans, Mariani and Demargne more excavations followed, this time by Bosanquet for the British School in 1901 and 1904. He did several tests within the settlement, finding a number of possible votives and a large HL building on the First Acropolis (the Andreion or Almond Tree House), and cleared the top of the Altar Hill, which yielded more Eteocretan inscriptions and numerous cult objects. A large number of tombs SE of the site and in the surrounding area contained material ranging from the LM III to the HL period. Bosanquet further continued investigations of the votive deposit at Vavelloi and discovered another sanctuary at the Mesamvrysis spring.[488] Chance finds and rescue excavations have continued since. Most recently, in 1992, a survey of both Praisos and its wider surroundings was initiated by Whitley for the British School. A large LM IIIC-SM refuge site was discovered in the mountains at Kypia, just E of Praisos. This adds important new information on the occupation of the area, especially in the LM IIIC-SM period and the EIA. Some LM IIIC-SM and PG-O sherd material has also been identified at the two Acropoleis of Praisos.[489]

B.44 *The fourth terrace of the First Acropolis*

In a trial trench 'on the fourth terrace below and to the W of Acropolis I' Bosanquet found a 'rubbish-pit full of terra-cottas', consisting of fragments of figurines and other, unspecified, objects. The plaques were simply described as being of the same type as the ones discovered at Vavelloi (see below).[490] The precise number and dates of these votives therefore remain unknown.

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[486] Halbherr's inscription was published by Comparetti (1888, 673-76), the ones found by Bosanquet by Conway (1901-02, 141-47). For a full discussion of issues concerning the Eteocretan language: Duhoux 1982, esp. 13-24, 55-85.

[487] Halbherr 1894, 543; Halbherr 1901b, 371-72.

[488] Bosanquet 1901-02; Whitley, O' Conor & Mason 1995, 405-07.

[489] For an overview of chance finds: Whitley 1992, 256; Whitley, O' Conor & Mason 1995, 407. Preliminary reports on the survey: French 1993-94, 82-83; Tomlinson 1994-95, 70; Whitley, Prent & Thorne 1999.

B.45 *The Third Acropolis or Altar Hill*

The Third Acropolis or Altar hill is situated immediately SW of the two settlement hills. With an altitude of 325 m, it is lower than the First, but somewhat higher than the Second Acropolis. The top of the Altar hill consists of a flat area of *c.* 50 x 60 m with limestone cliffs on three sides. To the N the hill widens considerably, sloping all the way down to the western riverbed. The summit can be reached most easily via the small valley which joins it to the First Acropolis. From the published finds it appears that cult activities took place from the 8th century BC onwards.

Halbherr's excavation of 1894 revealed a probable altar roughly in the middle of the summit. Two low walls, 4.95 and 5.95 m long and built up against the limestone outcropping, enclosed an area in which Halbherr noted traces of burning, burnt bones of oxen and ram and bronze and terracotta votives. The walls were made of a single course of stones on a rubble and earth foundation.[491] Sacrificial remains contemporary with the altar were further cleared by Bosanquet in 1901. He concluded that later building activities had involved the levelling and redistribution of the G-O stratum. Information on internal stratigraphy or the original position of objects was therefore lacking. Again, the numerous terracotta and bronze votives were mixed with burnt matter and fragments of animal bone. Most popular were, according to Bosanquet, real and miniature bronze weapons and armour (Plate 53) and various kinds of terracottas, ranging in date from the 8th to the 5th century BC.[492]

The bronzes include three tripod-cauldron handles, 30-40 small bronze discs of which 11 were identified as miniature shields, part of a large shield, fragments of 13 miniature corselets and two life-size ones, at least six miniature helmets and a large Corinthian one, more than seven *mitrai*, fragments of greaves and an ankle-guard, lance and arrowheads, a fibula and a hammer head; only one figurine, a ram, was recorded.[493] Noteworthy is the identification, by Benton, of the fragments of at least two sphyrelaton statues; preserved were parts of an arm, a (male) torso and perhaps of two legs.[494]

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[490] Bosanquet 1901, 340; Forster 1901-02, 271, 280.

[491] The walls were destroyed during illegal excavations in 1896; see Halbherr 1901b, 378, fig. 6; Bosanquet 1901-02, 254; Bosanquet 1939-40, 64-66.

[492] Bosanquet 1901-02, 255-57.

Among the EIA terracotta votives are two imitation shields[495] and a number of terracotta figures, most of which however belong to the 6th and later centuries. Exceptions are some cylindrical female figures and unillustrated bull figures or figurines, which may date to the EIA. The published female figures have one or two hands below their breast and sometimes hold indistinct objects, perhaps offerings. Some of the unpublished, fragmentary, figures are said to have reached a height of 0.50 to 1.00 m. Forster, who first studied these terracottas, further stated that none of the terracotta plaques which were so numerous in the Vavelloi and Mesamvrysis deposits, occurred among the votives from the Altar Hill.[496] Despite Bosanquet's assertion that a considerable quantity of pottery was found, only two small kalathoi, sherds of a LG jar, two amphorae, and pithos fragments with concentric circles were described or illustrated.[497]

The wealth of finds, especially in bronze, and the discovery of several (later) terracottas and inscriptions led the early excavators to the conclusion that the Altar Hill had been the principal sanctuary for the inhabitants of the area around Praisos. Halbherr suspected an earlier, prehistoric or 'primitive Eteocretan' settlement on the Altar Hill: this would have been abandoned and subsequently turned into a sanctuary, with cult being practised 'in the midst of the wildness of nature'.[498] Bosanquet concurred by suggesting that the Altar Hill might have served as a sanctuary for a pastoral community living in scattered villages in the surrounding mountains.[499] Preliminary results of the current survey indicate, however, that at least portions of the CL-HL Acropoleis were inhabited during PG-G times, and perhaps as early as the LM IIIC-SM period. It further seems that there was substantial settlement during the 7th century BC, the period to which most of the EIA votives from the Altar Hill belong. Bosanquet's map indicates a 'Hellenic' structure (without further discussion) on the N slope of the Altar Hill; it has now been associated with pithos sherds of probable 7th-century date.[500]

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[493] Benton (1939-40b) advocated a date in the 7th century BC for most bronzes, but this has been raised since: see the discussion in the section on metal votives, p. 369-70. Handles: Halbherr 1901b, 383, fig. 12; Bosanquet 1901-02, 259; Benton 1939-40a, 56 (no. 1), pl. 32; Richter 1953, 26 n. 29, pl. 17f. Discs: Bosanquet 1901-02, 258, pl. X; Benton 1939-40a, 56. Shield: Bosanquet 1901-02, 258-59. Corselets: Halbherr 1901b, 384, fig. 13; Bosanquet 1901-02, 258; Benton 1939-40a, 56-57 (nos. 2-16), pls. 31-32. Helmets: Bosanquet 1901-02, 258, pl. X; Benton 1939-40a, 57 (nos. 17-23), pls. 31-32. Mitrai: Bosanquet 1901-02, 258, pl. X; Benton 1939-40a, 57 (nos. 24-27). Greaves etc.: Bosanquet 1901-02, 258-59; Snodgrass 1964, 87-88. Figurine: Halbherr 1901b, 383. Fibula: Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1978, 18.

[494] The length of the legs indicates it was smaller than the kouros from Dreros: Benton 1939-40a, 57-58 (nos. 31-33), pl. 31. According to Snodgrass (1964, 87-88), however, these 'legs' are miniature greaves.

[495] Bosanquet 1901-02, 256, 258, pl. X.

[496] Bosanquet 1901, 340; Halbherr 1901b, 380-83, figs. 7-8; Forster 1901-02, 272, 275-76, 278, figs. 2-3.

[497] Bosanquet 1901-02, 256; Droop 1905-06, 39, 41-42 and figs. 18-20; Halbherr 1901b, 383 and fig. 11.

Bosanquet assigned the cult place at the Altar Hill to Dictaean Zeus, since one of the sanctuaries of this deity was, according to Strabo, situated at or near the city of Praisos. He saw this identification confirmed by the votive weaponry and in particular by the small bronze discs, interpreted as cymbals used in the ecstatic cult dance of the Kouretes—the terracotta lions (of a later date) perhaps indicating that Rhea was worshipped beside her son.[501]

B.46 *The votive deposit at Vavelloi*

A large votive deposit was located *c.* 0.9 km SW of the First Acropolis, at the Turkish fountain below the modern village of Vavelloi. Hundreds of terracotta votives were excavated, first by Halbherr in 1894 and subsequently by Bosanquet in 1901. In the intermediate years illicit digging yielded many more terracottas, which became dispersed over various private and museum collections.[502] No architectural remains were discovered. During the 1998 survey the site was relocated, and additional votive material was collected, both of known and of new types.

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[498] Halbherr 1901b, 372-73, 379.

[499] Bosanquet 1901-02, 257; *id.* 1909-10, 281; *id.* 1939-40, 64-66. See also Whitley, O' Conor & Mason 1995, 407.

[500] Pers. study of the survey material. Tests by Bosanquet failed to detect any ancient structures in the valley between the Third and the First Acropolis: Bosanquet 1901-02, 234, pl. VII.

[501] Bosanquet 1939-40, 65-66. Also Meyer 1974a, 469. The 6th-century terracotta figure of a young male was interpreted as a cult image of the god by Forster (1901-02, 272-75).

[502] A large number was bought by the then bishop of Ierapetra, Ambrosios, and donated to the Museum in Herakleion; these are included in articles by Forster (1901-02; 1904-05). For ones in private collections and foreign museums: see Forster 1901-02, 280; Hall Dohan 1931, 209-28; Knoblauch 1937, 117, 119 (nos. 6-8, 21, 26-29); Higgins 1954, 157-64 (nos. 575-87, and perhaps nos. 602, 604-05).

The early excavation reports mention the presence in the deposit of fragmentary clay 'free figures', but without further illustrating or describing them. Perhaps they are similar to the cylindrical figures found at the Altar Hill. They appear to have been outnumbered by the series of mouldmade figurines and plaques (Plate 54), which consist of at least 30 different varieties and continue down to HL times. Many of the terracottas were broken—perhaps deliberately to prevent their reuse—and hardly any preserved traces of paint. Some of the plaques had suspension holes.[503]

There are numerous plaques depicting nude warriors with helmets, spears and shields; they are 22-27 cm high and come from at least three different moulds (Plate 54a).[504] A figure of a male with an unusual, sleeved calf-long chiton, of which more than 50 specimens are known (Plate 54b), has been interpreted as a charioteer or a priest but may simply represent a votary in ritual dress. Less frequent is a frontal male, nude but for a belt. A fragment of another plaque preserves a male who was probably flanked by another figure, their arms extended around each other's neck.[505] A couple consisting of a frontal, robed female held by the wrist by a male to her right, occurs only once.[506] In the group of plaques depicting female figures the frontal, polos-wearing nude is most common (Plate 54c). She occurs in different varieties, with both arms adhering to the body and thighs, with two hands at the breasts or with one hand at the womb. One of the plaques depicting a nude female without polos bears a short inscription.[507] The draped variety of the frontal female occurs less often: one type, of which only one or two examples have been found, has both hands at the breast. A number of rather worn ones of a robed female appear to be of kourotrophos type.[508] Also rare is the female with a flaring robe and a round object suspended from her neck by a cord. This may represent a tympanon.[509] Other plaques depict a centaur dipping a vessel into a large amphora, the hind parts of two probable centaurs, sphinxes, griffins, a lotus and palmette, and a lion.[510] During the 1998 survey several fragments of miniature cups and kernoi were noted, as well as a fragment of a possible architectural terracotta with an applied snake.

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[503] Halbherr 1901b, 385; Forster 1901-02, 280-81; *id.* 1904-05, 243-44.

[504] Halbherr 1901b, 390, fig. 19, pl. XII:3; Forster 1904-05, 247-48 (nos. 10-11). Hall Dohan (1931, 212-14) proposed a date late in the 8th century BC, which was initially accepted by Higgins (1954, 10, 157-58 (nos. 575-81)). The use of the mould, however, points to a date of 700-675 BC; see Boardman 1961, 109; Higgins 1967, 28.

[505] Robed male: Halbherr 1901b, 389; Forster 1901-02, 280; *id.* 1904-05, 246-47; Higgins 1954, 159 (no. 582); Hall Dohan 1931, 215; Boardman 1961, 110, 115 (no. 499), pl. XXIX, who dates this type slightly later than scholars before him, i.e. to 630-600 BC. Male with belt: J. Demargne 1902, 572, fig. 572; Forster 1904-05, 248-49 (no. 12), fig. 5; Mollard-Besques 1954, 30 (no. B172), pl. XXII. Two figures: J. Demargne 1902, 573-74 (no. 2), fig. 2; Forster 1904-05, 246-47, fig. 3; Mollard-Besques 1954, 30 (no. B168), pl. XXI; she also points to a similar plaque from Xerolimni, illustrated by Levi (1927-29, 542-43, fig. 610), in which the gender of both figures appears more clearly.

[506] J. Demargne 1902, 573-74, fig. 2.

B.47 *The votive deposit at Mesavrysis*

In 1901 Bosanquet unearthed a votive deposit at the spring called Mesamvrysis or 'tou Tzanní i Flega', *c.* 1.5 km SE of the major settlement. This perennial spring until very recently supplied the water for most of the surrounding fields and gardens. Its importance in ancient times is indicated by the fact that the water was piped all the way along the hill slopes to the foot of the First Acropolis. The course of the ancient (but not precisely datable) terracotta water line could still be traced in Bosanquet's days. Bosanquet also mentioned a small CL temple just above the spring, which no longer seems to exist.[511]

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[507] Halbherr 1901b, 385, pl. X:1-4,6; Forster 1904-05, 244-45 (nos. 1-3); Hall Dohan 1931, 219, fig. 5; Higgins 1954, 160 (nos. 585-87), pl. 76. The inscribed plaque was published but not actually found by Halbherr; he proposed a 7th-century BC date (1901b, 386) which was accepted by Jeffery (1990, 316). See also Böhm 1990, 73 (TK 41, 102, 112), pls. 28g, 29c.

[508] Halbherr 1901b, 387, pl. X:5; Forster 1904-05, 245-46, figs. 1-2. Hall Dohan (1931, 221, fig. 26) thought she was holding a lion.

[509] Forster 1904-05, 247-48 (no. 9), fig. 4; Halbherr 1901b, 390-91, fig. 21. Hall Dohan (1931, 221-22) points to the use of tympana in Near Eastern cult, which she believes was transferred to Crete in the Bronze Age; Riis (1949, 70, 85 n. 12) lists a number of Near Eastern terracotta reliefs with women drummers.

[510] Halbherr 1901b, 391, fig. 22; J. Demargne 1902, 567, 578, fig. 3; Forster 1904-05; 255-57 (nos. 32-35), figs. 18-20; Mollard-Besques 1954, 31-32 (nos. B180-82), pls. XXII-XXIII. For the lion (said to be from Praisos): Mariani 1895, 34, fig. 10.

[511] Bosanquet 1901-02, 236. His reasons for assigning this structure to the CL period are not stated. This sanctuary could not be relocated during the recent survey, despite repeated efforts.

Of the votive deposit only three terracotta figures with cylindrical bodies were illustrated. Other terracottas, of which the total number remains unknown, were said to be in a fragmentary state. The published ones appear to represent females and have one or two hands at the chest, or carry offerings such as pomegranates. Their jewellery—bracelets, necklaces and earrings—is elaborate. One of them is no less tall than 0.44 m.[512]

B.48 *Itanos*

Ancient Itanos is located on the NE coast of the Toplou peninsula, in the area of modern Erimoupolis. It was identified by Halbherr in 1891.[513] After brief excavations for the French School in 1899 by J. Demargne and in 1950 by Gallet de Santerre, Dessene and Deshayes, investigations of the site and its environs were resumed by a team of French, Italian and Greek scholars in 1994.[514]

Signs of habitation from the G into the Late R or Byz period have been found on three neighbouring hills and in the areas in between. The two smallest hills are called the East and West Acropolis and have harbours to the S and N. G and HL cemeteries are situated to the N and NW. The southern and largest hill, 61 m high, extends as far S as the bay of Vaï and was surrounded by an impressive megalithic wall with several towers, probably of late CL or HL date.[515] Most other standing remains date to the HL-R and later periods. Unstratified G-O sherds, indicative of occupation of that period, were found on the East Acropolis during the 1950 campaign.[516]

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[512] Forster 1901-02, 278-80, figs. 5-7. A fourth figure was illustrated by Barnett (1948, 17-18, fig. 16), who suggested it was a Lydian import; this has been refuted by Boardman (1961, 149.)

[513] Halbherr 1891, 203. Before that, the visible ancient remains had been described by Spratt (1865a, 192-205). Itanos is mentioned by Herodotus (4.151) as the home of the purple fisher Korobios who guided a group of colonists from Thera to Cyrene in North Africa; see Kalpaxis, Schnapp & Viviers 1995, 713.

[514] Of the earlier campaigns only preliminary reports were published, with emphasis on the inscriptions: J. Demargne 1900, 238-41; E.F. 1951, 190-98; Gallet de Santerre 1951; Deshayes 1951. For the new investigations: Kalpaxis, Schnapp & Vivier 1995, 714-17; Greco *et al.* 1996.

[515] Kalpaxis, Schnapp & Viviers 1995, 713-14, 730-31.

[516] Deshayes 1951; E.F. 1951, 193.

B.48 *Vamies*

A sanctuary has been identified across the small plain W of the settlement, on the low knoll of Vamies at the foot of a larger hill chain. There is a rectangular megalithic building (*c.* 5.20 x 8.60 m) which, in view of the many known parallels in the area, may have a BA origin. It is surrounded by terrace walls of similar construction and reached via an ancient road. On the surface around the megalithic building many HL pot and lamp fragments were found, but also some mouldmade female figurines of probable 7th-century date.[517]

B.49 *Zakros, tou Koukou to Kephali*

Immediately S of the modern village of Upper Zakros are the scant and only superficially investigated remains of a possibly BA and G-O site. It was first described by Evans in 1894, who noted BA pottery on the Koukou tou Kephali and on the neighbouring hill Anthropolithous. G sherds were reported by subsequent visitors including Hogarth and Schachermeyr.[518]

In a small test excavation on the Koukou to Kephali for the British School in 1901, Hogarth found G pottery, a seal stone, terracotta animal figurines and two 7th-century clay plaques depicting a robe-wearing male of a type common at Vavelloi (Praisos). Nothing is known about the find circumstances or possibly associated architecture. The vestiges, mentioned by Hogarth, of a substantial building on the SW side of the hill were probably those of the BA complex excavated under Platon in 1964-65. Near the settlement, Hogarth further excavated two G burial caves, containing some 85 vases and several bronze pins and fibulae.[519] Later chance finds from the Koukou include an enthroned figurine in terracotta and another one perhaps with raised arms.[520]

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[517] Kalpaxis, Schnapp & Viviers 1995, 734-36, figs. 16-17; Greco *et al.* 1996, 950, fig. 1.

[518] For Evans' notes: Brown & Peatfield 1987, 23-26. Hogarth 1900-01, 147; Schachermeyr 1938, 477, fig. 2:5; also Pendlebury 1939, 315, 326.

[519] Hogarth 1900-01, 147-48; Forster 1901-02, 280; Pendlebury 1939, 343. Platon 1971, 70-71.

[520] Platon & Davaras 1961-62, 290.

3. Catalogue B (part two): PG-O Extra-Urban Sanctuaries

The second part of catalogue B describes the EIA sanctuaries which, in contrast to the sites included in the first part, cannot be easily connected with one particular settlement. In terms of connecting routes and visibility, their associations are often not immediately clear. As with the suburban sanctuaries, absolute distances between extra-urban sanctuaries and the nearest settlement are not considered a decisive criterion. Such distances vary from only *c.* 3 km (as the crow flies) in the case of Ayia Triada (B.56) and Phaistos, to 12 km between the Idaean cave (B.52) and Oaxos. Despite such ambiguity in location, extra-urban sanctuaries may of course have had close ties with a certain community, but the implication is that a regional or even interregional function should at least be considered as a possibility for many of them.

Of the 20 extra-urban sanctuaries to be discussed here, six appear to be new foundations—a small proportion when compared to the number of urban and suburban cult places that were newly established in this period. Four of the new extra-urban sanctuaries have a coastal location: the Diktynneion (B.50), Kommos (B.57), Amnisos (B.60) and Palaikastro (B.69).[521]

The remaining 14 EIA extra-urban sites had already served as cult places in earlier periods. In several cases, however, evidence for cult activities is restricted to the earlier phases of the BA, without firm indications for the continuation of cult activities from the LBA into the EIA. Although the possibility of a temporary interruption in use should not be excluded, the frequent incompleteness of research and publication suggests that there may simply be a gap in our knowledge. Continuous cult activities from the LBA and earlier into the EIA should be considered proven at nine extra-urban sanctuaries, all of them situated inland: Patsos (B.51), the Idaean cave (B.52), Tylisos (B.53), Mount Jouktas (B.54), Ayia Triada (B.56), Mount Kophinas (B.58), the Phaneromeni cave (B.63), the Psychro cave (B.65) and Syme (B.66).

B.50 *Rodopou: the Diktynneion*

At the NE tip of the elongated and mountainous peninsula of Rodopou, in NW Crete, are the remains of a long-known but hardly investigated sanctuary, the Diktynneion. Taking its name from the indigenous deity Diktynna, the identification is based on the descriptions of its characteristic topographical setting by ancient authors and HL-R inscriptions which were primarily found in villages further away.[522] The Diktynneion is reached more easily by sea than by the more than 16 km long path approaching the sanctuary from the S. The Menies bay directly NW of the sanctuary forms a harbour which is small but well-protected from the fierce NW winds. It used to provide shelter for ships sailing to Crete from the Peloponnesian coast and the Aegean.[523] The Rodopou peninsula has not been surveyed systematically, but the rough terrain makes it improbable that it ever sustained a substantial population.[524]

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[521] The other two are Sta Lenika (B.67) and Prophitis Elias near Praisos (B.68).

The Diktynneion was visited and described by several early travellers such as Pococke and Spratt, but the only archaeological investigations were undertaken by the German archaeologists Welter and Jantzen in 1942.[525] Although focusing on the monumental HL-R temple, their brief exploration yielded some (mostly unpublished) earlier finds, among which was G sherd material from the 9th or 8th century BC. The presence, on the surface, of fragments of a terracotta sima with braided band in relief may point to the existence of a cult building as early as the 7th or 6th century BC.[526]

B.51 *The Patsos cave (see also A.23); Plate 55*

The recent synthesis by Kourou and Karetsou of the results of earlier explorations of the Patsos cave (going back to the early 1880s), makes it clear that cult extended from the LM III and perhaps LM I period into the EIA. Votives of the latter period were, as in LM IIIC-SM, probably deposited both inside the rock shelter and on the terrace in front of it.[527]

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[522] Gondicas 1988, 286, 290-95, 2.36-38.

[523] Welter & Jantzen 1951, 106; Gondicas 1988, 287. In R times a road was built which probably crossed the whole peninsula; see Sanders 1982, 174.

[524] N, BA and R material, reported by Faure, is confined to the area around modern Rodopos, at the foot of the peninsula, and to a cave one hour N of Gonia: Faure 1956, 99; *id.* 1958, 497-98; see also Gondicas 1988, 286.

[525] For a history of research see Welter & Jantzen 1951, 107-08.

[526] Welter & Jantzen 1951, 114, 116. Gondicas (1988, 289 n. 2) and Andreadaki-Vlasaki (1991, 420) opt for an 8th-century date of the sherds.

[527] Faure 1964, 138; Tyree 1974, 47; Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 84, 150-51, 163.

The principal types of votives known from the LM III period continued to be dedicated, but there may have been a slight change of emphasis. The category of large clay animal figures is still represented, though their number is much smaller than before: there is a bovid of PG date and a wild goat of the G period.[528] Terracotta Horns of Consecration are no longer dedicated.

As in the LM IIIC-SM period, there is a variety of animal figurines: in clay three bovids, three agrimia and one ram and in bronze another agrimi, all of PG date.[529] The same species are represented in the G-O period,[530] with a relatively large proportion of bronzes belonging to the 8th century BC. These include, apart from bovids, a pig and a bird figurine; one ram was made of lead.[531] An aspect that appears to become more pronounced or explicit in the EIA is that of human fertility. To the PG period belong a terracotta figurine of an embracing couple,[532] a bronze ithyphallic figurine, a bronze female and two bronze figurines of indeterminate gender.[533] Of G-O date are two bronze nude males with pronounced sexual organs (Plate 55a-b), one perhaps a warrior, a bronze female with one hand at the pubic area and the torso of a male terracotta figurine.[534]

Remaining finds consist of a bronze fibula, possibly of G date, and an Attic sherd with PG decoration which may have belonged to an open-work stand.[535] A preliminary report on the most recent excavations mentions the discovery in front of the cave of (undated) human and animal figurines, bones and horn cores and fine pottery. There were also a number of cuttings in the bedrock with burnt remains, some bone and sherds, including of G date.[536]

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[528] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 91, figs. 10-11, pls. 17-18 (no. 9), 100, pls. 38-39 (no. 17), 125-27, 159-60.

[529] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 118-19, pls. 49-50, 56 (bulls, nos. 27-28, 34), 106, 110, pls. 62-63, 80 (agrimia nos. 42-43, 61), 107, pl. 68 (ram, no. 48), 120 (bronze agrimi, no. 97), 137-40, 161.

[530] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 103, pls. 51-52 (bulls nos. 29-30), 106, pl. 64 (agrimi no. 44), 108, pls. 72-74 (unknown species, nos. 51-53), 110, fig. 25 (ram? no. 62), 161. Votives of the 7th-century are not separately listed by Kourou & Karetsou but included in one broad 'Archaic' group; see Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 157.

[531] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 119-21 (nos. 92, 95, 99, 101, 106), 159-60, 163. See also Boardman 1961, 77-78 (nos. 373-75); Pilali-Papesteriou 1985, 57-58 (nos. 129, 131), 88-89 (no. 219), 93 (no. 233), pls. 12, 21-22.

[532] It is similar to those found in larger quantities in the Eileithyia cave of Tsoutsouros. Boardman 1961, 78; Kanta 1980, 205, fig. 85; Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 86, pls. 5a-d (no. 3), 159.

[533] Verlinden 1984, 216, 219 (nos. 202, 220-21); Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 118-19, pls. 95, 98 (nos. 83, 86-88), 162.

[534] Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 118-19, pls. 96-97 (males, nos. 84-85), 119 (female, no. 89); *ibid.* 86, pls. 6a-b (clay male, no. 4). Verlinden 1984, 219 (nos. 227-29).

B.52 *The Idaean cave (see also A.24): Plates 13, 56-61*

As in the LM IIIC-SM period, there are in the EIA no contemporary settlements known in the immediate environs of the Idaean cave, which lies at the considerable altitude of 1500 m. The nearest site with EIA habitation is probably Oaxos in the lower mountains to the N, while in the foothills to the E Prinias, Krousonas and perhaps Tylisos formed major centres of habitation. The size and character of the EIA votive assemblage warrant the conclusion that the Idaean cave served, at least from the G period onwards, as an interregional sanctuary for many different communities.[537] As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Idaean cave was identified in HL-R times as the birth place of Cretan Zeus (the *Idaean Antron*). The well-known bronze tympanon (Plate 57) is considered by many to illustrate the myth of the birth of Zeus, representing the deity with attendant Kouretes clashing tympana to hide the infant Zeus' wailing from his father Kronos.[538]

From the recent preliminary excavation reports by Sakellarakis, it is clear that cult activities in the Idaean cave continued without interruption from at least the MM III-LM I through the LM IIIC-SM periods into the EIA. Certain changes can be detected, however, one of which is the disappearance of the characteristic terracotta bull figures and Horns of Consecration from the votive repertoire.[539] Finds from the PG period are only mentioned in general terms.[540] In the succeeding 8th and 7th centuries BC, there is a vast increase in number and variety of votive offerings. Although the same phenomenon is attested in other sanctuaries of this period, the Idaean cave stands out because of the unparalleled quantity and wealth of votives, making it the richest sanctuary of the island.

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[535] Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1978, 20-21; Kourou & Karetsou 1994, 116, figs. 32-33, pl. 90 (no. 74), 121 (no. 105), 161.

[536] Blackman 1997-98, 127.

[537] See the discussion in section 9 of this chapter, p. 559-604.

[538] Kunze 1931, 32 (no. 74), pl. 49; Dunbabin 1957, 41; Boardman 1961, 151; *id.* 1970, 17; Muscarella 1970, 121; Blome 1982, 65; Markoe 1985, 111; Burkert 1985, 262; *id.* 1992, 16, 21-22.

[539] The Horns of Consecration have been dated to 'LM IIIC to PG'; see Mylonas 1985b, 82.

[540] E.g. Sakellarakis 1987b, 250.

During the EIA cult activities took place inside the cave and outside (Plate 13), around the large rock-cut altar. In both areas, ash and charcoal fragments were mixed with animal and bird bones and votives from the G, O and later periods.[541] Despite severe disturbance from antiquity onwards, several untouched pockets have been isolated by the present excavator. Once study of the new excavations is completed, understanding of cult and votary practices in the cave may be greatly enhanced.[542] Pending such synthesis, only a general overview of the types of votives can be given with little spatial or chronological differentiation.

According to Sakellarakis, bronzes are more numerous than any other type of votive, including terracotta objects.[543] At least 57 decorated relief shields have been published from the old excavations alone (Plates 56, 58-59). They consist of two principal groups: ones with large lion and other protomes, which—like the tympanon mentioned above—have clear Assyrian connections, and the slightly less elaborate *omphalos* shields. Frequently depicted themes are hunting scenes, with lions and mythical creatures, and animal friezes with the regular appearance of a frontal, nude female figure.[544] Another complete shield, of the *omphalos type*, was retrieved by Sakellarakis from a mixed layer in the interior of the cave.[545] Small metal 'discs' occur in bronze, in gold and perhaps in terracotta; a bronze example depicts a running male figure with winged shoes.[546] No other types of armour have been noted, in life-size or in miniature form.

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[541] Platon 1956b, 410; Sakellarakis 1988b, 193. For recent excavations in front of the cave: Sakellarakis 1984, 589-91.

[542] Sakellarakis 1988b, 192; *id.* 1992, 113.

[543] See Mylonas 1983, 94.

[544] Halbherr & Orsi 1888; Kunze 1931, 6-30 (nos. 1-7, 10, 12-13, 15bis-28, 30-39, 41-54, 57-58, 63-68), 52-68. For a discussion of the dates of these shields, see section 4 in this chapter, p. 369-70.

[545] Mylonas 1984b, 108, fig. 146; Sakellarakis 1984, 537-40, fig. 2, pls. 241b, 242; *id.* 1987b, 253. For fragments of newly found shields, some with figurative representations: Sakellarakis 1983, 435; *id.* 1984, 516, 525; Mylonas 1986, 145-46.

[546] Halbherr 1888b, 711-17; Sakellarakis 1983, 438, fig. 260a; Mylonas 1986, 145, fig. 130. Sakellarakis (1983, 469) mentions G 'lids'. See also Lebessi 1985b, 233, pl. 55.

Comparable in style and technique to the large shields are a bronze vase in the shape of a human head and fragments of other figure-vases (perhaps owls)[547] as well as six bronze bowls listed by Kunze, two of which are Phoenician imports.[548] The recent excavations have added a 7th-century bronze bowl with bulls in relief, and fragments of others with animal protomes such as lion and deer.[549] Among the large bronzes are also fragments of open-work figurative stands, one found by Halbherr with a warrior and female figure on a boat, and wheels of other Cypriot-type bronze stands.[550] Parts of at least 35 tripods-cauldrons have been published (Plates 60-61), some of them with small horses on the handles. There are miniature ones in bronze, sheet bronze (on a wooden core), one in sheet gold and others in clay, including one with griffin protome.[551]

In addition, there are several smaller bronze jugs and other vessels, ranging in date from the PG to the EO period,[552] as well as six 7th-century one-handled bronze cups[553] and several fragments which may have belonged to sphyrelaton statues of both human and animal form.[554] G/O bronze figurines consist of 12 anthropomorphic figurines (six male and six female) and 65 animal figurines (including bovids).[555] In personal ornaments there is a variety of fibulae and pins,[556] elaborate gold jewellery and many beads, including some of amber.[557] Several LG pieces of sheet gold with warriors and other decoration may have coated wooden objects.[558] In iron, there are only arrow and lance heads, and nails and pins of unknown date.[559] A silver-coated knuckle bone also deserves mention.[560]

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[547] Kunze 1931, 32-35 (nos. 74bis, 86-87); Boardman 1961, 80-84, 87 (no. 378), fig. 35, pl. XXVII.

[548] Kunze 1931, 31-32 (nos. 69-73), pls. 44, 47-48; Markoe 1985, 113-14; Stampolides & Karetsou 1998, 237 (no. 284), 240 (no. 290), 242 (no. 296), 246 (no. 302), 247-50 (no. 306-08, 310-11).

[549] Sakellarakis 1983, 435-36, figs. 259a-b, 438, fig. 1, pl. 261a; *id.* 1987b, 251.

[550] Halbherr 1888b, 727-32; Boardman 1961, 132, fig. 49a; Sakellarakis 1983, 438-39, fig. 260b; *id.* 1984, 549; Mylonas 1986, 146, fig. 135.

[551] Maass 1977, 52-57 (nos. 1-2, 5-6, 8, 10-12, 14-15, 17-27, 29-33, 37-44), figs. 1-2, pls. 13, 15-25, 27. For one in Oxford with a horse handle: Boardman 1961, 60-62, 79, 86-87 (no. 377), pl. XXVII. Sakellarakis 1988b, 174-77, figs. 1-3.

[552] Stampolides & Karetsou 1998, 228-31 (nos. 268-69, 271-73).

[553] Boardman 1961, 84-87 (no. 379), fig. 36, pl. XXIX.

[554] Boardman 1961, 86-88 (no. 380), fig. 36, pl. XXIX. A possible sphyrelaton is also mentioned by Sakellarakis (1983, 478-79), as well as pieces of larger bronze figures without further specification or date (in Mylonas 1983, 94). Animals: Sakellarakis 1983, 474.

[555] Lagogianni-Georgiakarakou 2000; Schürmann 1996, 193, fig. 2.

[556] Sakellarakis 1983, 463, 474-75; *id.* 1984, 566, pl. 248c. For fibulae from the old excavations: Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1978, 19, 58 (no. 337), 65 (no. 532), 76-

The new excavations have multiplied the number of ivory fragments known from the old excavations. Together they form at least 91 different objects, thus constituting the largest group of 8th-century ivory objects in the Aegean.[561] They include human figurines (the largest of which would have been *c.* 0.28 m tall), animals and birds, vessels, cut-outs (one of them a *Potnia Theron*) and inlays, implements, stands, pins, combs, beads and seals. The staves, pommels and several of the female figurines probably formed handles of North-Syrian fly-whisks and may have been decorated with different colours and gold foil.[562] Other ivories were also imported from North Syria (such as the cylindrical pyxides), while an equally large group (including inlays for wooden furniture) came from Phoenicia. A smaller number may have originated in Egypt.[563] Seven LG rectangular ivory seals, on the other hand, constitute a distinct non-oriental, Cretan group; six of these depict horse riders.[564] Faience objects consist of thousands of faience beads, several seals and scarabs and figurines and vessels, including a lion vase.[565]

Among the few EIA terracotta votives is an unparalleled anthropomorphic (male) vase with a faience eye of LG date,[566] while fig-

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77 (nos. 841, 853-54), 96-97 (no. 1338), 107 (no. 1497), 113 (no. 1542).

[557] Levi 1945, 313-29; Mylonas 1983, 94, figs. 125-26; *id.* 1984b, 110, fig. 147; Sakellarakis 1984, 516, pl. 239b, 557, pl. 245b; *id.* 1988b, 182-87, figs. 18-19, 21-22.

[558] Mylonas 1984b, 110, fig. 150; *id.* 1986, 145, fig. 129; Sakellarakis 1984, 520, pl. 239d, 546, pl. 244b; *id.* 1987b, 250-51; *id.* 1988, 177-81, figs. 8-17.

[559] Halbherr 1888b, 764; Sakellarakis 1983, 435-36; *id.* 1984, 531, 587, pl. 249b.

[560] Sakellarakis 1988b, 188-89, figs. 25-28.

[561] The dating of the ivories is based on stylistical analysis: Sakellarakis 1990, 348; *id.* 1992, 115. For the ivories from the old excavations: Kunze 1935-36, 218-33.

[562] Sakellarakis 1984, 519, fig. 1, 559-62, figs. 6-7, pls. 246-47; *id.* 1992, 113-14; Stampolides & Karetsou 1998, 270-72 (nos. 339-41, 343).

[563] There are close parallels with both the Loftus and the Layard group from Nimrud: Sakellarakis 1990, 348-49, 355; *id.* 1992, 113-15.

[564] The only parallel is from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary at Sparta; see Mylonas 1983, 95-96, fig. 128; Sakellarakis 1987, 251, fig. 11; *id.* 1992, 115-16.

[565] Sakellarakis 1983, 478, fig. 8i, pls. 275b, 277b; *id.* 1984, 545; *id.* 1987b, 250. For the lion vase: Boardman 1961, 62.

[566] Sakellarakis 1983, 462, pl. 272b; *id.* 1987b, 250.

urines include horses, bulls and a goat.[567] The described pottery consists of G cups, a kalathos, a small jug, an EO tray and many 'urns', perhaps for solid offerings.[568]

B.53 *Tylisos (see also A.2)*

As discussed in the previous chapter, the history of Tylisos, in the NE foot hills of the Psiloritis, is not entirely clear for the period after the BA. Claims by Chatzidakis, who first excavated at the site from 1909-13, that occupation lasted into the R period have not been substantiated.[569] Kanta has reported EPG material from a stratigraphical test done at the site in 1971 and chance finds from nearby may also belong to the EIA.[570]

In the area of BA Building C and the LM III paved area and cistern, in which possible LM IIIC-SM votives were found, Chatzidakis uncovered the remains of a 'Greek' sanctuary. Two stone column bases, placed in carefully constructed foundation trenches at the level of the top of the BA walls, may have formed part of a temenos or a building. These bases do not belong to any of the known Greek orders and probably carried wooden columns. With a diameter of *c.* 0.75 m they are similar to, but larger than the 7th century BC bases from Prinias.[571] The ones from Tylisos were associated with sherd material and two terracotta 'korai' which remain unpublished.[572] At the NW corner of Building C were found a rectangular stone-built altar and part of a paved area, bordered by a wall to the W and S. This altar measures *c.* 4.80 x 3.00 m and has a stepped W side. Ash, undated sherds and terracotta animal figurines were found on the altar itself and a few bronze figurines on the paving. A group of a male and bovid may have belonged to a Cypriot-type bronze stand, dating to the EIA.[573] G material was mentioned (but not illustrated) by Chatzidakis when he claimed cult continuity from the BA to the Roman period.[574]

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[567] Sakellarakis 1983, 458, 465-66, 476, pl. 278a; *id.* 1984, 514-15, 519.

[568] Sakellarakis 1983, 460; *id.* 1984, 586-87, pl. 250b; *id.* 1988b, 190-91, figs. 29-34.

[569] Chatzidakis 1934, 109-10.

[570] Kanta 1980, 13. PG pottery from Tylisos was also mentioned by Hall 1914, 130. For a LM III or EIA cremation: Marinatos 1931, 112-18; Desborough 1952, 255-56; Kanta 1980, 10-11.

[571] Chatzidakis 1934, 66-68, pls. X:2, XIV:1, XXXIII. A LM III or 'Mycenaean' date for the column bases, as suggested by Platon, has not been accepted: see Hayden 1984, 45-46 (with full refs.).

[572] Chatzidakis 1934, 109.

B.54 *Mount Jouktas (see also A.25); Plate 14*

At the prominent summit of Mount Jouktas (Plate 14), S of Knossos, cult was continued uninterruptedly from the LBA and LM IIIC-SM periods into the EIA. Pottery and votives from that period have been reported from different areas of the sanctuary by the present excavator, Karetsou. As in the previous period, reuse was made of Neopalatial structures.[575]

An earlier earth floor in Room III, E of the two large terraces with the stepped altar, was cut by two pits with ash and LG cup fragments. The mixed fill over this floor yielded more LG pottery and votives, including the heads of three clay bull figurines and a bone pin.[576] Other EIA finds came from the fill above the rooms, which probably derives from the hypaethral area of the terraces.[577] PG material is scarce but present, in the form of sherds of small, one-handled cups. LG pottery is abundant, with an apparent predominance of cups. Other cups were of EO date.[578] The EIA votives referred to appear to consist primarily of animal figurines.[579] Specifically mentioned were further a LDaed protome in the shape of a male, bearded face and a bronze buckle.[580] As in Ayia Triada, dedications of hollow, wheelmade figures seem to have come to a halt in this period.

There is little intrinsic evidence for an identification of the deity who was worshipped in the EIA. HL literary tradition considered Jouktas the place where Zeus was buried, while a 5th-century treaty between Argos, Knossos and Tylisos mentions sacrifice for Poseidon at 'Iytos', perhaps the ancient name for Jouktas.[581] Cult at BA peak sanctuaries is, however, commonly associated with a goddess and it is not clear when a shift to a connection with Zeus or Poseidon would have taken place. [582] After the EIA the cult place at the summit of Jouktas went out of use.

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[573] Chatzidakis 1934, 68, 109, pls. XIV:1, XXXI:4. For the possible stand: Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 98-99, pl. 24 (no. 246); Kirsten (1948, 1721) dated it to the early 6th century BC.

[574] Chatzidakis 1934, 68-69.

[575] Orlandos 1976, 185.

[576] Karetsou 1975, 333, fig. 1b; *ead.* 1976, 413-15, pl. 230st.

[577] Karetsou 1976, 409.

[578] Karetsou 1975, 340, 341 fig. 10, pls. 267e, 268e; *ead.* 1976, 417, figs. 3a-b, pl. 232a; *ead.* 1978, 255, pl. 168d.

[579] Orlandos 1976, 187-88.

[580] Karetsou 1975, 340, pl. 267b.

B.55 *The Stravomyti cave*

The SW side of Mount Jouktas houses several caves and rock shelters, one of which, Stravomyti, has yielded possible evidence of cult use. The cave, at an altitude of 300-400 m, has two main chambers, the entrance of the upper one being some 9 m above that of the lower. The lower chamber is narrow and more than 30 m deep, while the upper one has a more irregular plan with different side chambers and several rock formations.[583] Below the cave, on a gentler part of the slope, are the remains of a substantial settlement with LM, SM, LG, A and HL-R sherds at the surface.[584]

The Stravomyti cave was visited several times by Evans in the decades from 1898 to 1924. An excavation took place in 1949-50 by Marinatos, who reported pottery ranging from LN to R.[585] The material from the earliest periods probably represents habitation, while cult may have begun in MM times: some 10-15 fragmentary pithoi belong to this or the LM period. LM IIIC-SM finds were not mentioned, but G-A pottery was said to be abundant. Marinatos explicitly refers to large coarse vessels and fine ware, including cups. To the EIA may also belong a 0.60 m high conical stone and a possible altar of sandstone (fragments of which are 1.05 m long and 0.20 m high); the latter was surrounded by LG-A pottery and two knives. Otherwise no metal objects were found. The bones of bovines, goats/

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[581] Meiggs & Lewis 1969, 99-105 (no. 42); Chaniotis 1988, 26, 33. The Stravomyti cave is also located on the Jouktas.

[582] Karetsou 1974, 228; Burkert 1985, 26-28.

[583] Marinatos 1950, 251, pl. A; Tyree 1974, 34-35. According to Faure (1964, 173), there are five entrances.

[584] Marinatos 1949, 108-09; Faure 1964, 173; Orlandos 1974, 115; Kanta 1980, 34.

[585] Evans 1928, 68-71; Marinatos 1949; *id.* 1950.

sheep, smaller mammals and birds, while noted, remain undated.[586]

The identification of this cave as a cult place is primarily based on the presence of fine pottery, the possible altar and bones—evidence which is not wholly conclusive. Small feeding bottles and knuckle bones were connected by Marinatos with women and children votaries. As the Eileithyia cave at Amnisos also contained only pottery, he proposed a cult for the same goddess. The validity of this attribution is doubted by Tyree.[587]

B.56 *Ayia Triada: the 'Piazzale dei Sacelli' (see also A.26); Plates 15, 62*

Cult activities at the open-air sanctuary at the Piazzale dei Sacelli (Plate 15), which began in the LM IIIC-SM period, are also clearly attested to for the EIA. Earlier scholars, among them Banti, believed in one large deposit with votives ranging from the LM III to the HL period, which had been dispersed by erosion.[588] D'Agata, who has restudied the old excavation material, emphasises that cult activities may have changed in character and in spatial focus. She sees an interruption in cult activities after the LM IIIC-SM period, with a resumption in the PGB period. She calls the period from PGB-EO the most important phase in the life of the sanctuary. Whereas earlier cult activities took place at the paved 'Piazzale' or to its S, those in the EIA seem to have been concentrated at the Piazzale and the area between the BA paved road and Stoa FG, the walls of which must have still been partially standing. A pit with animal bones and fragments of kernoi excavated to the E of the Stoa is also assigned to the PGB-EO period.[589]

Among the PGB-EO votives bronze animal figurines and terracotta human figurines predominate. Bronze human figurines and terracotta animal figurines are less numerous but do occur (Plate 62).[590] Mouldmade clay figurines and plaques are lacking.

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[586] Marinatos 1950, 254-57, figs. 14-15; E.F. 1951, 126-27; Tyree 1974, 35-36, 122, 227.

[587] Marinatos 1950, 257. *Contra*: Tyree 1974, 36-37.

[588] Banti 1941-43, 69, 71-72.

[589] D'Agata 1998, 19-22, 24, fig. I.I. For the recent discovery of other G remains N of the Piazzale: Blackman 1996-97, 103.

[590] D'Agata 1998, 23; *ead.* 1999c, 175-96.

The bronze animal figurines include at least 66 bovids,[591] six rams,[592] one horse[593] and a sphinx (either a figurine or cauldron attachment).[594] Two bronze miniature wheels may have belonged to horse figurines or model chariots.[595]

Bronze anthropomorphic figurines are fewer. They consist of six figurines of indefinite gender,[596] six males (one with helmet and with raised arms, Plate 62a; another a probable boxer, Plate 62b),[597] and one female with hands covering the pubic area.[598]

In terracotta there are some 22 anthropomorphic heads (4 to 8.5 cm high) and 29 figurines, of which the gender is hard to determine.[599] Nineteen terracotta figurines represent males[600] and eight females,[601] two of which may have been females sitting side-saddle on a quadruped with (broken) arms up.[602] In addition there are six hollow terracotta bovine figures, of which the latest one probably dates to the 7th century BC[603] and 44 small animal figurines. The latter include 30 bovids, one double-headed quadruped, four horses (two of them with holes for the attachment of wheels), three rams and seven birds.[604] There also were four terracotta miniature wheels and three wheel hubs,[605] a G/O terracotta boat model[606] and a series of fragments and protomes (human and bird) belonging to plastic and multiple vases.[607] Among the pottery were also a number of lids or votive shields.

The presence of less usual types of terracotta figurines, such as those of nude females with arms raised, one sitting side-saddle on a quadruped, two probable human couples and a probable kourotrophos, which are similar to types found at the Eileithyia cave at Tsoutsouros (see B.59), has led D'Agata to propose a cult for a kourotrophic deity, possibly Artemis.[608]

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[591] D'Agata 1999c, 177-94 (E3.1-67), pls. CVI-CIX.

[592] D'Agata 1999c, 194-95 (E3.69-74), pls. CXI, CXVI-CXVII.

[593] D'Agata 1999c, 195 (E3.75), pl. CXVII.

[594] D'Agata 1999c, 74 (E2.1), pl. CVI.

[595] D'Agata 1999c, 195-96 (E4.1-2), pl. CVI.

[596] D'Agata 1999c, 166-70, 174, (E1.1-4, 12-13) pls. CIII, CVI.

[597] D'Agata 1999c, 172-73 (E1.5-10), pls. CIII-CV.

[598] D'Agata 1999c, 173 (E1.10), pl. CV.

[599] D'Agata 1999c, 107-17 (D1.1-22), pls. LXIII-LXVII; *ibid.* 118, 119-23, 133-38 (D2.1-29), pls. LXXVIII-LXXXII.

[600] D'Agata 1999c, 118, 127-32, 140-45 (D2.38-56), pls. LXXXIV-LXXXIX.

[601] D'Agata 1999c, 118, 123-27, 138-40 (D2.30-37), pls. LXXXII-LXXXIII.

[602] Verlinden 1984, 221 (no. 232), pl. 91; D'Agata 1998, 23, fig. I.7; cat. entry B.56,

[603] D'Agata 1999c, 147, 149-50 (D3.1-6), pls. XC-XCI.

[604] D'Agata 1999c, 147-48, 151-58 (D3.7-51), pls. XCII-XCVII, CII.

[605] D'Agata 1999c, 159-60 (D4.2-8), pl. XCVIII.

[606] D'Agata 1999c, 158-59 (D4.1), pl XCVIII.

[607] D'Agata 1999c, 160-66 (D5.1-12), pls. XCIX, C, CII.

Lebessi, on the other hand, points to iconographic similarities of some of the figurines from Ayia Triada with examples from the open-air sanctuary at Syme, in particular those of a male playing the double flute, a votary carrying a cup and several pairs of males (Plates 68a-b).[609] This suggests to Lebessi that initiation rites may have been celebrated at Ayia Triada. The worshipped deity in historical times was not, however, Hermes, as at Syme, but Zeus Velchanos. Like Hermes' epithet 'Kedritas', 'Velchanos' refers to a vegetation aspect or perhaps a particular kind of tree.[610]

B.57 *Kommos; Plates 63-65*

The site of an important BA settlement and SM-R sanctuary was uncovered at Kommos, on the W shore of the Mesara plain (Plate 63). Excavations, under the direction of J. Shaw for the American School, began in 1976. The BA settlement, whose origins go back to EM times, covers the top and slopes of a low coastal hill. The monumental ashlar buildings and large court at the S foot of the hill probably formed a civic centre or palace, constructed in the LM I and reused in the LM III periods. This complex and the settlement were deserted before the end of the LM IIIB period (*c.* 1250 BC).[611] The population may have moved inland, where several LM IIIC-G sites are known: among them Phaistos (A.5/B.20-22), Gortyn (B.23-25) and an unnamed site S of modern Siva.[612]

The first signs of the resumption of human activity at Kommos date to the later part of the SM period (1020-970 BC), when a small temple (A) was built, incorporating part of an ashlar wall of LM I Building T

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[608] D'Agata 1998, 19, 23-24, figs. I.4, I.6-10.

[609] Lebessi 1991c, 108-10, figs. 6-7. For the figurine with cup: D'Agata 1998, 19, fig. I.5.

[610] Willetts 1962, 250-51. HL tiles from the Piazzale are inscribed with the name Velchanos, while CL coins from Phaistos depict a youthful god with rooster in a tree. There is an associated month name and spring festival in Gortyn, Lyttos and Knossos. See also cat. entry A.26.

[611] For a summary of results: J. Shaw 1992. For the monumental BA buildings at the foot of the hill: Shaw & Shaw 1993, 161-182, 185-87.

[612] Watrous *et al.* 1993, 229-30.

(Plate 64). Temple A's plan could not be traced entirely without removing the later structures, but its dimensions could be reconstructed as 5.54 m (N-S) x 4/6.70 m (E-W). The walls of Temple A are made of small, shaped slabs (0.30 m wide), with a bench or platform (0.44 m wide) along the N wall. A fine stone-built sill, facing E, may have formed an entrance over the whole width of the temple. Artefacts associated with the lowest, earthen floor were a bronze arrowhead, a bronze folded strip and fragments of pottery, especially bowls and bell skyphoi (krateriskoi). The fragments of a terracotta wheelmade bovine figure, which were found scattered both inside and outside Temple A, must also have belonged to its earliest phase of use.[613]

A second earth floor was laid out in Temple A around 900 BC. It was 0.34 m higher than the first one and covered the sill and bench/platform. A remaining slab may indicate the construction of a second bench. Artefacts associated with the second phase of Temple A's use include a fragment of a miniature terracotta chariot wheel, three beads (one of faience, two of stone), bell skyphoi and other cups, krater fragments, as well as some Phoenician and Cycladic or Attic sherds. A surface just outside Temple A, corresponding to the second floor inside, yielded a bronze arrowhead, a bronze shaft, fragments of several terracotta wheelmade bovids, 14 faience beads and one of glass. Similar kinds of pottery were found as inside, as well as a vase protome inserted with small faience discs.[614] There is no evidence for a hearth in Temple A, but the presence of ash and both burnt and unburnt bone inside and immediately outside it suggests cooking and animal sacrifice, perhaps with use of an exterior ash altar or an unbuilt interior hearth.[615]

A deposit with finds which probably derive from the periodic clean up of Temple A was found to the NE, in the hollow of the old BA road. It contained pottery, with a concentration of Phoenician amphora fragments, triton shell fragments, a small bronze shield or disc, a bronze fibula and needle, terracotta animal figurines (including four bovids and three horses) and a series of small terracotta wheels (once connected to horse figurines) and some fragments of large, wheelmade terracotta bovids.[616] During the second phase of use of Temple A a major dumping area was established to the S. This yielded bell skyphoi and various kinds of cups (including Attic/Cycladic ones), bell kraters and amphorae (both local examples and Phoenician imports).[617] Associated votives consisted of a bronze male ithyphallic figurine (perhaps a cauldron attachment), some bronze bull figurines, fragments of one terracotta wheelmade horse figure and of several bovine figures, some terracotta bull and horse figurines and more miniature terracotta wheels.[618] There is some evidence from this period for reuse of the western part of Gallery 3 of BA Building P, where a rough hearth and bench were constructed.[619]

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[613] J. Shaw 2000a, 2 (table 1.1), 6; M.C Shaw 2000, 157. For the associated pottery: Callaghan & Johnston 2000, 212-14 (Deposit 1).

[614] J. Shaw 2000a, 2 (table 1.1), 8-12; M.C. Shaw 2000, 151 (table 3.1); Callaghan & Johnston 2000, 214-22 (Deposits 2-3).

[615] J. Shaw 2000b, 675.

The presence of Phoenician pottery on the site is especially relevant in the light of the further development of the temple. Some 339 sherds of Phoenician coarse ware, belonging to at least 25 different storage jars, were identified. Most of these were associated with the second phase of use of Temple A, while there was one sherd dating to the first phase of use of Temple A.[620]

Around 800 BC Temple A was replaced by a more substantial structure, Temple B, with exterior dimensions of 6.40 m (N-S) x 8.08 (E-W) and walls of reused ashlar 0.72-0.80 m thick (Plate 65). Like its predecessor, Temple B was open to the E, but it had a pillar at the centre of the entrance to support the presumably flat roof. The hard-packed earth floor had been partially plastered. A bench (0.40 m high and 0.44-0.54 m wide) ran along the N and perhaps also along the S wall, while a small circular hearth, made of cobbles, was set on the axis of the temple. The most peculiar feature, however, consisted of three upright cut stones, sunk into a large sandstone block (probably reused from a BA building). It was installed behind the hearth, most likely at the time of the construction of Temple B. The central pillar has a shallow cutting of unknown purpose. The lack of Cretan parallels and the similarities with depictions on later Phoenician stelai have led the excavator to identify the structure as a 'tripillar shrine' of Phoenician inspiration. Behind the pillars were the remains of a carbonised wooden bowl or pillar (ø 0.25-0.34 m). Finds found on the first floor of Temple B consist of a bronze arrowhead or javelin point, a scaraboid bead and fragments of terracotta animal figures and figurines. The associated pottery included drinking cups, hydriae fragments and a votive shield. In addition, the hearth yielded fragments of a faience bowl, a miniature kalathos, a small bronze perforated disc, more fragments of animal figures and figurines, as well as unburnt and burnt sheep/goat bones. The presence of the latter indicates the practice of burnt animal sacrifice inside the temple.[621]

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[616] M.C. Shaw 2000, 159-60; Callaghan & Johnston 2000, 222-24 (Deposit 7).
[617] J. Shaw 2000a, 12-13; Callaghan & Johnston 2000, 217-22 (Deposits 4-6).
[618] M.C Shaw 2000, 160-61, with further cross refs.
[619] J. Shaw 2000a, 13-14.
[620] J. Shaw 2000a, 11 n. 19; Bikai 2000, 302-03, 310.

With the construction of Temple B the level of the court around it was raised, perhaps intentionally, and the Minoan road to the NE was covered over. A small, three-sided enclosure was set on the court to the E. The area to the S continued to be used as a dump, with patches of burning, limpet shells and much G pottery (including drinking vessels and amphorae).[622] There is more evidence for the reuse of the abandoned BA structures from the 8th century, for instance in Room 4 to the W of the temple and in Galleries 3 and probably 6 of Building P. In the W portion of Gallery 3 (which already saw some reuse during the time of Temple A), a new structure was built, called Building Z. This was probably used for subsidiary rather than cult use, with finds consisting of fragments of cooking and especially drinking vessels (including kraters), animal bones and shells, an iron arrowhead and four spearheads and possible stone fishing weights. Building Z probably collapsed at the end of the 8th century BC.[623]

A second phase of use of Temple B began after *c.* 760 BC, when the sanctuary seems to have become more popular and was subject to a certain degree of elaboration. A retaining wall was built at the entrance of the temple to keep the accumulating debris out, while inside the level of both floor and hearth were raised. This reduced the relative height of the bench/platform. At this stage, the tripillar shrine was provided with a leather and bronze shield (ø 0.69 m), which was stuck behind the three pillars. A small bronze horse, with a faience figurine of the Egyptian goddess Sekhmet horizontally on its back, was wedged between the two S pillars, a male faience figurine between the central and N one. Other offerings were placed on and around the base slab of the tripillar shrine, including a bronze bull figurine, two small bronze discs, an iron spearhead, some bits of gold foil, faience and glass beads, fragments of a terracotta horse and another animal figurine.[624] East of the Temple a new court of packed earth was laid out, in the process of which some BA walls were dismantled. This court ran over the BA road to the N and up to the N wall of BA building T, covering an area of at least 12.10 m (N-S) x 50 m (E-W).[625] The G/O pottery from the second phase of use of Temple B includes cups and aryballoi and a significant number of East Greek imports, including transport amphorae, and some Phoenician sherds.[626]

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[621] J. Shaw 1989a; *id.* 2000a, 14-24; *id.* 2000b; Callaghan & Johnston 2000, 232-34 (Deposits 15-16); Reese 2000, 418 (table 6.1).

[622] J. Shaw 2000a, 24-25; Callaghan & Johnston 200, 229-31 (Deposits 11-13).

[623] J. Shaw 2000a, 25-26; Johnston 2000. Gallery P6 may have had a similar history of reuse: Shaw & Shaw 1993, 175-77, 182-83.

Altar U, just to the E of Temple B, was probably built in the late 8th century BC, still during the second phase of use of Temple B. It measured 1.50/1.74 x 1.35/1.47 m, being *c.* 0.50 m high. Its interior yielded almost 38 kg of burnt cattle and sheep/goat bones. To the N was an unusual double hearth (2.0 x 0.85 m, 0.20 m deep), made of upright slabs. The W compartment of the latter contained ash mixed with fish and pig bone, while thousands of limpet shells were found around it. There were also four iron knives nearby. More small three-sided enclosures of uncertain function were found at different spots in the court.[627]

Around 650 BC, due to the ongoing accumulation of ash and earth, Temple B was provided with a third floor level, which was at the same height as the top of the bench. A new hearth was built, which, unlike its predecessors, was of rectangular form (0.84 x 0.84 m) and carefully made of upright slabs. Another, somewhat smaller, rectangular hearth (0.60 x 0.60 m) was constructed to the W, largely covering the earlier tripillar shrine, whose central pillar may have been broken off at this time. In the W hearth some sheet bronze and near it part of an iron bit were found. Among the associated pottery are many aryballoi and cups, two of them unique incised cups with scenes of a warrior and runners.[628] Also of interest are a silver and a bronze finger ring, a scarab, fragments of faience, fossilized oyster shells and other shells and some fragments of terracotta animal figures and figurines (among them an exceptional example of a coiled-up snake).[629]

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[624] J. Shaw 2000a, 15-16 (table 1.4), 22-23 (with further cross refs.); *id.* 1989a, 171-72, figs. 4-5.

[625] J. Shaw 2000a, 26-27.

[626] Callaghan & Johnston 2000, 234-35 (Deposit 17); Bikai 2000, 305 (table 4.2).

[627] J. Shaw 2000a, 27-28, 30; *id.* 2000b, 682-83.

The court around Temple B in this period consisted of a surface with chalky patches of lavender, lilac, orange and white colour, while the E part housed many small pits, small platforms and burnt surfaces, as well as a circular well (ø 1m). Another well, to be reached by a flight of 13 steps, was built into the NE corner of the Building P's Gallery 1. Basins were carved in the tops of the blocks of the BA walls and may have served to water animals. Many of the walls of BA Building P must still have been visible at this time. Burnt surfaces within the different galleries suggest occasional camping. Probably contemporary with the third phase of use of Temple B is the erection of Building V to its NE, which could only be partially traced. Its NE-SW dimension is 6.30 m. Building V was provided with several platforms and benches and seems to have been used in connection with iron working. To its S a shaft-smelting furnace was discovered. Other objects that point to iron working include a strange, but intricately made cubical object of iron plates.[630]

The excavator has called the forsaking of the tripillar shrine during the third phase of use of Temple B a significant break in tradition and shift of cultic focus, which signalled the end of 'the Orientalizing period' at Kommos. After this, local tradition became more dominant or even exclusive.[631] This local tradition entailed the dedication of terracotta bovine figures (which continued into HL times) and of bronze animal figurines, discs, shields and smaller weaponry such as arrowheads. The presence of burnt animal bones indicates that animal sacrifice was practised continuously from the foundation of Temple A. Evidence for feasting or ritual meals, in the form of drinking vessels and plates, is also abundant for the periods of both Temple A and B.[632]

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[628] M.C. Shaw 1983; Callaghan & Johnston 2000, 235-36 (Deposit 18).
[629] J. Shaw 2000a, 23-24.
[630] J. Shaw 2000a, 28-30, pls. 1.192-193.
[631] J. Shaw 2000a, 23-24.
[632] J. Shaw 2000a, 10-11; *id.* 2000b, 670, 682-83, 691.

The overseas trade connections, which clearly were important from early in the history of the sanctuary, continued to play a role as well, but there seems to have been a geographical shift after *c.* 650 BC, when Phoenician imports are less apparent. This is indicated particularly by the contents of Building Q, to the S of Temple B. Building Q was built relatively late (*c.* 625 BC) and appears to have been used intensively but briefly, for perhaps no more than a generation. It has an unusual plan, being only 5.40/6.20 m wide but 38 m long and containing five or six rooms, of which the W one acted as a porch. Building Q was constructed of a variety of reused BA blocks, with a wall thickness of 0.80 m, and may have been built up against a pre-existing retaining wall. There were no figures, figurines or other objects from inside Building Q that betray cult use or ritual dining. Patches of burning and of carbon and scatters of limpets on several floors may point to (occasional) food preparation or camping. In addition there was a large dump of murex shells in one of Q's rooms, some pots with traces of purple dye, iron and bronze implements, bone and stone tools, pumice and a few spindle whorls and loomweights.[633] Most revealing, however, is the associated pottery. Johnston has suggested that Q served as the 'china cupboard' of the sanctuary (the cups, hydriae and jugs found inside may have been intended for cult use) but also as a storage area for trade goods. The amphorae, for oil and wine, came from different regions in both the Greek and the non-Greek world, including the Attic Mainland, the Aegean islands, East Greece and Egypt. The presence of 7th-century Phoenician amphorae is less apparent, but there may have been imports from Carthage.[634] The trade connections indicated by the finds from Building Q may also explain the presence of more than 40 cups, amphorae and other vessels with graffiti dating to the second and third period of use of Temple B. The 25 drinking cups are all of local fabric and were inscribed with owners' names, most of them in Boeotian or possibly Chalcidian dialect, after firing. Csapo proposes they were inscribed by merchants from Central Greece.[635]

Towards the end of the third phase of use of Temple B the rising floor level started to cover the bench(es), wooden 'bowl' and upper parts of the three pillars in the western side of the hearth. Ritual meals were still held, but towards the end of the 7th century BC the temple was cleaned out less regularly than previously. Just before its abandonment the temple seems to have been pilfered, in the course of which many vessels were thrown into the court. After *c.* 600 BC the Temple lay deserted, although there are some signs of human activity in the E part of the court.[636]

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[633] J. Shaw 2000a, 31-34.

[634] Johnston 1993, 340-42, 350-76;

[635] Csapo 1991, 212-15; *id.* 1993, 235; J. Shaw 2000a, 34-35.

Although the excavators keep open the possibility that a settlement may be hidden under the unexcavated sand layers to the E, there are no clear signs of permanent habitation at Kommos after 1250 BC.[637] So far, there are only surface finds from the Vigles hill further to the S, which may have housed a small 7th century BC settlement.[638] The excavators have proposed an identification of the area of the sanctuary as Amyklai, mentioned as a harbour by Stephanus of Byzantium and as a place name or community in HL inscriptions from the western Mesara. This seems especially appropriate as 'Amyklai' is the Greek transliteration of a Phoenician title for the god Reshep (A)mukal, identified by Greeks with Apollo. The three pillars of the shrine in Temple B could in that case have stood for Apollo, Lato and Artemis. This may imply, however, that when cult at Kommos was revived in the HL period there was a change in cultic focus: two HL inscriptions refer to Zeus and Athena and to Poseidon respectively.[639] Alternatively, the HL inscriptions may indicate the worship of other deities besides Apollo within the same sanctuary.[640]

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[636] J. Shaw 2000a, 24, 36-37.

[637] J. Shaw 2000a, 30. A large bell-krater was left broken above the remains of BA House N on the top of the hill: J. Shaw 1981, 238-39, pl. 61d; M.C. Shaw & Nixon 1996, 59.

[638] J. Shaw 1980, 243.

[639] J. Shaw 1978, 152-54; *id.* 1989a, 174; *id.* 2000b, 710-13; M.C. Shaw 2000, 167; accepted by Cucuzza (1997b, 66-69), albeit on the basis of a different reading of the relevant passage. For the literary and epigraphical evidence: *IC* IV, 172; Willetts 1962, 260. J. Shaw (2000b, 710) also accepts the occurrence of the name 'Amyklai' in the W Mesara a sign of the settling of mainland Greeks from Sparta; see Perlman 2000, 68-71; Sporn 2002, 182-83.

[640] See, for the more generally combined worship of Apollo, Zeus and Athena: Graf 1979, 9.

B.58 *Mount Kophinas (see also A.27)*

The Neopalatial peak sanctuary at Kophinas, in the Asterousia mountains S of the Mesara, also remained in use after the LM III and LM IIIC-SM periods. The latest excavators, Karetsou and Rethemiotakis, have reported PG and much LG pottery, a few PG terracotta figurines and a bronze plaque. Material from the 7th century BC is so far missing.[641]

B.59 *Tsoutsouros: the cave of Eileithyia*

Tsoutsouros, or ancient Inatos, is situated on a narrow coastal plain of south-central Crete, at the mouth of the Midris gorge. In HL times Inatos served as harbour of Priansos, N of the Asterousia mountains which separate the coast from the SE part of the Mesara. The settlement of Priansos was inhabited from G times onwards, but little is known about the extent of its territory and relations with Inatos during the EIA.[642] Archaeological investigations at the site of Inatos, now partially submerged, have been limited to a few rescue excavations: that of a R villa in 1929 and of a repeatedly looted cave sanctuary in 1962 by Platon and Davaras.[643]

The cave, some 60 m from the present shore, is 20 m deep and 15.6 m at its widest point and contains water.[644] The upper layer, dating to the R period, had been largely disturbed, but a 0.40 m thick, ashy stratum below it was partially intact. Remains of a not precisely dated stone-built altar or enclosure were also noted.[645] The lower stratum yielded a rich group of PG-O votives, including gold jewellery, small female heads in ivory and in gold, an imported ivory figurine of a nude female[646] and faience scarabs and figurines, several of them of kourotrophic types. Some votives had been placed in rock niches and crevices. Hundreds of similar items were retrieved from the house of one of the robbers, while many bronzes had already been sold. Remaining metal finds consisted of two bronze bowls,[647] an anthropomorphic figurine, fibulae, pins, finger rings and miniature double axes. In terracotta there were more small double axes, human and animal figurines (the latter including eight bovids, four horses and a human on an equid), boat models, a shoe and mouldmade figurines and plaques depicting females and felines flanking a tree. Most of these finds belong to the G-O period, but a number of small stirrup-jars may be of PG date.[648] Possibly of the same date are three female figurines with upraised arms, which are compared by Tyree to figurines from the Acropolis at Gortyn.[649]

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[641] Karetsou & Rethemiotakis 1990.

[642] Xanthoudides 1916, par. 24; Pendlebury 1939, 362, 374; Kirsten 1940e, 172; Meyer 1974b, 479-80.

[643] Marinatos 1934-35; Alexiou 1963a.

[644] Faure 1964, 90.

[645] Alexiou 1963a, 310.

[646] Böhm 1990, 34, 37, pl. 15 (E9-I); Stampolides & Karetsou 1998, 271 (no. 342).

It is not entirely clear when cult at the Tsoutsouros cave began, but possibly it continued from the BA into the EIA. BA finds, amongst them a stone offering table, a seal stone and possibly a bronze human figurine, were present but are said to be few. A clay head and snake tube have been assigned to the LM III and two bronze male figurines to the SM period.[650]

As noted by the excavators, the large number of figurines of pregnant, parturient and kourotrophic women, of ithyphallic males and of embracing couples[651] strongly suggest a cult for a goddess concerned with human conception and birth. A cult for Eileithyia at Inatos is attested for later periods by HL inscriptions from Priansos and from Tsoutsouros itself and by ancient authors who mention a stream and hill sacred to this goddess at Inatos.[652]

B.60 *Amnisos: the sanctuary of Zeus Thenatas; Plate 66*

Around the low, flat-topped Palaiochora hill, in the coastal plain of the Karteros in north-central Crete were found the remains of a large BA settlement and of an EIA and later sanctuary, which was only partially explored. Prior to excavation, the pre-Greek name Amnisos was known from the *Odyssey* and HL literary sources in which it denotes a harbour, a river or is used in a mythological context; Amnisos also occurs in Linear B tablets from Knossos and probably served as its principal harbour in the BA. The identification with the Karteros region, which goes back to the 19th-century traveller Spratt, has been generally accepted.[653]

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[647] For an example: Stampolides & Karetsou 1998, 241 (293).

[648] Alexiou 1963a, 310-11; *id.* 1963b, 397-98; Daux 1965, 884-87; Tyree 1974, 122, 126, 218; Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, 86-87. For the clay animals: Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 160.

[649] Tyree 1974, 126 n. 7 (referring to Rizza & Scrinari 1968, pl. 7:27-28).

[650] Alexiou 1963a, 310; Kanta 1980, 85-86; Verlinden 1984, 216 (nos. 200-01); Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1995, 41-42.

[651] For examples of these figurines: Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, 18, 86-87, figs. 2a-b.

[652] Literary evidence: *IC* 4, no. 174; Jessen 1905, 2106; Kirsten 1940e, 173; Platon 1956b, 421; Alexiou 1963a, 310; Willetts 1962, 171-72.

The first excavations, by Marinatos in 1932-38, revealed portions of the LM settlement, including the well-known Villa of the Lilies. Finds connected with the EIA and later sanctuary were concentrated at the western base of the Palaiochora hill. Rescue excavations, undertaken by Alexiou in 1963-67, revealed more BA remains at different spots around the Palaiochora hill as well as on the denuded top itself. LM finds from Marinatos' excavations were re-evaluated by Kanta in 1980, while topographical work and a full restudy of the old excavation material were carried out by the German Institute under the direction of Schäfer in 1983-85.[654]

The BA settlement appears to have been abandoned early in the LM IIIC period.[655] A rock-cut spring chamber, at the N cliff of the Palaiochora hill, was probably constructed in the LM III period. Possible LM IIIC sherds were identified among its contents by Kanta, but there are no later finds which might indicate the drawing of water in subsequent periods or the importance of water in the later cult.[656] The earliest signs of cult activity belong to the PG period. Apart from the find of three or four 7th-century pithoi in a LM IIIB building in Area F, *c.* 400 m to the W of the sanctuary, there are no signs of EIA occupation in the vicinity.[657]

To the W of the Palaichora hill, in 'Area D', Marinatos found a structure consisting of a more than 44 m long ashlar wall and two small podia, of BA date (Plate 66).[658] This had been partly cleared out in the period when the area began to be used as a sanctuary.[659] The continuation of the wall and other remains are probably still buried beneath the sand. Perhaps because of the incompleteness of the excavation, there are no constructions which can be attributed to the EIA. Marinatos, however, suggested that the BA walls were preserved high enough to have been reused.[660]

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[653] Schäfer 1991; *id.* 1992a, 1-8; Chaniotis 1992, 73, 79-83; Kirsten 1940c, 26-35.

[654] See also: Kanta 1980, 38-42; Schäfer 1987; *id.* 1992a.

[655] In one of the preliminary reports Marinatos mentioned 'Submycenaean' sherds (1935a, 197) and Kanta (1980, 38-42) claims that LM IIIC and SM pottery was found. In the most recent reevaluation the German investigators state that, as at Kommos, LM IIIC is much scarcer than LM IIIA-B pottery, while SM is altogether missing: see Stürmer 1992, 244; Schäfer 1992d, 349.

[656] It was excavated by Marinatos in 1933 (1933, 93-94; 1934, 245-46); Kanta 1980, 38, 42. Knoblauch & Schäfer (1992, 153-55) estimate a period of use of 200-300 years.

[657] Chaniotis & Schäfer 1992, 350; Alexiou 1992, 188-89, pl. 48. The pithoi were placed as if they might have contained burials, but no bones were found.

The earliest ceramic finds which can be associated with the sanctuary are, according to the German scholars, a number of PG sherds datable to *c.* 900 BC.[661] Many of the old finds stored in the Herakleion Museum appear to have come from an ash-altar in front of the BA ashlar wall. Here, a clearly delineated layer of black greasy soil, up to 0.70 m thick, with animal bones and objects scorched by fire, was found over the two podia and up against the wall. No internal stratigraphy could be determined within the ash layer, which was probably already disturbed during antiquity, and its date remains problematic. Marinatos labelled it 'Archaic' and the fact that the underlying layer is said to have contained PG, G and O sherds may indeed point to a relatively late establishment.[662]

However, some of the bronze votives associated with the ash-altar are of earlier date: a possible PG or EG figurine of a male with bent knees, another male figurine and two tripod fragments.[663] A bronze rim attachment belongs to the period ranging from EG-EO.[664] Of

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[658] The wall was dated to MM by Marinatos (1933, 95) and to the MM III/LM I period by Schäfer (1992b, 163). The upper courses, of a different kind of sandstone, were added in the CL or HL period.

[659] Marinatos 1933, 96; *id.* 1934, 248.

[660] Stürmer (1988-89, 55) thought that structure E-F may have been built in the PG period and wall A-B shortly afterwards, but this idea was not followed up in the latest publication: Schäfer (1992b, 159-76; 1992c, 338-40) dates wall A-B and the podia to the BA period and the steps in the N and S to HL times.

[661] Schäfer 1992b, 182; *id.* 1992d, 349; Stürmer 1992, 244.

[662] For the extent of the ash-altar see Marinatos 1933, 95 fig. 2; *id.* 1938, opposite 130. For the date of the sherds below the black layer and lack of stratigraphy: Marinatos 1933, 97; id. 1935c, 245-46. Also: Schäfer (1992b, 182) for an 8th century or earlier origin of the ash-altar.

[663] Schäfer 1992b, 182; Stürmer, however, in the same book gives a range of PGB-LG (1992, 228, D,1.b1). Naumann (1976, 96) dates the figurine with bent knees to the PG period and Verlinden (1984, 171, 221) to the LG period. For the other three early bronzes: Stürmer 1992, 228-29 (D,1.b2, D,1.b10-11), pls. 73, 75, 103, 110. For the rod tripod: Matthäus 1985, 306 (m), 308; *id.* 1988, 287.

[664] Stürmer 1992, 238 (D,2.b2), pl. 103.

LG or O date are a bronze bull figurine, the handle of a bronze vessel, a small wheel, a small disc, another tripod fragment and perhaps a sheet bronze pendant.[665] Two miniature double axe blades, not certainly from the ash layer, have been assigned a date between MM III/LM I and LG.[666] A partially preserved bronze figurine of a female sitting on an equid or bovid dates to *c.* 600 BC.[667] A LM bronze dagger with golden rivets was found at the transition of the BA and later layers at the bottom of the ash-altar.[668]

Two fragments of terracotta bull figurines and one of a horse figurine and a small terracotta wheel of a model chariot were all associated with the ash layer and dated to the MG-EO period. Marinatos also mentioned a terracotta votive shield with lion protome.[669] No complete pots were retrieved from the ash-altar, but sherds from skyphoi, amphorai and kraters of all periods down to EO seem to be represented. Sherds from relief pithoi date to the LG and EO periods.[670] The pottery from other spots in the sanctuary displays the same range of shapes and has been assigned to the LG and later periods.[671] A number of faience objects from the ash-altar have been dated to the second half of the 7th century BC by Webb. They consist of vessels and figurines (Bes and one female figurine of 'Astarte type'), several of which may be Egyptian products, another Levantine or East Greek.[672] Largely unparalleled is a 0.17 m high human face in limestone with a polos and inlaid bone eyes, which probably dates to the LG or O period and may be of North-Syrian workmanship.[673]

The identification of the sanctuary as that of Zeus Thenatas has been ascertained for the HL period by the find of several inscriptions. Worship of Zeus during the EIA is, as pointed out by the German scholars, not clearly reflected in the choice of votives. Chaniotis, however, argues for a LBA, 'Achaean', origin of the cult of Zeus Thenatas and considers it likely that worship at Amnisos was dedicated to this deity from the beginning of the EIA onwards.[674]

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[665] Stürmer 1992, 228 (D,1.b4), pls. 74, 102, 229 (D,1.b12), pls. 75, 103, 230 (D,1.b16), pl. 76, 103, 230 (D,1.b20), pls. 76, 104, 238 (D,2.b3), pl. 103, 238 (D,2.b1), pl. 103.

[666] Stürmer 1992, 230 (D,1.b18-19), pls. 76, 103, 250.

[667] Stürmer 1992, 228 (D,1.b3), pls. 73-74, 102.

[668] Marinatos 1933, 97; *id.* 1934, 247; Stürmer 1992, 230 (D,1.b17).

[669] Marinatos 1938, 134; Stürmer 1992, 237 (D,2.a27-30), pl. 97, 70.

[670] Stürmer 1992, 236 (D,2.a13-16), 244, pls. 70, 96. For the EG-MG pottery: *ibid.*, 236 (D,2.a17), pl. 96:3. For MG-LG pottery: *ibid.*, 236 (D,2.a18-25), pls. 96-97. For LG-EO pottery: *ibid.*, 237 (D,2.a26, D,2.a31), pl. 97.

[671] Stürmer 1992, 239 (D,3.a1-4,6), pls. 97-98.

[672] Webb 1999. For illustrations see Marinatos 1933, fig. 4; Stürmer 1992, pls. 78-79, 105.

[673] Adams 1978, 5-8; Stürmer 1992, 233 (D,1.d1), pl. 81.

B.61 *Amnisos: the cave of Eileithyia*

In the hills overlooking the coastal valley of Amnisos, with the sanctuary of Zeus Thenatas situated in the middle, Chatzidakis in 1886 explored and briefly excavated a cave which he identified as the Eileithyia cave known from Homer.[675] The identification has been generally accepted and seems confirmed by the references to an Amnisian Eileithyia on Linear B tablets from Knossos. One of these texts relates to the offering of an amphora of honey.[676]

The cave was partially excavated in 1929-30 by Marinatos, who claimed cult continuity from BA into R times, but the evidence was never fully published. Only pottery was found, including much G and some O sherds. In the preliminary reports mention is made of a lowest stratum of N date and a layer above it with mixed material from BA to R periods, as well as some Byzantine and Venetian sherds.[677] Of the few sherds that were illustrated, Kanta has assigned some to the LM IIIB or LM IIIB/C periods.[678] Rutkowski, who restudied the material from Marinatos' excavations, thinks cult may have begun in the MM period, the earlier finds representing habitation.[679]

The entrance of the cave, which is 50-60 m deep and 9-12 m wide, faces E.[680] Water collects from the roof and there is an abundance of rock formations. The construction of parapets around two of them and the apparent smoothing by repeated touching suggest that they served as cult images. A low stalagmite near the entrance was surrounded by a rectangular wall, and a taller formation, resembling a human shape, in the centre of the cave by a wall in the form of a meander. A double stalagmite at the bottom of the cave has been likened to a woman holding a child. Close by is a small underground chamber, which was full of pottery.[681]

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[674] Chaniotis 1992, 96-100; Chaniotis & Schäfer 1992, 352-53.

[675] *Od.* 19.188; Chatzidakis 1886.

[676] Nilsson 1950, 58; Gérard 1967; Stella 1968; Pingiatoglou 1981, 30; Hiller 1982, 33, 49-54; *id.* 1992; Chaniotis 1992, 84-85. *Contra*: N. Marinatos (1996), who believes Eileithyia was venerated as the consort of Zeus in the coastal sanctuary.

[677] Marinatos 1929, 96, fig. 3; *id.* 1930, 93; Béquignon 1929, 520-21; *id.* 1930, 515-16; Karo 1930, 156-57; Tyree 1974, 118, 122. The lack of other votives has been confirmed by N. Marinatos (1996, 135), who recently restudied the old finds.

[678] Kanta 1980, 39.

[679] Rutkowski 1984, 153.

[680] Marinatos 1929, 93 fig. 2; Rutkowski 1984, 152 fig. 6; Tyree 1974, 25.

Outside the cave, on a terrace NW of the entrance, Marinatos discovered the remains of a building, LM III-G pottery, two spindle whorls and a lead figurine of a bovid. He interpreted this building as part of the sanctuary or a priest's dwelling, but Rutkowski considers this unproven.[682]

B.62 *The Skoteino cave*

This large cave, 160 m deep and consisting of four descending chambers, is situated on a 220 m high plateau S of Chersonissos, half an hour W of the modern village of Skoteino. Since the first probes by Evans at the beginning of the century, more test excavations were undertaken by Pendlebury, Faure and, most recently, by Davaras in 1962.[683] Unfortunately no full-scale, systematic excavation or publication has been attempted. Mention is made by Faure of several small EIA sites in the environs of the cave, but his observations have not been confirmed.[684]

The cave consists of a large high-roofed front chamber (90 x 30 x 12 m high) and three smaller ones. All rooms have abundant rock formations, many of them, according to Faure, shaped by human hand and resembling human or animal forms. Two possible Linear A signs, carved into the walls, were noted by Davaras. The second chamber contains a recess with a natural stone 'altar' (3 x 1.6 x 1.3 m high).[685] Around it Davaras excavated a mixed layer with offerings, ash, sherds and stones.[686]

MM pottery had been reported by both Evans and Pendlebury, and LM III, G and R finds by Faure.[687] On the basis of his excavations in 1962, Davaras concludes that cult was practised from MM into R times, but the evidence has not been published.[688] Best known are three bronze statuettes of male votaries, dating to the LM I period.[689] The other bronzes, a lance point and three knives or daggers, a series of bone needles or pins and the numerous sea shells remain undated. Some G sherds found by Faure have been illustrated.[690] There is, however, no mention of more unambiguous votives, such as terracotta figures or figurines.

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[681] Chatzidakis 1886, 340-41; Marinatos 1929, 100-03; Karo 1930, 156-57; Faure 1964, 84-85, pl. VII; Rutkowski 1986, 51.

[682] Marinatos 1929, 103, fig. 8; *id.* 1930, 98, fig. 9.

[683] Evans 1921, 163; Faure 1956, 96; *id.* 1958, 508-11; Alexiou 1963a, 312.

[684] Faure 1956, 96.

[685] Faure 1958, 508-09; *id.* 1964, 163, pls. IV-VI; Tyree 1974, 20-21.

[686] Davaras 1969, 621-22.

B.63 *The Phaneromeni cave; Plate 67*

As stated in the previous chapter, the cave of Phaneromeni, near Avdou, may have been used as a cult place from the LM I period onwards. The nearest contemporary settlement was probably that of Spiliaridia, which was inhabited from the LM I to the O period.[691]

Reported EIA votives came, like the ones from earlier periods, from the antechamber of the cave. The second room, which has stalagtites and water at the bottom, remains unexcavated. In the preliminary report for the excavation of 1937, Marinatos mentioned large G and O vases and illustrated a bronze PG anthropomorphic figurine with lifted arms (Plate 67), a PG or G bronze male, two 7th-century terracotta plaques (a nude standing female and a sphinx) and human figurine.[692] In addition to these finds, Tyree reports a bronze cut-out plaque of a human (perhaps female) head and Kanta small G vessels.[693]

B.64 *The Liliano cave*

In 1971, Kanta published a number of chance finds which years earlier had been brought to the Herakleion Museum by an inhabitant of Liliano, a village in the western foothills of Lasithi. Attempts to locate the cave have so far been unsuccessful. The character of the finds seems to indicate use as a cult place during LM IIIB and from the 7th century BC onwards. From the first period there is a group of sherds of deep bowls and kylikes, and a clay bull figurine.[694] To the 7th century BC belong a fragmentary EO painted pithos, a clay bull figurine and the lower half of a plaque depicting a dressed, standing female.[695]

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[687] Evans 1921, 163; Pendlebury 1939, 103, 124, 177, 184; Faure 1964, 164. Kanta (1980, 68) has recognised a LM IIIB sherd.

[688] Megaw 1962-63, 29-30; Alexiou 1963a, 312.

[689] Davaras 1969.

[690] Daux 1965, 888, fig. 12.

[691] Xanthoudides 1907, 184; Faure 1964, 160; Tyree 1974, 13-14.

[692] Marinatos 1937a, 222-23, figs. 2-3; Petrou-Mesogeitis 1938, 614-15; Tyree 1974, 121, 130; Naumann 1976, 68, n. 97; Verlinden 1984, 218-10 (nos. 212, 217, pls. 84, 86); Lebessi 1996, 147, pl. 51A.

[693] Tyree 1974, 127; Kanta 1980, 71.

B.65 *The Psychro cave (see also A.30)*

Cult in the Psychro cave continued from MM times into the EIA. The lower and smaller chamber, which contained rock formations and a pool of water, may by this time have been blocked off, due to collapse of the ceiling.[696] The upper chamber, with the BA stone-built altar in the NW and paved temenos in the NE recess, remained in use and has yielded many offerings of the 8th and 7th centuries BC. Boardman, in his restudy of the finds from Hogarth's old excavations, has called this the second major phase of use after the MM III-LM I period.[697] In the EIA, the Lasithi plateau was relatively densely occupied, with a large settlement at Papoura in the hills opposite Psychro and several smaller ones which were founded around the edge of the plain in the course of the 7th century BC.[698] As discussed in the previous chapter, the identification of the Psychro cave with the Dictaean Antron mentioned in ancient literary sources is probably incorrect and even the issue of its proposed dedication to a cult for Zeus must remain open to question.[699]

The earlier tradition, established in the MM III-LM I period, of dedicating small bronzes in the Psychro cave was continued during the EIA. A fair number of bronze figurines have been dated to the PG period and include one of anthropomorphic shape, perhaps a female,[700] as well as a bull figurine, a ram and a goat.[701] PG pottery consists of a cup and an aryballos.[702] Several beads in clay, stone and bronze, have been dated to the PG-G period.[703]

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[694] Kanta 1971, 425-26, 439; Tyree 1974, 23, 122, 221-22.

[695] Kanta 1971, 436-37, pl. OH'.

[696] Boardman 1961, 4. *Contra*: Watrous 1996, 54.

[697] Boardman 1961, 2, 5.

[698] Watrous 1982, 19-21.

[699] *Contra* Watrous 1996, 19, 102-04.

[700] Boardman 1961, 9, pl. VI; Naumann 1976, 95 (P16); Verlinden 1984, 217, pl. 82 (no. 205).

From the succeeding G period there are bronze figurines of a male[704] and four of indeterminate gender, including one in sheet bronze and one in lead.[705] Among the more numerous animal figurines there are eight bulls,[706] two rams, two birds, two indefinite quadrupeds, a horse and a LG chariot restored with a ram and bull.[707] One G clay bull figurine is mentioned.[708] Among the G vases are an aryballos and a miniature kalathos.[709]

To the 7th century BC belong roughly similar types of votives, although anthropomorphic bronzes, apart from a bronze cut-out plaque of a man carrying an agrimi, have not been identified.[710] Animal figurines include two bronze bulls, a ram and perhaps a lead-filled weight in the form of a calf's head (an Egyptian import).[711] Pottery and terracotta figurines seem to become more numerous: Daed mouldmade terracottas include heads of males and of females, plaques depicting nude females, a nude running male and a sphinx or griffin, a handmade male and a bovine figurine. A fragment of

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[701] Boardman 1961, 13, pl. VII (no. 38); Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 42-43, pl. 7 (no. 89, bull), 74 (no. 179, ram), pl. 16, 88 (no. 218, goat), pl. 21.

[702] Boardman 1961, 56, pl. XVIII (nos. 239-40); Watrous 1996, 43 (nos. 126-27).

[703] Hogarth 1899-1900a, 113; Boardman 1961, 49, 52, pl. XVII (no. 229), 71; Watrous 1996, 53.

[704] Hogarth 1899-1900a, pl. X:4; Boardman 1961, 8, 11, pl. III (no. 21); Verlinden 1984, 221, pl. 92 (no. 236).

[705] Hogarth 1899-1900a, 107, pl. X:3; Boardman 1961, 7-8, 12, 54, 118, fig. 1, pl. VI; Verlinden 1984, 219, pl. 87 (no. 223), 222, pl. 93 (no. 238). Verlinden (1984, 220 n. 47, 221-22 n. 50) has reassigned two female bronzes published by Boardman (1961, 9, 12) to other sites.

[706] Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 42-44, pls. 7-8 (nos. 87, 90-94), 46-47, pl. 9 (no. 103), 49, pl. 10 (no. 109).

[707] Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 74-76, pls. 16-17 (rams, nos. 180, 184). Birds: Boardman 1961, 13, pl. IX (nos. 47-48); Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 90, pl. 22 (nos. 222-23). Quadrupeds: *ibid.*, 94, pl. 22 (nos. 235-36). Horse: *ibid.*, 79, pl. 18 (no. 191). Chariot: *ibid.*, 97-98, pl. 24 (no. 245). Boardman (1961, 10) doubts the restoration with bull and ram.

[708] Boardman 1961, 62-63, pl. XXI (no. 268).

[709] Hogarth 1899-1900a, 105, fig. 36; Boardman 1961, 57, pl. XVIII (nos. 241, 246).

[710] Boardman 1961, 46-49, fig. 22 (no. 218). Similar plaques are known in large quantities from the open-air sanctuary at Syme: see entry B.66.

[711] Bulls: Boardman 1961, 13, pl. VIII (no. 42); Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 44, pl. 8 (nos. 95-96); Ram: Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 75, pl. 17 (no. 182). Calf: Boardman 161, 49, 52, 74, pl. XVI (no. 228); Watrous 1996, 54.

an arm may have belonged to a larger, wheelmade figure and there are two fragments of bull figures. Several siren and griffin heads must have been attachments of clay cauldrons.[712] Pottery consists of four aryballoi, a one-handled cup and a foot, perhaps of a krater, an oinochoe, a jar with a horse-head spout, a lekythos, several fragments of relief pithoi and a lion vase.[713]

Other types of votives have been dated more broadly to the G-O period. To these belong bronze weaponry, in the form of a possible fragment of a large shield and several small discs (perhaps votive shields)[714] and arrow- and spearheads, the latter also occurring in miniature form.[715] There is a little gold or silver jewellery, but there are abundant personal ornaments and other small objects in bronze: needles, pins, fibulae, many rings and some spiral beads.[716] An ivory figurine, also of the O period, may be a Syro-Phoenician import.[717] Among the iron objects listed by Hogarth a sword, daggers, eight lance-heads or knives and four axe-heads have been assigned to the EIA by later scholars.[718]

Although most finds came from the upper chamber, some were said by Hogarth to have been found in between the boulders in the mouth of the cave: G pottery, a bronze figurine (possibly female), bronze knives and pins.[719] Two of the fragments of clay mouldmade plaques listed above and two bronze figurines of unspecified date came from the terrace.[720] Watrous' conclusion that cult meals took place in front of the cave, though possibly correct, is so far not substantiated by the evidence. There is some drinking equipment among the pottery from the upper chamber, but more striking is the number of aryballoi, which appear to form a continuous series from the PG period into the 6th century BC.[721]

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[712] Hogarth 1899-1900a, 106, fig. 37:4; Boardman 1961, 59-63, pls. XX-XXII (nos. 256-59, 269); Watrous 1996, 44-45, pls. XXIXc-g, XXXa (nos. 143-46, 158). For the bull figures: Watrous 1996, 44-45 (nos. 142, 148), pls. XXII, XXIXb.

[713] Boardman 1961, 57-59, 62-63, pls. XVIII, XXII (nos. 242-44, 254); see also Watrous 1996, 43-44, pls. XXVIII, XIXa (nos. 129-33, 134-36, 139, 141). For a list of pottery also: Tyree 1974, 234.

[714] Boardman 1961, 49-53, fig. 25 (nos. 230-31 and eight discs without catalogue number).

[715] Boardman 1961, 26, 28, 30-31, figs. 10-11, pl. XII (nos. 99, 104, 112-13, 124, 126).

[716] Boardman 1961, 35, fig. 15, pl. XIII (needles, nos. 151-55); *ibid.* 32, 34, fig. 13, pl. XIII (pins, nos. 135-45 and others in the HM); *ibid.* 36-37, fig. 16 (fibulae); *ibid.* 37-42, figs. 17-18, pl. XIV (rings, nos. 172, 179); *ibid.* 49, 52, pl. XVII (bead, no. 229). On the lack of more precious jewellery: Boardman 1961, 56.

[717] Hogarth 1899-1900a, 113; Boardman 1961, 67-68, 75.

[718] Boardman 1961, 54-55, fig. 27; Tyree 1974, 132-33; Watrous 1996, 54.

[719] Hogarth 1899-1900a, 99, pl. X:4; Boardman 1961, 4; Watrous 1996, 54. For a LG date of the figurine: Verlinden 1984, 221, pl. 92 (no. 235).

[720] Hogarth 1899-1900a, 105-07; Boardman 1961, 63, pl. XXII; Watrous 1996, 45 (no. 156).

B.66 *Syme (see also A.31); Plates 17, 68-72*

In the open-air sanctuary of Syme, EIA cult continued to be practised in a way similar to that of preceding periods. The lighting of bonfires, animal sacrifice, dining and the deposition of offerings continued to be an important aspect of cult activities throughout the PG to O periods.[722] As noted by the excavator, Lebessi, the later BA showed a growth in importance of the dedication of (permanent) votive objects.[723] This tendency becomes even more apparent in the EIA: in terms of the number and quality of the votives, the G-O period is one of the three most prosperous in the long history of the sanctuary.[724] A thick, blackened and greasy layer with animal bones and votives from the LM III period until the 6th century BC covers most of the area from the former sacred enclosure to the S.

The N and NW walls of the monumental Neopalatial enclosure were still largely standing as they had been in the LM IIIC-SM period (Plate 17). The NE portion of the large platform, occupying the centre of the enclosure, also remained in use.[725] S of the former enclosure was a PG hearth, made of irregular upright slabs, which contained ash and some burnt bone.[726] The first architectural phase of a stone-built altar (2.70 x 2.20 m) to the N of the hearth may belong to the same period. During the second phase, dating to the LG-O period, this altar formed a focus of cult activities and many bronze votives were deposited in its vicinity. It has a bothros, probably for liquid offerings, in the middle and a step up to it on the E side; hence, the altar may not have been used for burnt sacrifice at all. As discussed in the previous chapter, none of the bones found at Syme show signs of intense burning.[727]

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[721] *Contra*: Watrous 1996, 54.

[722] Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 315.

[723] Lebessi 1991a, 162.

[724] The other two are the MM III/LM I and the Late HL period: Lebessi 1985b, 221.

[725] Lebessi 1973, 190; Mylonas 1984a, 101-02; Lebessi 1993, 211-13, pl. 130a.

[726] Lebessi 1977, 416-17. Perhaps similar to the ones found at Kommos; see cat. entry B.57.

Associated with the second building phase of the altar, likewise of the LG-EO period, is the substantial rebuilding of the S part of the sanctuary. Two terraces, which were at least 35 m long and filled with a metre thick layer of fieldstones, were laid out first. A third terrace was added to the S in 675-650 BC and slightly enlarged around 600 BC to accommodate a channel which led water from the Krya Vrysi spring through the sanctuary.[728] The auxiliary buildings of which only fragments are preserved played no direct role in the cult during the EIA.[729]

PG votives occur in considerably smaller numbers than those from other periods but are distinctly present. Three bronze male figurines have been dated as PG, including a nude warrior with shield and pronounced sexual organs, a nude male with outstretched arms and an ithyphallic flute player. There was one female bronze figurine.[730] Of the five illustrated male figurines in clay one displays the Minoan pose of worship.[731] In terracotta there is a xoanon-like female figurine, another probable female, an anthropomorphic vase and several animal figurines.[732] Bronze bull and ram figurines number at least 30.[733]

Large wheelmade animal figures continued to be dedicated but, as in most other sanctuaries where they constituted a distinct group in the LM IIIC-SM period, their numbers decrease drastically in the EIA. There are two PG-EG examples of bovids, a G bovid, a LG-EO ram and an O lion. Only one anthropomorphic figure was found, a G female of cylindrical variety. In addition, the excavator suggests that a terracotta helmet may have belonged to another large human figure, as at Gortyn.[734]

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[727] Lebessi 1972, 194, fig. 1, pls. 180a-b; *ead.* 1981a, 12; *ead.* 1983b, 348; *ead.* 1985b, 133-34, 221; Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 321, 327-28. In a later report, Lebessi (1991b, 325) states that the level below the altar was mixed, but that the date of its foundation should fall with the period SM-G.

[728] Esp. Lebessi 1981b, 383-87, figs. 1-2; also Lebessi 1975a, 325-27, pl. 255a; *ead.* 1977, 403; Orlandos 1977, 177; Lebessi 1984, 445, fig. 3.

[729] Lebessi 1981a, 9. Wall J, belonging to the 7th century BC, is one of the few remaining fragments; see Lebessi 1975a, 322; *ead.* 1993, pls. 134-35. For the PG-O building phases: Schürmann 1996, 2, fig. 1.

[730] Lebessi 2002, 17-18 (nos. 10-13), 57-74, 319, figs. 152, 163, pls. 10-13.

[731] Lebessi 1975a, 327, pl. 260b; *ead.* 1977, 411-13, fig. 1, pls. 216c, 217a; *ead.* 1981b, 390, pl. 256e.

[732] Lebessi 1972, 198, pls. 187a-b; *ead.* 1975a, 327-28, pl. 257a; *ead.* 1991b, 324; *ead.* 1992b, 217, pl. 92b.

[733] Schürmann 1996, 1-12, pls. 1-3 (nos. 1-30).

In the 8th and 7th centuries BC, the tradition of dedicating anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines (Plates 68, 72) remained an important element of votive practice. In addition, a whole new range of objects, predominantly of bronze, made their appearance in the votive repertoire. Some of the bronze votives may have been made on the spot, as indicated by the discovery of a clay crucible and many pieces of bronze waste.[735]

Among the G-O anthropomorphic figurines representations of females are rare. There are none in bronze. Terracotta female representations include the G cylindrical figure, mentioned above, and several O plaques of which examples of *kourotrophos* and *anasyrma* (see Plate 21c for an example from Oaxos) as well as more canonical types have been illustrated.[736] Other Daed heads are of indeterminate gender, but some of them may be female. To the 7th century BC also belongs a 4.1 cm high steatite figurine of an enthroned female.[737] Bronze figurines of males, on the other hand, are manifold: seven belong to the G and fifteen to the O period. They are depicted nude, often with pronounced sexual attributes or ithyphallic. One G male figurine holds a Minoan-type chalice (Plate 68a), another, probably bearded, is depicted in the act of self-flagellation.[738] There also is a G nude but helmet-wearing male couple (Plate 68b).[739] In addition there are two similar G figurines of males with arms stretched sideways.[740] The ones of O date consist of a lyre player,[741] a hunter with bow,[742] a centaur,[743] and a late 7th century BC group of a male leading a bull by the horns, with a restored height of *c.* 0.40 m.[744] Other O male figurines are fragmentarily preserved, but seem to have represented more generic young men, one of which was clad in a loincloth.[745] In terracotta there are at least one male with helmet and a mouldmade plaque.[746]

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[734] Lebessi 1977, 414-15, pls. 218a-c; *ead.* 1983b, 354, fig. 3. Clay helmets also occur as independent votives; see entry B.23 for Gortyn.

[735] They are not exactly datable, but most likely fall within the range of 1100-600 BC; see Lebessi 1991b, 313, pl. 201e. Schürmann (1996, 189-93) discusses the issue more fully and includes the possibility of travelling bronze smiths.

[736] Lebessi 1972, 198, 201, pls. 188a, 190a,c; *ead.* 1977, 413, pls. 217b, d.

[737] Lebessi 1973, 191, pl. 193a; *ead.* 1974, 226, pl. 169b; *ead.* 1981b, 388, pls. 256a-b.

[738] Lebessi 2002, 18-19, (nos. 14 and 17), 75-79, 81-86, 320-21, pls. 14, 16.

[739] Lebessi 2002, 18-19 (no. 15), 79-81, pl. 15.

[740] Lebessi 2002, 20 (nos. 19-20), 90-92, 321-22, figs. 55, 143, pls. 18-19.

[741] Lebessi 2002, 21 (no. 22), 98-103, 322-23, figs. 68, 140, pl. 21.

[742] Lebessi 2002, 23-24 (no. 30), 119-24, 325, figs. 131, 160-61, pls. A, 28-29.

[743] Lebessi 2002, 24-25 (no. 34), 126-31, 325-26, pl. 30.

Of special interest is the 7th-century group of over 60 cut-out bronze plaques. Their iconography throws light on some of the principal rites which must have taken place in the sanctuary. The plaques are all individual pieces and not series-made by chasing them over a mould. The majority depicts male votaries, both young and older with beards, who are depicted as hunters with bow or as subduing or carrying off wild goats (Plates 69-70). There are a few plaques of agrimia or bulls and only one plaque of a female, depicted in a long robe and wearing a polos. The plaque of a male divinity shown with small wings at the feet and branches in his hair has been plausibly identified as Hermes (Plate 71d). The same identification probably applies to the two plaques with a representation of a male holding a wand (Plates 71a-b) and the two with male figures in a tree (Plate 71c). Some of these bronzes had a suspension ring or holes at the edge; others may have been glued onto a wooden surface.[747]

Among the hundreds of bronze animal figurines bovids predominate (Plate 72a), although there are several examples of rams, goats (Plate 72b), agrimia (Plate 72c) and isolated examples of horses (including a span), a lion, a dog and a possible seal.[748] The horses may have belonged to a chariot or cart as several small bronze wheels were also found.[749] Worthy of note is further the occurrence of larger bronze animal figures, a ram and an agrimi, in sphyrelaton technique,[750] and a bronze plaque of a sphinx.[751] There was one lead bull figurine.[752] Published G-O examples of clay animal figurines include several bulls, horses, goats, including groups of two, and an occasional bird.[753]

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[744] Lebessi 2002, 25 (no. 36a-d), 134-37, 326, figs. 134, 164, pl. 32.

[745] Lebessi 2002, 21-25 (nos. 23-33, 35), 103-26, 131-34, 324-26, pls. 22-27.

[746] Lebessi 1977, 413; *ead.* 1972, 198, pl. 188b.

[747] Lebessi 1985a, 221-33, esp. pls. 1-4, 12-15, 34-42.

[748] The total number of bronze animal figurines of all periods is more than 500; see Lebessi 1972, 198; *ead.* 1992c, 13; Schürmann 1996, 1, 215, table 1. For LG-O examples: Lebessi 1973, 190, pls. 190, 191a, 192b; *ead.* 1975a, 328, pls. 260a,c; *ead.* 1977, 416, pl. 219b; *ead.* 1981b, 392, pl. 258; *ead.* 1992b, 218, pl. 93d. For a full catalogue: Schürmann 1996, 15-164, pls. 4-58 (nos. 15-529).

[749] Lebessi 1977, 410, pls. 215d-e; *ead.* 1981b, 390, pl. 257c; Schürmann 1996, 165-70, pl. 59 (nos. 530-35). For the wheels: Lebessi 1984, 450.

[750] Lebessi 1976b, 403, pl. 223a; *ead.* 1983b, 356; Schürmann 1996, 170-71, pls. 59-60 (nos. 536-37a).

[751] Lebessi 1988, 256-57, fig. 7a.

In larger and more precious bronze work there are numerous fragments of different cauldrons and stands, consisting of wheels and attachments in the form of birds, horses and (in sheet bronze) griffins; the last three also occur in clay.[754] Pieces of four bronze openwork stands were found widely spread through the sacrificial layer. One of them is of Cypriot type with a decoration of pairs of griffins flanking trees of life. Another stand, akin to one found in the Idaean cave, includes representations of a human figure with a horse and an ithyphallic male.[755] Among the many pieces of sheet bronze are several decorated ones, as well as part of a hammered shield protome in the shape of a lion's head; the various small bronze discs were probably votive shields.[756] Other weaponry consists of bronze spearheads and bronze and iron arrowheads.[757] Of note are further the fragments of a bronze systrum with Hathor head and of a bronze North-Syrian horse harness, decorated in relief with a winged sun disc, lion heads and nude frontal females, like the well-known one found in the Heraion at Samos.[758]

Personal ornaments include a bronze ring, fibula, a bronze rosette and several bronze and iron pins.[759] The sacrificial layer also contained some (undated) pieces of sheet gold, as well as a gold bead and some other jewellery and a LG-EO faience scarab.[760] Terracotta spindle whorls were also present.[761]

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[752] Schürmann 1996, 173-74, pl. 61 (no. 540).

[753] Lebessi 1975a, 324, 329; *ead.* 1977, 415, pls. 218d-e; *ead.* 1981b, 390, 393, fig. 5b, pls. 257a-b; *ead.* 1983b, 355; *ead.* 1984, 448, pl. 223a; *ead.* 1985a, 280, pl. 135d.

[754] Lebessi 1974, 224, 226-27; *ead.* 1975a, 329; *ead.* 1977, 410-11; *ead.* 1992b, 218, pl. 93c.

[755] Lebessi 1996, 146 n. 12. Griffins: Lebessi 1972, 198; *ead.* 1973, 190, pl. 188a; *ead.* 1975a, 329, pl. 259. Catling (1984, 89) considers this a LBA Cypriot antique, Matthäus (1988, 290) a Cretan product of *c.* 700 BC. For the Idaean type: Lebessi 1974, 226, pl. 168a; *ead.* 1975a, 328; *ead.* 1981b, 394, pl. 259b.

[756] Lebessi 1974, 226; *ead.* 1977, 416; *ead.* 1981b, 392-94. For the miniature shields: Lebessi 1977, 411; *ead.* 1988, 262; *ead.* 1991b, 324, pl. 207b.

[757] Lebessi 1981b, 392, 395; *ead.* 1984, 450, 456.

[758] Böhm 1990, 37-39, pl. 15 (B19-I); Lebessi 1992b, 218.

[759] Lebessi 1974, 226; *ead.* 1981b, 394; *ead.* 1975a, 324; *ead.* 1988, 262, fig. 10a. For the pins: Lebessi 1976b, 416; *ead.* 1977, 411; *ead.* 1981b, 394, pl. 259c; *ead.* 1988, 262.

[760] Lebessi 1976b, 403; *ead.* 1977, 411; *ead.* 1984, 450. Scarab: Lebessi 1974, 226.

[761] Lebessi 1974, 227.

Kanta, who is studying the pottery from the sanctuary, has noted a drastic reduction of the use of pottery in the EIA compared to the preceding periods. Nevertheless, a certain degree of continuity can be seen in the preponderance of drinking vessels. Kanta considers the PG krateriskoi and G-O rounded cups as the successors of the Neopalatial chalices and LM III kylikes and deep bowls.[762] One of the O drinking cups has incised decoration of a male figure. Kernoi, for libations, were also noted.[763] Other EIA pottery from the sanctuary consists of jugs, stands, a clay tripod handle, pithos lids of concave shape and in one case with a lion protome, a ring vase of a type known from Aphrati, a bird vase and relief pithoi.[764]

The earliest epigraphic evidence for worship of Hermes at Syme dates from around 600 BC, while the epithet *Kedritas* ('of the cedar tree') is known from HL inscriptions, when there is also epigraphic evidence for the worship of Aphrodite.[765] Lebessi concludes that the iconography of the bronze cut-out plaques discussed above is in accordance with a cult for Hermes. Envisaging a process of syncretisation that may have begun already in the LM III period, the excavator believes in a transformation of the Minoan Goddess and her male consort into Aphrodite and Hermes. [766]

The emphasis on hunting on the bronze cut-out plaques ties in with Lebessi's reconstruction of an important initiation festival for young aristocratic men, largely along the lines described by the 4th-century BC author Ephorus. Age groups of young Cretan males would spend a period of two months in the countryside as part of their initiation into manhood. They would devote this time hunting and feasting under the guidance of an older citizen, who had chosen one of the youngsters as his lover.[767] Of special relevance in this respect is the presence at Syme of the bronze group of a male couple, one figure being clearly larger than the other. On their return to the city, the new citizens were, according to Ephorus, presented with weapons, garments, a cup denoting their membership of the andreion and a bull which was to be offered to Zeus. This, Lebessi sees reflected in the figurine with cup and the many bronze bull figurines found at Syme.[768]

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[762] Lebessi 1976b, 404, pl. 224d; Kanta 1991, 482, 494, figs. 28-30. A Minoan chalice is held by a LG bronze male figurine; *ibid.* 485; Lebessi 1981a, 24, pl. 3b. Other Minoan objects showing up in later contexts are stone offering tables, of which many were dedicated in Syme. They were reused in HL times and one is depicted on a O bronze cut-out plaque; see Lebessi 1985b, 126-27, pl. 43 (A15); Kanta 1991, 483, 485.

[763] Lebessi 1972, 196; *ead.* 1984, 463.

[764] Lebessi 1977, 415, pl. 218f (bird vase); *ead.* 1988, 261, pl. 173d; *ead.* 1992b, 217, pl. 93b; Kanta 1991, 497-500, figs. 32-39.

[765] Lebessi 1973, 198, pl. 205; *ead.* 1981a, 4-5, 9 n. 5, 10, pl. 1b.

[766] Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 315; see also the discussion in section 9 of the present chapter, p. 586-90.

B.67 *Sta Lenika*

Sta Lenika is situated in a small upland valley halfway Ayios Nikolaos and Elounda, on the W side of the Bay of Mirabello. It can be reached from the coast through a steep gorge, but is not visible from the sea. In the 1880s, Comparetti and Halbherr discovered several inscriptions, one of A date, in houses of the modern village.[769] Some 200 m to the W, Bousquet excavated a PG or G and HL cult building in 1937-38, as part of the French investigations at Elounda (ancient Olous). HL inscriptions uncovered by Bousquet refer to 'Kyprogeneia' and to the rebuilding of an earlier temple. This confirms the identification of the first cult building as the 'ancient Aphrodision' which, according to HL inscriptions found at Lato, was situated at the (disputed) frontier of Lato and Olous.[770] Because the A inscription found in the modern village mentions a cult for Ares and the HL temple had two cellae, it has been suggested that there was a combined cult for Ares and Aphrodite. Around the cult building Bousquet noted 'houses of no special interest', without specifying their date.[771] Not much is known about the EIA habitation of this region, but it is possible that the PG or G sanctuary has to be considered foremost in its relation to a large, uninvestigated settlement at Mount Oaxa which overlooks Sta Lenika from the W.[772]

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[767] Lebessi 1991a, 160. See also the section on 'Hearth temples, prytaneia, andreia and rituals of communal dining', p. 441-76.

[768] Lebessi 1985b, 236-37; *ead.* 1991a, 163-65.

[769] Comparetti 1888, 177-78; Halbherr 1890, 655-56; *IC* I, 244-45.

[770] Bousquet 1938, 389-91, 395-96; Jamot 1938, 182-83; *IC* I, 116-124, 134. For a reconstruction of this border: Van Effenterre & Bougrat 1969.

[771] Bousquet 1938, 386-89; E.P. Blegen 1938, 405; Kirsten 1937b, 2506.

[772] For Oaxa: Pendlebury 1939, 365, 376; Sanders 1982, 141. To date there are no EIA finds from Olous: Van Effenterre 1992b; Kanta 1980, 129.

Unfortunately, little attention is paid in Bousquet's report to the EIA phase of the sanctuary. The earliest building is described as a room (*c.* 11 x 4.75 m) with, in front of it, a shelter on columns to protect the hearth (*c.* 2.05 x 1.20)—a reconstruction which has not gained acceptance.[773] Mazarakis Ainian suggests that two elongated stones against the exterior of the NW wall may have been a bench.[774] Although mention was made of PG sherds, the foundation date remains unclear.[775] Three votive deposits are indicated on Bousquet's plan, of which a few (bronze) objects were illustrated: a horse figurine attached to a wheel, a disc or shield, a human figurine and a bronze bull.[776] Preliminary reports further mention a barbed bronze arrowhead and terracotta masks and figurines.[777]

B.68 *Prophitis Elias*

The 600 m high peak of Prophitis Elias, some 2.5 km SE of ancient Praisos, forms one of the most prominent features of this mountainous area. The modern church at the summit incorporates large blocks and column fragments of an ancient temple, of which Spratt described seeing the foundations in 1865.[778] The abundant surface material, now being studied as part of the Praisos Project, consists primarily of sherds of drinking cups, ranging in date from at least the O to the HL period. Two fragments of O terracotta votive plaques, depicting a male, and part of a bronze pin were also noted.[779]

Both Spratt and Bosanquet considered the remains too poor to be identified with one of the temples of Dictaean Zeus which, according to Strabo, belonged to the area of Praisos. More recently Faure has revived this hypothesis, primarily because of the location on a mountain top and the more frequent association of churches for Elias with ancient Zeus sanctuaries.[780]

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[773] Only one column base was actually found. Bousquet 1938, 393, pl. XLII. *Contra*: Renard 1967, 576, fig. 51; Mallwitz 1981, 611; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 216.

[774] Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 215.

[775] Lemerle 1937, 475; E.P. Blegen 1938, 405.

[776] Bousquet 1938, pl. XLIII, fig. 8 on 395, fig. 17 on 403. Pilali-Papasteriou (1985, 52, pl. 11:116) opts, *contra* Bousquet, for a date before the Archaic period for the bronze bull.

[777] Lemerle 1937, 474-75; E.P. Blegen 1938, 405.

[778] Spratt 1865a, 166-67; Bosanquet 1939-40, 64.

[779] Faure (1960, 195; 1967, 129) initially dated the surface pottery to O-CL times.

B.69 *Palaikastro: the sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus; Plates 73-74*

In the fertile coastal valley of Palaikastro, in eastern Crete, large areas of an extensive BA settlement and an EIA and later sanctuary were uncovered by Bosanquet and Dawkins from 1902-06 for the British School. Work in the area was resumed in 1962-63 by Popham and Sackett, and again from 1983 onwards by Sackett and MacGillivray. The finds from the historical period are being restudied by Thorne and Prent.[781]

Like other major Cretan BA settlements, Palaikastro was occupied from the EM into the LM IIIB period, and then abandoned. In the LM period the settlement consisted of rectangular blocks of large houses and carefully laid-out streets. Above Blocks Chi and Pi, halfway down the SE slope of the settlement hill, the remains of an important Iron Age sanctuary were discovered by the first excavators (Plate 73). Only preliminary reports were published and these emphasise thorough disturbance and modern stone quarrying. Restudy of the old finds and excavation daybooks, however, give reason to modify this conclusion: the fact that several deposits of whole pots were retrieved from 'surface levels'—which at that time were not excavated stratigraphically—indicates that some areas of the sanctuary may not have been entirely disturbed.[782] In places, a layer with votives and architectural fragments of more than a metre thickness was encountered.[783]

Cult activity in the area of Block Chi and Pi is attested for the G-O and perhaps for the PG period, but no contemporary architecture was identified. The date of a temenos wall, which could be traced for 36 m, remains uncertain. G finds were not restricted to the area encompassed by this wall: a cup, for instance, was found above the courtyard of LBA Block B, to the W, and a pyxis-lid and bronze spoon in room 45 of Block Delta.[784] The construction of the temenos wall may therefore have taken place simultaneously with that of the first temple, probably in the 6th century BC.[785] Nevertheless, the prime focus of early cult activity seems to have been within the area of the later temenos: a concentration of ash, 0.25 m thick and 3 m long over Chi 25-26 and Pi 38-40, probably marked the spot of an ash-altar. Around it several bronze bowls and miniature shields were noted.[786] A thin-walled structure to the NW of this altar, indicated on Bosanquet's plan but not further documented, may be paralleled by the 8th or 7th century double hearth found E of Temple B in Kommos.[787]

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[780] Faure 1960, 194-95. *Contra*: Spratt 1865a, 166-67; Bosanquet 1939-40, 64.

[781] For a recent summary of research and full bibliography: MacGillivray & Sackett 1992, 222-231; also Prent & Thorne 1993.

[782] On the disturbance see e.g. Bosanquet 1939-40, 67; Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904-05, 298. The then current methods of digging and the (unfulfilled) expectations of the early excavators as regards the form of the sanctuary affected their conclusions: MacVeagh Thorne & Prent 2000.

[783] Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904-05, 272.

At the place of the ash-altar the BA street seems to have been covered, but at several other places substantial parts of the LM ruins appear to have been visible, and perhaps even reused, in much later periods. Both during the old and the new excavations finds associated with the sanctuary were encountered in the streets between the LBA buildings; the street between Buildings I and III eventually became a Turkish calderimi.[788]

Among the bronze votives were leg and handle fragments of eight to ten tripods, the majority of them dating to the 8th century BC,[789] but one of them (a rod tripod) possibly to the PG period.[790] Five bronze shields could be restored (Plate 74), decorated with animal friezes and one with a nude female figure (*Potnia Theron*), two of them with lion protomes.[791] According to Benton, the torso of a male sphyrelaton statuette is comparable to the better preserved one from Dreros. A life-size and a miniature helmet probably belong to the 7th century BC.[792] Of the figurines only a bronze and lead lion (perhaps a vase attachment from the early 7th century BC) was published,[793] but Bosanquet also associated with the sanctuary a number of bull figurines, two of them found in excavation, and 'a bucket full' reported to be discovered earlier by a local farmer.[794] The 13 miniature shields or discs and several pins and fibulae are less closely datable.[795] Significantly enough, Bosanquet noted bits of metal in bars (three square and one round in section) and a strip of rough casting which, according to him, pointed to bronze working on the spot. Among the finds stored in the Herakleion Museum is also a rectangular iron bar.[796] To date, no terracotta figurines or plaques are known to have come from the sanctuary at Palaikastro.[797] Associated pottery consists of G cups, pyxides and sherds of G and O pithoi.[798]

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[784] Bosanquet *et al.* 1902-03, 320, fig. 20:1; Hutchinson, Eccles & Benton 1939-40, 40.

[785] Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904-05, 298-99.

[786] Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904-05, 300. No bowls are mentioned in Benton's publication of the bronzes from Palaikastro: see Benton 1939-40a.

[787] With dimensions of *c.* 1.70 x 1.40 m: Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904-05, pl. X. For Kommos: see cat. entry B.57.

[788] MacVeagh Thorne & Prent 2000; see also Bosanquet *et al.* 1902-03, 295; Bosanquet 1908-09, 351.

[789] Benton 1939-40a, 51-52 (nos. 1-11), fig. 45, pls. 21-22, 29; Maass 1977, *passim*, and 52-57 (nos. 3, 4, 7, 9, 13, 16, 28, 34).

[790] Benton 1939-40a, 52 (no. 11), pl. 29, with reference to a complete tripod stand from Chamber Tomb 1 at Vrokastro: Hall 1914, 133, fig. 80, pl. XXXIV:1; Desborough 1952, 264-67. See also Matthäus 1985, 305 (g), 308, pl. 134.3; *id.* 1988, 287. Catling (1964, 216-23; 1984, 72, 89-90) considers these rod tripods as 12th-century Cypriot heirlooms.

[791] Benton 1939-40a, 53-54 (nos. 12-16), pls. 23-26, 27, who dates them to the

As is apparent from the early excavation reports and notebooks, one of Bosanquet's main incentives to explore the region of Palaikastro was to locate the sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus mentioned in a HL boundary treaty between Hierapytna and Itanos.[799] The identification was achieved by the discovery in 1904 of an inscription of the Hymn of the Kouretes, in a pit in the SE part of the site. The inscription itself dates to the 3rd century AD, but the recorded hymn may go back to the 6th-4th century BC.[800] In the Hymn, the deity

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7th century BC. Kunze 1931, 12-13 (no. 8), pls. 21-23, 15-16 (no. 15), pl. 29, 19 (no. 29), pl. 35, 22-23 (no. 40), pl. 38, 28 (no. 59), pl. 45.

[792] Benton 1939-40a, 54 (nos. 30-31), pls. 28-29, 55 (no. 33, without measurements), pl. 28.

[793] Benton 1939-40a, 54 (no. 32), pl. 29.

[794] Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904-05, 307. Benton assigns two bronze bull figurines to the BA; see Benton 1939-40a, 56 (nos. 39, 41).

[795] Benton 1939-40a, 54-55 (nos. 17-29, 34-36), pls. 27, 29. For the fibulae: Blinkenberg 1926, 40; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1978, 18.

[796] Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904-05, 307; MacVeagh Thorne & Prent 2000.

[797] Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904-05, 307-08.

[798] Bosanquet *et al.* 1902-03, 320, fig. 20; Hutchinson, Eccles & Benton 1939-40, 40, pl. 16; MacVeagh Thorne & Prent 2000. Two krateriskoi were found among Palaikastro material in the Herakleion Museum, but cannot be attributed to the sanctuary with complete certainty; they may date to the PG or the G period.

[799] *IC* 93-106; discovered by Pashley (1837a, 290) in the Monastery of Toplou.

[800] Bosanquet 1908-09, 339-56; G. Murray 1908-09, 357-65; Furley & Bremer 2001a, 65-76; *eid.* 2001b, 1-20.

is invoked as 'Greatest Kouros' and summoned to come to 'Dikta'. The discussion of the exact location of this place, usually considered the toponym of a sacred cave or mountain somewhere in eastern Crete, has a long scholarly tradition, beginning in HL times. Recently, Crowther has assigned the name to Petsophas, the 215 m high mountain to the S of the sanctuary, and perhaps to the BA city itself. Crowther combines a proposed reading of four Linear A inscriptions on libation tables from the BA peak sanctuary on Petsophas as 'JA-DI-KI-TE-TE' with references to the place Dikta by the later writers Diodorus and Apollonius Rhodius. According to Diodorus, Zeus had founded a city at or near Dikta, the remains of which were still visible during his day; Apollonius mentions Dikta's haven, where the Argonauts, coming to Crete from Karpathos, unsuccessfully sought landfall.[801]

4. Principal Types of PG-O Cult Equipment and Votives

Prior to discussion of the different kinds of sanctuaries and their possible functions, it is necessary to establish the principal types of cult equipment and votives current in the EIA. As in the LM IIIC-SM period, the presence of groups of objects which can plausibly be related to cult activities remains an important means of identifying sanctuaries in the material record. Many EIA sanctuaries, especially those outside settlements, were hypaethral, with few preserved architectural remains. Where EIA cult buildings do exist, usually within settlements, recurrent features in plan and furnishings, such as central hearths and benches, can sometimes be discerned. None of these, however, are exclusive of sacred architecture and they cannot be considered as defining characteristics.[802] Although more monumental structures with sculptural decoration appear in the course of the 7th century BC at central-Cretan sites such as Prinias and Gortyn, the canonical, peripteral Greek temple plan was not adopted in the island before the HL-R periods. Modest one- and two-room rectangular structures,[803] which on the basis of their plan alone are difficult to distinguish from domestic buildings, continued to dominate sacred architecture until long after the 7th century BC.

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[801] Crowther 1988, esp. 37-38, referring to Diod. Sic. 5.70.6 and *Argonautika* 4.1635-1693; see also Huxley 1967 (with refs.); Bosanquet 1908-09, 351; *id.* 1939-40, 62-63. *Contra*: Owens 1993.

[802] For a similar conclusion: Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 280.

[803] Of a type commonly referred to in architectural studies as the *oikos*; e.g.

The task of tracing distinctive votive assemblages is facilitated by the marked rise in non-perishable votives during the 8th and 7th centuries BC. Compared to the LM IIIC-SM period, there is a much greater variety in votives, both precious and of lesser inherent value, ranging from large bronzes and fine jewellery to small terracottas.[804] As before, objects used in daily life continued to be given as votive offerings in sanctuaries. The proportion, however, of votives made especially for dedication in sanctuaries seems to grow in the course of the period. Apart from helping to identify sanctuaries in the archaeological record, the rising number of votives also enhances the possibility of gaining insight into the nature and orientation of cults and the social standing of different groups of cult participants. It is possible, for example, to distinguish between various kinds of local and regional sanctuaries, which appear to have served different clienteles in the context of different cults.

Sources and models for interpretation

A fundamental distinction, also apparent from the site catalogue, is that between sanctuaries with votive assemblages dominated by large metal objects, in particular bronzes (Plates 56-61, 74) and those in which terracotta items such as figurines and plaques prevail (Plates 32-36, 54). The separation of metal and clay is, needless to say, not absolute, as there are several sanctuaries which have yielded impressive collections of both,[805] but certain significant trends, which will serve as basic guidelines for further discussion, may be discerned. Ceramic objects, when taken to include pottery, occur in all sanctuaries, but their proportion varies greatly. In most EIA sanctuaries they form the principal or sole known category of votives, while in

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Weickert 1929; Drerup 1969; Kalpaxis 1976; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, esp. 259-69.

[804] It may be assumed that besides these permanent votives objects of perishable material were also dedicated. Examples of such offerings have not survived in Crete itself, but a wooden plaque is known from a cave sanctuary on the Mainland (Boardman 1954, 188-89) and other items of wood and natural objects such as pine cones have been found in the Heraion at Samos (Kyrieleis 1980; 1983).

[805] In one instance, at the sanctuary in the lower part of the settlement at Oaxos (B.6), a hoard of bronze armour was buried separately from the hundreds of contemporary terracottas.

others they amount to no more than a few figurines or to vessels which may constitute the debris of sacrificial dining and drinking rather than being votive offerings in the strict sense of the term. Clear examples of sanctuaries with few terracotta items are the Idaean cave and Palaikastro (Table 4). In the dominant presence of bronze and other metal votives and in their location at a considerable distance from contemporary settlements, these sites parallel (inter-)regional sanctuaries on the Mainland such as Olympia, Dodona, the Theban Kabeirion and Lousoi in Arcadia.[806] At the other end of the scale is a far more substantial group of sanctuaries with predominantly terracotta offerings. The great majority of these are characterised by a suburban or urban location (Tables 6 and 7). Mixed votive assemblages, composed of both metal and terracotta objects seem to occur both in (sub-)urban sanctuaries, such as the Acropolis of Gortyn and the lower settlement of Oaxos, and in extra-urban ones as the Patsos cave, Ayia Triada, the Psychro cave and Syme (Table 5).

The phenomenon of rapidly increasing numbers of bronze dedications in the developing regional and interregional sanctuaries of the 8th-century Greek Mainland has been analysed by Snodgrass. In general, he points out, this increase in permanent votives surpasses any imaginable growth of population and hints at a complex of underlying factors. As for the bronzes, a contributing factor seems to have been the expansion, in the course of the EIA, of long-distance exchange networks which led to a greater availability of metals. Secondly, and no less importantly, there must have been a change in cult behaviour which involved the investment of a far larger proportion of personal wealth in permanent religious dedications than before. Snodgrass considers the phenomenon part of the broader social and structural changes taking place in this period and refers in particular to the processes of polis formation and Hellenization. He concludes that interregional sanctuaries such as Olympia and Delphi played an important role in these processes, as aristocratic members of different incipient poleis would meet there and be able to engage in friendly exchange of knowledge and ideas as well as in more competitive display of achievements and wealth—the latter materially reflected in the dedication of more and ever larger precious bronzes. This trend is correlated by Snodgrass with a decrease in metal burial gifts later in the 8th century BC, which he interprets as 'a switch of emphasis and loyalty from the individual and the family to the polis'.[807]

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[806] Coldstream 1968, 24; *id.* 1977a, 332.

The central tenet of Snodgrass' model, that some EIA sanctuaries developed into neutral meeting places and podia for conspicuous display and were instrumental in processes of early state formation and Hellenization, has found general acceptance and also provides a useful tool for the study of Cretan EIA sanctuaries. The model has been developed more fully by Morgan in her study of the early history of the sanctuaries at Olympia and Delphi. In this she contrasts the individual level of aristocratic involvement during the EIA with the later participation of early states as collective entities. Visiting large festivals would have been instrumental in acquiring or maintaining power in the home community (and hence in the process of monopolisation of force by the aristocracy).[808] Dedication of large bronzes should thus be seen in a dynamic social framework of 'cumulative emulation' or 'ritualised competition' between aristocratic members of society.[809] On a different level, it may be added that the dedication of prestigious offerings made visible and perpetuated a donor's 'claim to special relations with higher powers',[810] similarly enhancing his position in society. Precious votives could remain on display for a long time, commemorating dedicators' victories in war and games and other personal claims to fame for generations to come. Ancient authors such as Herodotus and later Pausanias frequently mention seeing such votives, some supposedly of great antiquity and given by famous rulers.[811]

Somewhat problematic, however, is Snodgrass' idea that there was a shift of focus from tomb to sanctuary gifts that represents a significant advance in the formation of community identity and cohesion. For some areas on the Greek Mainland the validity of the observation has been questioned. Both De Polignac and I. Morris maintain that a diminution of metal grave goods is not readily observable everywhere. The first author, for instance, sees a parallel elaboration of tomb and sanctuary offerings in the 8th-century Argolid and Attica.[812] For Crete, the continued use of collective tombs, which frequently extends from the PG into the O period, makes it difficult, if not impossible, to see clear changes over time. With the full publication of such important EIA cemeteries as those of Prinias and Eleutherna pending, the issue may be clarified in the near future.[813] It is possible, however, that regional or local differences also occurred within the island: in the recently published tombs from Knossos no bronze weapons appear to have been dedicated after the SM period,[814] while at sites such as Eleutherna and Aphrati, the custom of placing bronze weaponry in tombs seems to have continued longer.[815]

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[807] Snodgrass 1980, 52-58, 62-64; *id.* 1986a, esp. 54-55. *Cf.* Stewart 1991, 12 on a similar role for interregional festivals in Greek orthodox religion.

[808] Morgan 1990, esp. 3-4 (also for a discussion of the extent to which the concept of 'polis' and 'aristocracy' overlapped). See also I.M. Morris 1997, 30.

[809] De Polignac (1994, esp. 11) explores the development of rural sanctuaries from modest meeting places into 'places of competition'.

[810] Burkert 1987a, 49; also Van Wees 1992, 142-46.

[811] Rouse 1902, 319-21; Linders 1987, esp. 115-16; Van Straten 1996, 269; see also Prent 1996-97, 46 n. 7 (for a possible Cretan example of such long circulation). Snodgrass (1980, 63) uses the terms 'war museum' and 'armouries' for some of the interregional sanctuaries.

The 8th-century increase in precious metal votives seems to be paralleled or mirrored by the mass-production of simple, mouldmade terracotta plaques and figurines later in the EIA, from *c.* 700 BC. Despite their easy availability and inexpensiveness, mouldmade terracottas do not occur in all sanctuaries: there is a complete absence in some and a concentration in others—most of which are to be classified as (sub-)urban. Clearly, dedication of these terracotta votives took place within the context of local cult systems as these have been described by Sourvinou-Inwood and Nagy. These local systems, in contrast to the rising Panhellenism, tended to preserve very specific and localised traditions[816] and participation in them served different purposes. Since the dedicators in the (sub-)urban sanctuaries were from the same community, emphasis would be on local social integration, with expansion of social differences or interpersonal rivalry being less desirable or proper. This is not to say that members of the local elite might not have joined in these cults. It is conceivable that they would adhere to the custom of dedicating simple and inexpensive votives in the context of local cult, in order not to stand out but to express instead their membership in the local community as a whole. More than reflecting on the social standing or wealth of the dedicator, terracotta votives in these (sub-)urban sanctuaries say something about the function of the cult in question.

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[812] De Polignac 1995a, esp. 88-90; *id.* 1996. I.M. Morris (1997, 34-36) thinks Snodgrass' observation may be more true for Central Greece than for other areas.

[813] See also the introduction to this chapter, p. 214. For Eleutherna and Prinias: cat. entries B.1-4 and B.14-16.

[814] In the Knossian EIA cemeteries many tombs have a lifespan of PGB-EO. Accompanying large bronzes consist mostly of cauldrons, bronze weaponry being notably absent after the SM period: see esp. Catling (1996b, 571) and Brock (1957, 200) who lists one bronze spearhead from a PG tomb at Fortetsa.

[815] At both sites, bronze shields were found in EIA tombs. In the case of Eleutherna, the tomb is quite closely dated to the PGB period on the basis of the pottery. At Aphrati, however, the latest possible date of the dedication of the shields is the 7th century BC (see the section on metal votives below, p. 369-70).

Although the heaping up of large numbers of terracotta votives in some sanctuaries might seem to mimic the massing of prestige objects dedicated by the elite, the mechanisms behind the dedication of terracottas and the effects must have been quite different. This can be illustrated by two observations. First, votive deposits of terracottas convey a general impression of homogeneity in material and in the size of the objects. The reuse of moulds, sometimes very worn, speaks for the wish to adhere to established, traditional types rather than for elaboration or monumentalisation. Second, the permanency of these small terracotta offerings, when compared to the large bronzes, was certainly relative. Often terracotta votives are found together in large dumps and it may well be that objects of small value were disposed of soon after dedication.[817]

The different functions of large metal and other precious votives *versus* those of terracotta dedications, as outlined above, may serve as an initial guideline in the attempt to differentiate between types of sanctuaries and their associated clienteles. The next step consists of a more detailed analysis of individual types of votive objects, by assessing their possible function and symbolic meaning in the context of EIA Cretan cult and society. It may come as no surprise that this is least difficult for objects that can be associated with the votive and cult activities of elite members of the Cretan communities. For these people, participation in high-profile cults and the conspicuous dedication of precious objects was an inherent part of articulating their position in society. Their actions left the most visible and explicit marks on the archaeological record. Attention may be directed to the role of precious objects, including votives, in what has been called 'a system of elite self-definition and expression'.[818] This system implies the circulation and use of prestigious types of objects, which were distinctive for an elite and had a specific symbolic content. For EIA Crete, the parallelism between rich votive and funerary offerings is in this connection noteworthy, as it is in striking contrast with the divergence in poorer (especially terracotta) votives and grave goods. Mouldmade plaques or figurines, for instance, are never found in EIA tombs and handmade ones rarely.[819]

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[816] Sourvinou-Inwood 1978, 101-02; *ead.* 1988a, 259; *ead.* 1990, 300; Nagy 1979, 7; *id.* 1990, 10. See the introduction to this chapter, p. 217-18.

[817] Rouse 1902, 343. Sometimes terracottas are deliberately broken, probably to prevent their reuse; see Higgins 1954, 8; *id.* 1967, 1. In a cult building in Sicily figurines had been glued to the benches with plaster, apparently in an attempt to prevent removal; see Alroth 1988, 203.

It should be added further that elite votives are often characterised by a more explicit and overt iconography, both in the form of the objects and in their decoration. Attempts to identify the kind of cult and deity are therefore also bound to be more successful for cult places with a distinct involvement of the elite.

The issues of the recognition of different social groups among the congregation of a certain sanctuary and the identification of the associated deity remain to a large extent an archaeological matter. Votive inscriptions, which give the name of the deity or dedicator are extremely rare in Crete until CL-HL periods.[820] The only contemporary literary sources available for the EIA are the Homeric and Hesiodic works, whose relevance for Crete, as discussed in the introduction to this chapter, may be limited. The island was already known for its lack of interest in 'foreign poets' in ancient times and the influence of these 'Panhellenic works' on Cretan EIA culture is therefore something that is to be assessed rather than assumed. It is nevertheless important to discuss briefly the possible relationship of these literary works to Cretan cult and religion, if only to be able to gain an impression of the degree of 'Hellenization' of the island in the course of the EIA.

It has long been recognised that the formation of a more unified Greek culture and religion began with the widespread circulation of the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, perhaps already from the 8th century BC. Herodotus first stated, in an often-quoted passage, that 'it was Homer and Hesiod who created for the Greeks a genealogy of the gods, gave the gods their epithets, distributed their honours and competences, and stamped them with their form.'[821] As emphasised by various authors, these poets did not 'invent' the Greek pantheon, but tied in with existing religious traditions and provided a first synthesis, focusing on certain common elements.[822] Later Greeks considered the works of these poets to be the very foundation of Greek education.[823] The Homeric epics in particular formulated a standard that was largely uncontested until the middle of the 6th century BC and remained influential until much later. In the Homeric Hymns, which for the greater part were probably composed in the course of the 7th and 6th centuries BC, the birth and other stories of specific gods were recounted in the same tradition.[824]

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[818] The quote is taken from S. Morris (1997, 63) who is critical of this model.

[819] See the section on terracotta votives below, p. 418 and n. 1110.

[820] See esp. Stoddart & Whitley 1988; Whitley 1997.

The Homeric and Hesiodic works, however, as recognised by various scholars, present a very selective and specific picture of the deities, cult practices and religion in the Greek world. As discussed by Finley, the Homeric poems represented something of a religious revolution, in that they personified the gods as superior but strongly humanised and individualised beings, forming, as it were, a 'highest class of aristocrats'.[825] Guthrie remarked that as a result of the emphasis on chieftains and heroes 'little or nothing is said of the religion of the common people, which may have been very different.' Pre-Olympian supernatural beings would have been made especially inconspicuous.[826] As an example of Homer's selectivity, Finley drew attention to the poet's silence on Demeter, which was in stark contrast to the flourishing of this goddess' mystery and fertility cults in large parts of the Greek world. Finley concluded that Homer was particularly biased against nature deities and 'deliberately turned his back on her [Demeter] and everything she represented'.[827]

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[821] Hdt. 2.53; Burkert 1985, 123. See also Farnell 1896a, 10-12.

[822] E.g. Nagy 1979, 7; *id.* 1990, 10; Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 300-01; Schachter 2000, 11; see also the introduction to this chapter, p. 123-24.

[823] Finley 1979, 15, 21-22 (with ref. to Plato *Republic* 606e, 607a, who was critical of Homer). See also Guthrie 1950, 117-18; Burkert 1985, 120.

[824] Burkert 1985, 123-25.

[825] Finley 1979, 135-37; Guthrie 1950, 118, 120-22, 126; also Burkert 1985, 183; I.M. Morris 1986, 125 (with further refs.); Nagy 1990, 11-12.

[826] Guthrie 1950, 118, 126, 255; see also Dodds 1951, 43-44; Nagy 1990, 11-12.

I. Morris has recently argued that the Homeric representation of the gods as humanised, aristocratic beings may have been employed as an active tool to legitimise 8th-century aristocratic rule. Morris stresses the potentially ideological functions of oral poetry in enshrining the values of a dominant group. The epics project an ideal world from the viewpoint of the elite and Morris therefore cautions against considering these works as representative of much of EIA life. On the other hand, certain aspects of the archaeological distribution of luxury goods may only be understandable in the light of aristocratic attitudes as reflected in the epics. Morris gives the examples of Homeric aristocratic gift-exchange, symposia and heroic burials.[828] To this should be added EIA elite votive behaviour which, as had already been shown by Finley, displays distinct similarities with Homeric gift-exchange. It is this latter mechanism, the exchange of precious gifts between high-ranking members of society, which played an important role in the creation and maintaining of a more or less coherent system of elite-definition. Finley's analysis concentrates on two types of objects, bronze tripods and cauldrons, which in the Homeric works are two of the most frequently mentioned types of *keimelion*, treasure, or literally 'something that can be laid away'. Treasure, apart from its economic and aesthetic value, had different social and symbolic functions. It represented wealth and possession, which could be displayed and stored in the house without being used, and, no less importantly, the potential to engage in elite networks based on gift-exchange.[829] While the religious offering of tripod-cauldrons is itself not mentioned in the Homeric works, the attested mechanisms of hoarding and aristocratic gift-exchange seem directly reflected in the votive behaviour of the elite in the larger EIA sanctuaries. Finley remarked that the Homeric epics showed that gods and kings were to be honoured in similar ways 'with gifts of food, of feasting, through burnt offerings, and gifts of treasure, through dedications of arms and cauldrons and tripods arrayed in the temples.'[830] Of significance in this context is further a recent observation by S. Sherratt that there is a paucity of references to terracotta items in heroic material culture as described by Homer.[831]

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[827] Finley 1979, 136-37; also Burkert 1985, 183.

[828] I.M. Morris 1986, 82-83, 123-25, 128.

[829] Finley 1979, 61, 98, 120-22. See also Donlan (1981, esp. 101, 106) and Van Wees (1992, 103-05; with ref. to *Il.* 2.337-47, 21.8-14, 21.42-62), who lays more emphasis on display. For the connection of wealth and honour: Van Wees 1992, 72-73.

To sum up, the Homeric epics can be profitably used to gain insight into the votive behaviour of worshippers who actively associated themselves with an 'international', 'heroic' ideology. In the EIA this appears to have been the prerogative of (male) aristocrats, who engaged in the emulative dedication of prestigious objects, especially bronze tripod-cauldrons and weaponry. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, Cretan participation in 'international circles' is suggested by the occurrence of (Attic) terracotta drinking or symposion sets in EIA tombs in Knossos, by the occurrence of 'Homeric burials' at sites such as Knossos, Prinias and Eleutherna and by the possible presence of Cretan-made metal votives in Olympia and Delphi. To a certain extent, these phenomena may be explained as a result of the continuation and intensification of the 'international networks' that, already in the LM IIIC-SM period, had defined the life-style and material culture of small elite groups in and beyond the Greek-speaking Aegean. The custom of cremation, for instance, appears in the context of elite burials during LM IIIC-SM and may have been introduced from Anatolia. Horses and chariots, human sacrifice, symposion equipment, obeloi and firedogs are found in tombs all over the Mediterranean in the EIA.[832] In addition, however, there are indications that Cretan aristocrats participated in Panhellenic festivals. The dedication, from *c.* 800 BC, in large Cretan EIA sanctuaries of bronze tripod-cauldrons of Minoan-Mycenaean ancestry, which compare closely to those current in interregional sanctuaries on the Mainland and which lack Orientalizing imagery, may imply a conscious choice for a Hellenic idiom.[833] While it seems unlikely that at this time there would have been a sense of 'antithetical Hellenic identity', defined in opposition to other peoples in the East or West,[834] it can be assumed that the participation by Greek-speaking Cretans in the Panhellenic festivals on the Mainland would have been based on the recognition of underlying similarities in language, religious beliefs and customs.[835] For EIA Crete, cautious use may therefore be made of the Homeric works, especially when dealing with those sanctuaries where votive customs correspond most closely to those in the interregional sanctuaries of the Greek mainland.

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[830] Finley 1979, 137. In a more recent article, Langdon (1987, esp. 109) also calls attention to the parallelism between the religious ritual of tripod dedication and the heroic social ritual of aristocratic gift exchange.

[831] Sherratt 1996, 96 n. 14. She contrasts this with the description in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, 60-95, of Pandora, who like the vessel in which the plagues are stored is made of clay.

[832] See the introduction to Chapter Three, p. 119; Crielaard 1998; Karageorghis 2003.

[833] See the discussion in the section on bronze cauldrons and associated stands, p. 380.

A final issue to be considered is the role of Near Eastern foreign objects in a system of elite 'self-definition and expression'. Special relevance may be assigned to imports, especially when these come from faraway countries not visited by the great majority of people. The acquisition and use of such imports, because of their long-distance associations, could serve as a mark of social distinction for their owners. Likewise, the adoption of new or foreign cult practices may help to distinguish the lifestyle of an elite from that of others.[836] As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, the importation of objects from the Near East was initially, i.e. until the 7th century BC, restricted to small, portable luxury items in metal, ivory and faience and to unguent flasks. These items seem to have had a limited distribution: they are found in a certain number of sanctuaries and also in rich EIA tombs, which strengthens the idea that they indeed played a part in the genesis of a more or less coherent 'symbolic elite system'.

The model of an elite monopoly on the consumption of exotica does not, as S. Morris has remarked, resolve automatically all questions about the control and regulation of the import or production of such objects.[837] This is, however, no reason to dismiss the model as a whole. There are numerous ethnographic examples, as discussed for instance in the work of Appadurai and Helms, which show that the significance of long-distance contacts for political elites goes beyond the economic.[838] Appadurai speaks in some detail of the cultural taboos and sumptuary laws which tend to regulate the exchange patterns of luxury goods in pre-modern societies. He notes 'a high coding in terms of etiquette and appropriateness, and a tendency to follow socially set paths'. A special role is assigned to the elite, whose tastes generally have 'a "turnstile" function, selecting from exogenous possibilities and then providing models, as well as direct political controls, for internal tastes and production.'[839] According to Helms, in ages in which long-distance travelling is limited, foreign lands and peoples are often ascribed an extraordinary or even supernatural dimension. Personal knowledge of these distant domains therefore easily turns into a form of almost esoteric knowledge giving its possessor distinction and prestige. In many ways this is comparable to privileged access to the world of the gods by local leaders and priests, with the important difference that 'contacts with geographically distant realms can more readily be given overt and tangible expression or "proof" in the form of exotic, power-filled material goods acquired from far away or in elaborate hospitality accorded foreigners who derive from far away'.[840]

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[834] Malkin 2001, 7-8, 12-14.

[835] See e.g. Schachter 2000, 9-11.

[836] De Polignac 1992, 125-26 (with ref. to Coldstream 1983b). For a detailed analysis of Euboean long-distance contacts as status activities: Crielaard 1996.

[837] S. Morris 1997, 64: 'are certain classes barred from purchasing or using them, outside of card-carrying elites? Was this regulated at the market level, or earlier, in production?'

The accumulation of precious Oriental and Orientalizing objects in a limited number of sanctuaries in the period prior to the 7th century BC is best seen as taking place in a framework of competitive emulation between elite members of different communities, in the sense discussed previously in regard to the dedication of large bronzes. Certain additional remarks are necessary, however, as different alternative scenarios have recently been proposed. One of these, promoted by S. Morris, concerns the active participation of foreigners in the larger Greek sanctuaries for which a function as meeting place has been argued. Elaborating on an article by Muscarella,[841] she maintains that foreign rulers and merchants, as part of a strategy in dealing with local authorities (who did not form such permanent and centralised powers as in the Near East), themselves engaged in the dedication of prestigious votives in Greek sanctuaries.[842] The function of meeting place for certain sanctuaries could

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[838] Appadurai 1986, esp. 4, 24-25, 38. Helms 1992, esp. 157-63, with references to numerous case-studies. I owe the latter reference to J.P. Crielaard.

[839] Appadurai 1986, 25, 31; more in general: 22-25, 31-32.

[840] Helms 1992, 161-62.

[841] Muscarella 1989, esp. 333-34 (on the sending of gifts to Delphi by King Midas).

indeed have been extended easily to foreigners, as acknowledged by De Polignac, especially when they were situated at coastal points of entrance. But instead of simply supposing that exotica in such sanctuaries were dedicated by foreigners, De Polignac proposes the presence of foreign objects as a sign of the international orientation of a sanctuary and its patronage of long-distance contacts.[843] This leaves open the possibility of dedication by both local and foreign people. Along similar lines, I. Morris characterises the dedication of oriental goods in sanctuaries as an expression by the dedicator of 'his privileged links to the East as well as to the gods'.[844] An emphasis on the function of larger sanctuaries as (inter-)regional places of gathering and competition does not, of course, exclude the involvement of non-Greek foreigners. For Crete, it is also occasionally postulated that foreign objects indicate a foreign presence among the worshippers.[845] However, the presence of Oriental bronzes and other objects in EIA tombs in the island indicates the circulation of exotica amongst local elites. It has further to be acknowledged that in Crete 'real Oriental imports' constitute a minority when compared to the number of objects in Orientalizing styles. The question as to how and when exotica and Orientalizing objects were incorporated in Cretan culture remains therefore of great interest.[846]

The issue of the use and appreciation of exotica becomes more

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[842] S. Morris 1992b, xvi; *ead.* 1997, 65-67. Morris' rejection of 'intra- and interpolis competition' as another important factor is unnecessary. The idea by Strøm (1992, esp. 49-50, 56-57, 60) that EIA sanctuaries themselves would have been responsible for the ordering of foreign cult equipment is unconvincing. The latter study fails to place in context both the shift of exotica from tombs to sanctuaries in the course of the EIA (a phenomenon that was not confined to foreign precious objects) and the custom of sacrificial banqueting, which she seems to consider an Oriental innovation of the 7th century BC; see also the critical remarks by De Polignac (1992, 125 n. 41).

[843] This might even acquire an aspect of keeping foreigners (and perhaps others) out of main urban sanctuaries with their more exclusive and political cults: De Polignac 1992, 122-23, 125 (with special reference to the Heraion at Samos and the Artemision at Ephesus). S. Morris' idea (see previous note) that a model of direct involvement of foreigners in dedication would explain 'the concentration of Orientalia in sacred rather than private hands (i.e. burials)' is not conclusive: a shift of precious objects from tombs to sanctuaries may not have been specific for exotica.

[844] I.M. Morris 1997, 37.

[845] E.g. by Kopcke (1990, 111), who speaks of a 'cult by Semites' at the Idaean cave.

[846] Cf. De Polignac 1992, 117.

complex in the 7th century BC when Orientalizing styles are more common in non-prestigious objects such as terracotta votives and in pottery. This development seems to run parallel to a progressive Hellenization of local industries in bronze and ivory working which in the 8th century BC still displayed strong Oriental influence. Different sources, mechanisms of transmission and a different relevance for Eastern motifs and styles have to be assumed for the later period. Clearly, there was not a mere filtering down or imitation of objects and motives introduced earlier in elite culture, but a continuing introduction of new motifs. For instance, the images of nude females on 7th-century terracotta plaques closely correspond to Near Eastern examples, but are of types not found on the earlier shields, indicating independent transmission.[847] Sources for 7th-century Orientalizing styles in Crete seem to have ranged from Levantine or Cypriot originals to Orientalizing styles from other Greek regions.[848] This widening of sources and of uses of Oriental styles and motifs indicates a lessening of the exclusivity of exotica and a corresponding loss of aristocratic connotations.

It remains to assess the possible function and symbolic meaning of Cretan EIA cult objects and votives in the context of contemporary cult and society. The overall wealth and variation in both metal and terracotta votive objects in the EIA clearly makes it impossible to treat every attested type in detail. Nevertheless an attempt will be made in the following two sections to discuss the most widespread types of metal and of terracotta votives, which range from precious bronzes such as weaponry, tripod-cauldrons, personal ornaments and bronze figurines to hand-, wheel-, and mouldmade terracottas. Attention will be paid to the ancestry and chronology of these objects and to repeated associations with other types of votives. Although it is not feasible to undertake a systematic comparison with funerary gifts, whenever the data are readily available, reference will be made to the presence or absence of the type in question in contemporary tombs.

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[847] See Böhm 1990, 69, 87; also the discussion below, p. 405-09, on mouldmade plaques and figurines.

[848] Higgins (1996, 542), for instance, calls Knossian gold jewellery of the 7th century BC Orientalizing but thinks influence may have been indirect, via East Greece.

Metal cult equipment and votives

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, a lasting tradition in metal and particularly bronze working was established in Crete in the EIA. Workshops developed which specialised in the manufacture of different types of objects and some of them remained even active after the 7th century BC. Compared to the LM IIIC-SM period, when metal votives were relatively rare and consisted of small items such as figurines and occasionally weapons, tools and personal ornaments, the number and range of metal objects dedicated shows a great increase from the late 9th century onwards. Several new types of large bronzes were included in the votive repertoire, such as shields and tripod-cauldrons. Some of these may have been made especially for the purpose of religious dedication.

Snodgrass notes that the word 'metalwork' for the Greek EIA generally implies 'large quantities of bronze and iron, a modicum of silver and gold, and a little lead.'[849] With regard to the Cretan cult equipment and votives to be discussed here, emphasis lies more one-sidedly on bronze items. The continued and apparently prestigious use of bronze weaponry in an age in which iron for tools and implements became more and more common is striking. Various studies comment on the strong connection in early Greek literature between bronze and (heroic) weaponry and warriors.[850] Both Kirk and Vernant point out the repeated references in the *Iliad* to 'gleaming bronze' as a symbol of martial power.[851] Even on its own, the word *chalkos* could refer to weapons in the Homeric epics.[852] Symbolic and mythological connotations are further expressed in Hesiod's *Works and Days*: of the four races both the bronze and the heroic consists of warriors created by Zeus, the first 'terrible and fierce' and characterised by *hubris*, the second superior and just beings who had fought at Thebes and Troy.[853] In a recent article, Constantinidou concludes that in the Homeric epics certain gods were more prone to an association with bronze weapons and warriors than others. Obvious examples are Zeus, who as supreme god is closely associated with the heroic rulers, Athena in her function of warrior goddess and Ares, who is referred to as 'brazen'. [854] But there may have been others too, such as Apollo and Aphrodite, whose cults in some instances show a close connection with the articulation of aristocratic groups.

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[849] Snodgrass 1980, 49-50.

[850] Gold is probably to be considered a symbol of royalty; see Vernant 1983, 13 (with further references, e.g. to Pind. *Ol.* 1.1ff. and Plato *Republic* 413c ff.). Silver does not seem to possess a specific symbolic meaning: Vernant (1983, 11) points out that in Hesiod it is simply described as inferior to gold.

[851] Vernant 1983, 13; with refs. to *Il.* 2.578, 19.362, 20.156; *Od.* 24.467; Kirk 1985, 163 (commenting on *Il.* 2.457-58).

[852] The literary and archaeological evidence for the religious and mythical associations of bronze and bronze working has recently been collected by Constantinidou (1992, esp. 156, with reference to *Il.* 2.457, 2.578, 4.420, 4.495, 13.801).

Shields and small 'discs'

Shields were dedicated in a variety of forms in EIA Crete, ranging from life-size bronze ones with figurative decoration to miniature bronze and terracotta imitations. Life-size shields occur in a restricted number of sanctuaries, where they are often accompanied by bronze tripod-cauldrons (Table 4). Of the small bronze discs or *phalara*, which are found frequently in extra-urban sanctuaries and sometimes in tombs,[855] only few have been published in detail and the issue of their precise function remains uncertain. Many of them may have been shield bosses for leather shields. Others, especially those that have no means of attachment or are very small (with a diameter of 0.05 m or less) are more likely to have been miniature votive shields.[856] Both identifications strengthen the observation that shields formed a well-established category of dedication, particularly in large extra-urban cult places. However, small bronze discs may also have been used as cymbals, the use of which in cult is well-attested, or as decorations for belts, helmets and horse-trappings. An example of the latter (with four holes along the rim) has been identified amongst the votives from Vrokastro.[857] Most problematic is the distinction between cymbals and shield bosses, as both have a convex centre with hole in the middle. On the other hand, cymbals should occur in identical pairs, of which very few, if any, have so far been published.[858]

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[853] Hes. *Works and Days*, 143-46, 157. Discussed by Vernant (1983, 4, 7, 9, 12-13, 16-17); Constantinidou 1992, 137-41.

[854] Constantinidou 1992, 156-58 (referring to *Il.* 5.704, 5.859, 5.866, 7.146).

[855] There are several from SM tombs at Knossos, and a few from the EIA tombs; see Brock 1957, 200; Catling 1996c, 522-24; *id.* 1996b, 558.

[856] The different possibilities have been exhaustively discussed by Snodgrass 1964, 38, 42-49; *id.* 1973 (with further refs.).

[857] Horse trappings: Sekunda 1982. Helmet attachments: Catling 1996c, 522-24 (with further refs.).

The presence of shields in sanctuaries, like that of other weaponry, is of course foremost a sign of the involvement of male aristocrats in the associated rituals. As maintained by Snodgrass and Morgan, the offering of weaponry had an important socio-political function, emphasising the role of the dedicator as warrior and member of the ruling class in the emerging Greek city-states. On the Mainland, dedication of weaponry was a conspicuous act, focused at the major urban and (inter-)regional sanctuaries, but without necessarily being tied to one particular cult.[859] These observations also apply to EIA Crete. A special position, however, seems to have been taken by the life-size bronze shields, which formed one of the most impressive classes of votives in the island. These shields often had elaborate chased and incised decoration, the iconography of which provides important clues as to their function in cult. For this reason they merit more detailed discussion.

The Cretan decorated shields form a group on their own and are therefore difficult to date.[860] They were made on the island, possibly by immigrant craftsmen, and not as quickly 'Hellenized' as other bronzes.[861] The ones with elaborate lion or other animal protomes are most Oriental in style (Plate 56). Others are of *omphalos* type without protomes.[862] In the first comprehensive study, in 1931, Kunze assigned the earliest shields to the late 9th century BC, but other scholars proposed a date later in the 7th century BC, thus placing them in a period of more widespread Oriental influence.[863]

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[858] Snodgrass 1964, 38, 42-49; *id.* 1973 (with further refs.).

[859] Morgan 1990, 19, 141.

[860] Related in composition and style are only the bronze relief bowls or *paterae* which were found in the Idaean cave and in Tomb L in Aphrati. Two actual imports, of Phoenician origin, came from the Idaean cave and two others from EIA tombs at Knossos; see Markoe 1985, 113-16; Catling 1996b, 564, fig. 156, pl. 269; Hoffman 1997, 32-35 (nos. 14-17).

[861] There has been a long discussion on the question as to whether they were imports or locally made and, if so, whether this was done by local or immigrant craftsmen. Lately, a consensus has been reached in assigning immigrant craftsmen a leading role in the setting up of the industry, after which it developed into a local industry. For the discussion, see: Dunbabin 1957, esp. 41; Herrmann 1966, 179-85; Coldstream 1968, 348; Burkert 1992, 163, n. 13.

[862] Kunze 1931, 52-62.

[863] Kunze 1931, 247. *Contra*: Benton 1938-39, esp. 62; Canciani 1970, 198.

The subsequent discovery of such early Oriental objects as the 9th-century jewellery from the Teke tholos and the ivories in the Idaean cave, however, gave Boardman reason to reconsider the high date originally proposed by Kunze.[864] This has now been confirmed by the discovery of one of these shields with a PGB/EG urn in an undisturbed tomb in Eleutherna.[865] A *terminus ante quem* for the last shields of the Cretan series is provided by the late 7th-century pottery from Tomb L at Aphrati, which also contained two shields.[866]

The largest collection of Cretan shields comes from the Idaean cave (Plates 56, 58-59),[867] while others were found in the sanctuary at the foot of the Minoan palace at Phaistos, at Kommos, at Syme, on the West Hill at Dreros, at the Altar Hill at Praisos and at Palaikastro (Plate 74) (see Table 4). A few examples have been found outside Crete, notably in Delphi, Miletos and Dodona.[868] Seven workshops have been reconstructed by Canciani, but there seems no strict regional division in their output. For instance, some of the Palaikastro pieces belong to Canciani's 'Group 8', as do several shield fragments from the Idaean cave. It is noteworthy that the bronze tympanon (Plate 57), an object closely associated with the shields, may be from the same workshop as a cauldron stand from the Barberini tomb in Italy.[869] Boardman has pointed out that no shields were found in either the sanctuaries or the hundreds of tombs of EIA Knossos.[870]

For a fuller discussion of the proposed dates and further refs.: Canciani 1970, 13-18; Blome 1982, 15-23.

[864] Boardman revised his initial date of 750-650 BC for the whole series after the excavation of the PGB Teke tholos; see Boardman 1961, 83-84, 138; *id.* 1967, 59; also Markoe 1985, 116. Markoe (1985, 116) opted for a time-span of *c.* 740-680 BC, but as argued by Coldstream (1968, 288), a clay imitation of a shield with lion protome of *c.* 750 BC suggested that by then such bronze shields were well known. Other indirect evidence for a high date comes from the terracotta imitations found in EG and later tombs at Knossos: see the section on 'Ceramic vessels and lids' below, p. 419-20.

[865] Stampolides 1998, 181.

[866] Kunze 1931, 14 (no. 11), 28 (no. 56), 40. No precise date can be given because the tomb contained multiple burials and had been much disturbed, so the shields may have been earlier; see Boardman 1961, 83.

[867] Fragments of more than 57 shields were identified by Kunze (1931, 6-30), while several new ones have been identified in the recent excavations: see cat. entry B.52.

[868] Kunze 1931, 36-39, 52-68; Boardman 1961, 138-39.

[869] Canciani 1970, 169-79; Kunze 1931, 36.

[870] Boardman 1961, 138-39.

Shields are also missing among the finds from the Zeus sanctuary at Amnisos, a place closely associated with Knossos. Whether this is due to the vagaries of excavation or to a cultural dislike on the part of the Knossians, it is difficult to decide. The first option is perhaps more likely as small clay imitations of shields, complete with lion protomes, did occur both in tombs at Knossos and in the sanctuary at Amnisos.[871]

The question as to whether these large shields (with diameters ranging from 0.49 to 0.70 m) were made as votives or also used in battle has not been satisfactorily settled. Neither ancient representational art, written sources, nor the form of the shields themselves provide unequivocal answers. Assyrian stone reliefs of the 9th century BC show shields with animal protomes used in battle. In the 8th century BC shields which seem even closer to the Cretan ones are associated with Urartians and represented as votives in temples.[872] The bronze of the Cretan shields is very thin, rarely more then 1 mm, but they may have been mounted on leather and perhaps wooden frames, which would have given them strength. An inscription on an equally thin bronze shield found in Olympia suggests that it was among the spoils of war and hence used in battle before its dedication. Kunze has noted small attachment holes for frames on several Cretan shields, but others, for instance from the Idaean cave and Palaikastro, only have suspension holes.[873] In the recent excavations at the EIA cemetery of Eleutherna, Stampolides has found a 'shield' with moulded rim, which probably had served as a lid for a bronze cauldron used as urn. There is an example of a shield with similarly moulded rim from the Idaean cave (Plate 56). Against the assertion of the excavator, however, there is no reason to question the identification of the Cretan shields and to consider all of them as cauldron lids instead.[874] Surely, it would have been considered appropriate to bury a warrior with a shield—whether a 'real', a ceremonial or a token one. In the case of the tomb at Eleutherna, a shield-like object was made to fit the receptacle for the incumbent's ashes. Rather than dissociating such lids from the protective and martial functions of shields, it is relevant that the two were conceptually linked. A parallel is provided by the use of clay imitation shields as lids for funerary urns in the EIA tombs of Knossos and elsewhere.[875]

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[871] See cat. entry B.60 for Amnisos. For Knossos: Brock 1957, 122, pl. 107. See also the discussion of miniature clay shields below, p. 419-20.

[872] Snodgrass 1964, 52. For examples: Madhloom 1970, 54-7, pls. XXVII, XXVIII.6.

[873] Kunze 1931, 43-46 (nos. 2, 8). The same applies to one of the shields from the Aphrati tomb: *ibid.* 14 (no. 11).

[874] Stampolides 1996, 69; *id.* 1998, 182-83, fig. 16. For the Idaean example: Kunze 1931, 8 (no. 6), Beilage 1.

Iconographically, there are indications that at least some of the Cretan shields were primarily ceremonial and made for dedication in specific cults. It has been generally accepted that the representation on a well-known tympanon from the Idaean cave is so closely linked to the birth myth of Cretan Zeus as recorded in later literary tradition that it was probably made for dedication or use in that particular cult (Plate 57).[876] Two winged demons clash cymbals or shields on the tympanon, while on one of the shields (Plate 59) two warriors in elaborate, probably ceremonial robes are depicted on either side of an object identified as a *flabellum* (liturgical fan).[877] In line with the birth story of Cretan Zeus, these figures may represent Kouretes, the mythical warriors who brandished their weapons to hide the cries of the infant Zeus from his father Kronos.[878] In addition, the shield shows thunderbolts, probably another allusion to Zeus.

Decoration on other Cretan shields at first sight appears less cult specific, but religious connotations may nonetheless be detected. Recurrent are the concentric bands with geometric or floral designs and rows of animals, the latter usually consisting of deer, agrimia, bulls, lions or griffins. A smaller number of shields has extended figurative representations, nearly all of them hunting scenes which, due to the inclusion of lions and heavily armed warriors, display a heroic or mythical touch.[879] Especially noteworthy is the incorporation of a small, frontally depicted nude female on five shields from the Idaean cave (Plate 58) and one from Eleutherna, Phaistos and Palaikastro each. The females who are sufficiently preserved can be seen to wear 'Hathor curls' and to hold lotuses, sphinxes or lions in their upraised hands; in one instance the image occurs in the middle of a row of deer.[880] The iconographic type of lotus-holding nude female was a direct borrowing from the Near East,[881] where she is often referred to as 'Qadesh'. Her original meaning and function are far from settled, but most important here is the observation by Riis that on the Cretan shields the image was used to represent a so-called Potnia Theron.[882] The name refers to the Oriental heraldic scheme of a female figure flanked by different kinds of plants, animals or other creatures; this had a long history of depicting nature or 'great goddesses'.[883] Any more precise identification is difficult, however, as there was an ongoing process of syncretisation and exchange of functions and attributes between similar 'great goddesses' from different regions in the Mediterranean. Recently, N. Marinatos has suggested that these images, in their coupling of 'sexuality with power', were valued foremost as potent and apotropaic emblems. The spread of the same iconographic type in large parts of the EIA Eastern Mediterranean, particularly on bronze weaponry and horse ornaments, points, according to Marinatos, to the sharing of similar concepts and meaning by an international male elite. In Near Eastern iconography, nude female figures often seem to function as intermediaries between men and gods, their sexuality providing a means to placate male gods, as well as posing a threathening force.[884] In later Greek religion, however, functions of the Potnia Theron seem to have been absorbed by different deities,[885] suggesting a process of incorporation and reinterpretation that goes beyond a merely apotropaic function. The most obvious of these deities is Artemis, who in the *Iliad* is explicitly named as Potnia Theron. The shared association with wild nature and hunting has led modern scholars to accept this equation, at the same time acknowledging that the

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[875] See the section on 'Ceramic vessels and lids', p. 419-20.

[876] Kunze 1931, 32 (no. 74), pl. 49; Dunbabin 1957, 41; Boardman 1961, 151; Markoe 1985, 111; Burkert 1985, 262; *id.* 1992, 16.

[877] Kunze 1931, 202, pls. 4-5 (no. 3); Halberr 1888b, 702-04, pl. V. See Blome (1982, 65) for an interpretation as cymbals instead of shields.

[878] See e.g. Burkert 1985, 280. Kunze (1931, 6-7, pls. 4-5 (no. 3), 202-03) considered this possibility without fully embracing it.

[879] Kunze 1931, 90-132, 153-69, 204.

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[880] Kunze 1931, 6-7, pls. 5, 8 (nos. 2, 5), 12-13, pl. 24 (nos. 7, 9), 22-23, pls. 31, 38, 41 (nos. 38-40), 191; Stampolides 1998, 182, fig. 16.

[881] Kunze 1931, 191; Blome 1982, 71-72; Winter 1983, 110-13.

[882] Riis 1949, 85-86.

[883] As pointed out by Christou (1968, 175-79) 'Theron' is meant to refer to wild animals, fantastic creatures and humans alike and the usual translation of 'Mistress of Animals' is only partially correct.

[884] N. Marinatos 2000, esp. 1-12, 18-24.

[885] Christou 1968, 174, 190; P. Müller 1978, 52; Burkert 1985, 120.

Homeric goddess does not cover all aspects of the earlier Mistress.[886] On the Mainland, another cult tradition may have led from a BA 'Divine Mother', attested in Linear B,[887] to the Greek Meter, who was also referred to as Mother of the Mountain.[888] *Homeric Hymn* 14 is addressed to a 'Mother of all gods and all men' who is associated with mountains, wooded glens, wild animals and the sound of rattles, tympana and pipes. The relation of this goddess to Rhea, who is mentioned as the mother of Zeus by Homer and Hesiod, but for whose cult there is little tangible evidence, is unclear.[889]

Amidst this confusion, one safe conclusion seems to be that the nude female images on the Cretan shields refer to a non-Homeric Potnia Theron, far removed from the virgin huntress Artemis.[890] A function as 'Mistress of Animals' is especially clear when looking at the compositions as a whole: the Potnia is literally surrounded by different kinds of animals, including birds, fantastic creatures, as well as plants and trees.[891] In Crete, the concept of a Potnia Theron goes back to the BA, as the goddess was already depicted in Minoan religious art, albeit in dressed form.[892] The gesture of 'upraised arms', established in the BA to designate the epiphany of deities, had survived through the LM IIIC-SM period and would also have been familiar to EIA Cretans. The nudity of the figures on the shields may, however, imply that the image was imported anew, though probably to represent a long venerated female divinity.[893] Certain details of the scenes on the shields, such as the holding of the lions by their ears and the combination with sphinxes, are not found in Oriental representations and may indicate deliberate modification to fit existing Cretan conceptions.[894] As many shields were found in sanctuaries dedicated to Cretan-born Zeus, the scholars involved in their discovery at the beginning of the century had little doubt that the female figures should be identified as the mother of the gods or 'Rhea'. Kunze was more hesitant to assign her a fixed name, but nevertheless concluded that the goddess, because of her regular depiction, had a more important position than later literary tradition suggested.[895] Attention for the ancient Greek 'Mother of the Gods' has been revived in a recent study by Robertson. With regard to the Idaean cave he remarks that the attested types of votives suggest that a cult for 'the Mother' was actively celebrated in the EIA. As examples he mentions cymbals, shields and bronze bowls.[896] There are indeed categories of votives from the Idaean cave, in particular the elaborate jewellery in gold and other costly materials, that are more in place in a female cult and the same may apply to the bowls.[897] Whether the shields should be seen as exclusive references to a female deity seems less certain, especially in the light of the possible iconographic references to Zeus discussed above.

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[886] *Il.* 21.470; Nilsson 1950, esp. 503; Christou 1968, 191; Burkert 1985, 149. See also Yalouris (1950, esp. 98-100) on the association of Athena with horses as an example of such partial inheritance.

[887] Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 138.

[888] The latter tended to be syncretised with the Phrygian Kybele in the 7th century BC. Kybele in turn derived from the Anatolian BA goddess Kubaba: Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, 10-11; Burkert 1979, 102-05; *id.* 1985, 177-79; Robertson 1996, 239-41; Roller 1999, 45-53.

[889] *Homeric Hymn* 14; see Athanassakis 1976, 60, 67-68, 100, 105-06; Christou 1968, esp. 173-74, 209-10. In the 6th century BC the poet Hipponax equated Rhea with Kybele; Roller 1999, 169-77.

[890] The presence of Artemis in EIA Crete is elusive in general. Her name is probably attested in a Linear B tablet from Pylos, but not in Crete; see Burkert 1985, 45, n. 23 (with further refs.). Nilsson (1950, 510-11) already pointed out that her Cretan equivalents would have been Diktynna and Britomartis. Assuming the interpretation of the three bronze statuettes from Dreros as Apolline triad is correct, it may be noted that the image of the Artemis figure shows no connection with either the Potnia Theron or the Homeric huntress. See also Burkert (1985, 145), on the unclear origin of the Apollo-Lato-Artemis triad.

[891] For the plants: Kunze 1931, 133-52, esp. 149-50.

[892] See esp. Demargne 1947, 274, 286-88; Nilsson 1950, 357-68; Coldstream 1977b, 4-5; Crowley 1989, 284.

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[893] Contra N. Marinatos 2000, 110-12.

[894] Blome 1982, 71-72; Böhm 1990, 59-69.

[895] See for a discussion and further refs.: Kunze 1931, 200-02; Blome 1982, 72-73. Nilsson (1950, 463-64) thought the style of the shields was too Oriental to bear a relation to Cretan religion.

[896] Robertson 1996, 252. I have not been able to find in any of the excavation reports the reference to an 'Archaic limestone statue of a seated goddess' as given by Robertson in a quote from Verbruggen (1981, 74 n. 25), who in turns refers to Marinatos (1956-57, 250).

[897] For sanctuaries on the Mainland it has been argued that ivory objects, of which very large quantities have been found in the Idaean cave, are also more suitable for female deities: Carter 1985, 288. In Crete there are only three other EIA sites that have yielded ivories: the Eileithyia cave at Tsoutsouros (B.59) and the cemeteries of Knossos (Brock 1957, 209; Evely 1996, 629-33) and Eleutherna (Stampolides 1992). It is therefore difficult to establish patterns in their occurrence or association with other votives, especially since the types of ivory objects may also have to be taken into consideration. All that can presently be said is that ivories form a group of exclusive objects that are found in the context of rich sanctuaries and tombs; see also Catling & Coldstream 1996, 721. On the appreciation of ivory in antiquity: Barnett 1948, 2-3; Carter 1985, 7-21.

Moreover, shields are not accompanied by jewellery in all sanctuaries (see Table 4). Hence one should be cautious in transferring the identification of a joint cult of Rhea and Zeus to the other sanctuaries where shields have been found, as has been done earlier for the Altar Hill at Praisos and the sanctuary at Phaistos.[898]

On a more general level, it is important that similar (and equally non-Homeric) renditions of 'nature goddesses' are found in other contexts which indicate aristocratic involvement. A good example is the 7th-century sculptural decoration of Temple A at Prinias (Plates 23-24) which combines reliefs of mounted warriors—interpreted both as Prinian aristocrats and 'administers of the deity'[899]—with two orientalizing female statues whose dresses are decorated with animals and sphinxes. Like the nude female figures on the shields, these females are surrounded by wild animals: the lintel on which they are seated and the entrance and the orthostat frieze of the façade were decorated with reliefs of deer, felines, sphinxes and of other nude and dressed female figures. Although the duplication of the seated female figure (as well as their position above the door) undermines proposed identifications as cult images, whether of Rhea, 'Mother' or other goddesses,[900] the reference to a supernatural realm of wild nature is certainly meaningful. 'Nature goddesses' in the form of female figures holding or being flanked by birds and plants are further found on PGB and later cremation urns from the richer tombs in cemeteries at Knossos and Aphrati (Plates 78-80).[901] The ones from the Knossos region have, on the basis of their funerary context and related iconographic evidence, been interpreted by Coldstream as being concerned with ideas of death and rebirth and hence with the Persephone/Demeter cycle.[902] Such an identification cannot, however, be assumed to be valid for the other two groups of representations just mentioned. As discussed above, for the shields an association with a goddess such as Meter or Rhea is more likely. Clearly, the Cretan shields, Prinian sculpture and Knossian urns show the use of comparable images in different find complexes and this may well mean that they represent different deities. During the EIA, newly conceived or borrowed images may have been in the process of acquiring more specific meaning in the context of different rituals and cults, which may have had only limited geographical relevance. What connects these representations of Potniai Theron and 'wild nature' in a broader sense is their recurrent appearance on objects belonging to (male) elite culture. Similar images on inexpensive objects, such as terracotta plaques, do not occur until later, in the 7th century BC.[903]

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[898] This was suggested by Bosanquet (1939-40, 65-66) and Pernier (Pernier & Banti 1947, 56-57) respectively; see cat. entries B.22 and B.45 for fuller arguments.

[899] D'Acunto 1995, 44-50; Pernier 1914, 98.

[900] Pernier 1914, 110-11; D'Acunto 1995, 43-44. For the issue of the meaning of multiple female representations see also below, p. 409-10.

[901] For PGB urn no. 114 from Tomb 107 at Knossos: Coldstream 1984b, 93-104. For one from Aphrati: Levi 1927-29, 331 fig. 431. Two 7th-century cups with figurative decoration from Kommos have similar plants and birds: M.C. Shaw 1983, ill. 2.

[902] Coldstream 1984b. This identification will be further discussed in section 5 of Chapter Four, p. 433-36. *Contra* S. Morris (1997, 58) who maintains that the representations on PGB urns were isolated experiments which 'did not lead anywhere'.

Cauldrons and associated stands

A second category of large bronzes found in EIA sanctuaries consists of different varieties of cauldrons and associated stands. Of some varieties date and place of manufacture are disputed.

So-called rod tripods and four-sided stands, the latter with elaborate open-work decoration and sometimes wheels, originated in LBA Cyprus.[904] Isolated examples of these types, however, have been found in the Aegean in contexts as late as the 8th century BC and their place of manufacture is uncertain. The rod tripod is well represented in EIA Crete with examples from the sanctuaries at Amnisos and Palaikastro, from three PG tombs at Knossos, from a tomb at Eleutherna and from one at Vrokastro.[905] Four-sided stands have been found in the Idaean cave, in the sanctuary at Syme and in a SM tomb in the North Cemetery at Knossos. Catling believes that these are all Cypriot heirlooms or antiques which were highly valued especially because the secret of the sophisticated joining technique of hard soldering employed in them was by then forgotten.[906]

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[903] See below, the section on mouldmade terracottas, p. 414.

[904] For a full discussion of different varieties and the technique: Catling 1964, 192-210; *id.* 1984, 73-77; Matthäus 1985, 299-300; *id.* 1988, 285-86.

[905] Hall 1914, pl. 34:1-2; Brock 1957, 22 (no. 188), pls. 13, 138; Stampolides 1998, 176-77. See also: Boardman 1961, 134; Catling 1964, 198-99 (nos. 18-20), pls. 30e, 31a-b; *id.* 1984, 72, 87, pls. VII:4-5; Matthäus 1985, 305-06; *id.* 1988, 287.

[906] One of them was 'clumsily' mended in antiquity by pouring over some bronze.

In later times, these antiques might have inspired and influenced different local industries, as witnessed by such objects as the Idaean stand, with its figured decoration of warriors and ships, dating to *c.* 700 BC.[907] Catling's views are opposed by Matthäus, who argues for continued production in different areas outside Cyprus after the LBA. He proposes the existence of an independent workshop for rod tripods in EIA Crete, on the basis of shared peculiarities such as the type of ring to hold the cauldron and the wider, cast legs.[908]

Whether these rod tripods and four-sided stands were antiques in the EIA or not, the fact remains that they were relatively rare objects and must have enjoyed great prestige. Some confirmation of this may be found in the detailed description in the *Odyssey* of a silver 'basket on wheels', probably a four-sided stand, which was given to Helen by the wife of an Egyptian noble.[909] Distinctly Oriental in style are also the rounded cauldrons with bull, siren or griffin protomes. First made in the Near East in the late 8th century BC, griffin cauldrons were probably also produced in Greece from *c.* 725 BC into the 6th century BC.[910] In Crete only two griffins from cauldrons of this type have been found, at Oaxos and Syme.[911] This is little compared to the known number of copies in clay from the Idaean cave, Temple A at Prinias, the sanctuary at the palace of Knossos, the Acropolis at Gortyn, the Psychro cave, Syme, Lato and from a tomb at Aphrati.[912]

Clay copies of rod tripods may, according to Catling, imply a shortage of the real objects; see Catling 1964, 216-23; *id.* 1984, 72, 89-90. Snodgrass (1971, 281-86) is also sceptical of an unbroken sequence and suggests that surviving Cypriot items may have inspired a native industry, for instance in Lefkandi, where late 10th-century mould fragments were found.

[907] The same applies to a stand found in the Chaniale Tekke tomb at Knossos; see Hutchinson & Boardman 1952, 227; Boardman 1961, 132-33; Rolley 1977, 125; Catling 1984, 90; Matthäus 1988, 290.

[908] The open-work stand from Syme would also be a Cretan work, dating to *c.* 700 BC; see Matthäus 1985, 328-29, 346-47; *id.* 1988, esp. 287-88, 290-91.

[909] *Od.* 4.125-32. Part of its esteem seems to derive from its foreign origin. The same applies to a silver bowl Menelaus intends to give to Telemachus; *Od.* 4.590-605.

[910] Muscarella 1970, 109-10 (with other refs.); Herrmann 1979, 149; Boardman 1980, 64-67; Catling 1984, 70.

[911] Herrmann 1979, 158, n. 16. The griffin protome from Oaxos is in the Giamalakis collection: Platon 1951b, 450. The one from Syme is in sheet bronze and comes from a small cauldron: Lebessi 1975a, 328-29.

[912] For the ones from sanctuary contexts, see cat. entries B.52, B.15, B.18, B.23, B.65, B.66 and B.34; also Stampolides & Karetsou 1998, 142-44 (nos. 89-91). For

More numerous than the cauldrons and stands of Oriental type are the tripod-cauldrons of Minoan-Mycenaean ancestry, which have their cast legs riveted to the body (Plates 60-61). LBA tripod-cauldrons of comparable type are known from domestic and funerary contexts, but it is still not clear whether their production continued uninterruptedly into the EIA.[913] The EIA tripod-cauldrons differ from the BA ones in the additional decoration of legs and handles. This could be an innovation inspired by the Oriental types.[914] Unlike their BA predecessors, EIA tripod-cauldrons are often found in sanctuaries, the most prolific sources being Olympia, Delphi and the Idaean cave. The earliest Cretan tripod-cauldrons, dating to *c.* 800 BC, represent a relatively advanced stage of development when compared to Olympia, which has produced the fullest series. There, as shown by Maass, tripod-cauldrons were already dedicated in the early 9th century BC. Around 800 BC they became more common, while their size and the elaboration of their decoration increased. Heights of more than a metre indicate that they were then made as prestigious votives and not for use in daily life.[915] Cretan peculiarities consist of the more modest sizes, distinctive leg shapes and handles which more often have an open-work design of triangles.[916] The addition of small bronze horses to the handles, as known from the Mainland, is adopted relatively late in Crete, though still in the 8th century BC.[917]

In addition to the Idaean cave, tripod-cauldrons have been encountered in the sanctuary at Amnisos, at Syme, the Altar Hill at Praisos, at Palaikastro and possibly on the West Hill at Dreros and at Kommos (Table 4). They are found in close association with the

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the one from a tomb in Aphrati: Levi 1927-29, fig. 420a-d.

[913] Tripod-cauldrons are listed on Linear B tablets; see Maass 1978, 5; Matthäus 1980, esp. 118-21, 100-18 (examples of MBA and LBA tripod-cauldrons); Catling 1984, 70. Snodgrass (1971, 281-86) is critical of continued production into the EIA. See also: Coldstream 1977a, 334; Maass 1978, 4 n. 3; Rolley 1977, 109-10; Matthäus 1980, 118; *id.* 1988, 287.

[914] Catling 1984, 71.

[915] Maass 1981, 7. Hammered tripods, which appear around 750 BC could even exceed 2 m in height. For the dates and classification: Maass 1978, 110-11, 228; *id.* 1981, 8-18; Rolley 1977, esp. 134. See also Coldstream 1977a, 335-38; Morgan 1990, 30-33.

[916] The technique of hammering and sheet handles and legs is not adopted on the island; see Boardman 1961, 132; Maass 1977, 34-36, 50-51; *id.* 1981, 18. Benton 1934-35, 119.

[917] Maass 1977, 48; Zimmermann 1989, 293.

Cretan shields and smaller weaponry such as arrow and lance heads, thus conforming to the picture of accumulation of large bronzes in a restricted number of sanctuaries. They occur occasionally in miniature form, as in the Idaean cave and at the Acropolis of Gortyn.

The question of whether there were different Cretan workshops producing these tripod-cauldrons has not been addressed.[918] In general, Maass believes that travelling workshops were active at the large sanctuaries, as indicated by the discovery of a mould fragment for an Argive-type leg at Olympia.[919] This impedes to a certain extent the assessment of the origin of those making dedications at the large, interregional sanctuaries. Two other factors caution against the assumption of a direct line from the commissioner of a tripod-cauldron to dedicator: the possibility that they were thank-offerings of victorious athletes in games associated with the sanctuary[920] and the custom of aristocratic gift-exchange, which may have led to repeated changing of hands before dedication. Morgan, however, believes that these cases were exceptional. She contrasts the relative lack of evidence for production of tripod-cauldrons at sanctuaries with that for the production of figurines and jewellery and concludes that, at least in the 8th century BC, most tripods would have been brought to a sanctuary in finished form by individual pilgrims. This would make dedication a conspicuous act both in the sanctuary and at home, where 'the commission or the purchase of the tripod, or alternatively the removal of a valued and perhaps old item from the household' would have been a noteworthy event.[921]

The value and symbolic connotations of tripod-cauldrons may, in contrast to those of the orientalizing Cretan shields, be discussed in the light of the available Homeric evidence. Maass has noted the lack of eastern motifs in the decoration of 8th-century tripod-cauldrons and considers this a conscious choice for a Greek idiom, perhaps because it bore connotations to a heroic past.[922] In Crete, as pointed out by Boardman, the production and circulation of such 'Hellenic bronzes' is especially significant because of their contemporaneity with the orientalizing Cretan shields. In fact, the two types of large bronzes were often dedicated in the same sanctuaries (see Table 4).[923] Such juxtaposition of 'Hellenic' and 'Oriental' is also encountered in other instances in EIA Crete. The decoration of Temple A at Prinias combines horsemen in a sub-Geometric style with orientalizing female and animal representations in one sculptural program. This, following Maass' lead, instead of simply being 'eclectic' may have conveyed a multiple message—by referring to the different external contacts and alliances of the elite or, more symbolically, to a special relationship of the aristocrats with the divine world, or to a divine world and a heroic past.[924] To return to the tripod-cauldrons themselves, their production in the island and their dedication in Mainland sanctuaries such as Delphi and the Amykleion and in Lindos on Rhodes, may indicate that the Cretan elite, as well as making use of an orientalizing idiom, actively took part in a Panhellenic network.[925]

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[918] For comments on the 'general Cretan workshop': Rolley 1977, 103-04.

[919] Maass 1977, 34, n. 11; *id.* 1978, 26, pl. 27; *id.* 1981, 18.

[920] Coldstream 1977a, 335; Maass 1978, 4; Morgan 1990, 43-46. Also Benton 1934-35, 114; Nicholls 1970, 20.

[921] Morgan 1990, 35-39, 44. For twin tripod legs (from the same patrix) found at Olympia and Isthmia: *ibid.*, 127. For overviews of evidence for metalworking at Mainland sanctuaries: Schürmann 1996, 189-91; Risberg 1992.

[922] Maass 1981, 18; see also Zimmermann 1989, 320-21. *Contra* I.M. Morris (1997, 38) who considers all tripods as orientalizing.

Tripods and cauldrons figure prominently in the Homeric poems and constitute objects of high value and prestige. Finley, as discussed before, compared their function as votives with their role in gift-exchange. Tripods and cauldrons are the most frequently mentioned precious gifts, and they also figure as prizes in games, for instance at the funeral of Patroklos. There, the most expensive tripod is estimated by the spectators to have a value of twelve oxen, whereas a skilled female slave is worth only four. Unused, 'shiny' tripods and cauldrons were considered better than ones that had been 'in contact with fire'.[926] In Crete, cauldrons and tripods are mentioned as payments in inscriptions as late as the 5th and perhaps the 3rd century BC.[927]

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[923] Boardman 1961, 84.

[924] Interesting also are the ivory seals with horsemen in LG style from the Idaean cave (see cat. entry B.52). They contrast in a comparable way to the many Oriental and orientalizing ivories from the cave.

[925] Maass 1977, 34; also Rolley 1977, 8, 103 (tripods), 145-46 (tripods, fibulae, mitra, helmet, figurines).

[926] *Il.* 23.703. Also *Il.* 8.290, 9.123, 265. For a full list of references: Brommer 1942, 359-61, 366-68. See also: Finley 1979, 96; Maass 1978, 3-4; *id.* 1981, 6-7; Donlan 1981, 102-04; Van Wees 1992, 224-25.

[927] Bile 1988, 324-25 (with further refs.).

The question as to why, of all possible objects, tripods and cauldrons acquired such high prestige value has been addressed by O. Murray. Their utilitarian functions, as described by Homer in the setting of heroic homes, included heating of (bath) water and cooking.[928] Focusing on the latter usage, Murray argues that the special meaning of tripod-cauldrons arose from their role in rituals of communal dining. Drawing on anthropological parallels and the Homeric epics, Murray describes these rituals as competitive happenings, in which different members of the aristocracy would try to outdo the others by means of conspicuous generosity, including the provision of large quantities of food. Cauldrons would thus have developed into symbols of the owner's ability to sustain a group of followers who, in return, would support him in military expeditions.[929] Despite criticism of the hierarchical and military aspects of Murray's model, the importance attached to aristocratic feasting and its intricate connection with the system of gift-exchange accord well with an emphasis in current scholarship on rituals of communal dining.[930] Murray's explanation therefore remains valuable, although other, more cultic connotations may have been attached to tripod-cauldrons as well. As pointed out by Burkert, tripod-cauldrons may also have referred to the sacrificial act. In Greek myth, bronze kettles are used to boil the parts of the sacrificial meat that were not roasted. Myth also recounts repeated instances of humans who were killed or sacrificed and then emerged from these kettles revived.[931] From Crete itself there is a bronze mitra from Oaxos on which a small armed figure, probably Athena, rises from a tripod-cauldron flanked by lions (Plate 19).[932] To this may be added the depiction of a male figure with possible thunderbolt and tripod, below which the head of another figure appears from the earth, on a terracotta lid from

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[928] For cooking: *Il.* 21.362; *Od.* 12.237; Bruns 1970, 37-39. The heating of bath water is mentioned more often; see Brommer 1942, 359, 361.

[929] O. Murray 1983. See also the remark by Langdon (1987, 108) that 'the votives partake of a consistent symbolic system that harks back to the aristocratic, heroic world of Homer.'

[930] For a balanced critique of Murray's work: Van Wees 1992, 45-46, n. 75. There is a vast body of recent literature on ritual dining: see the discussion in section 6 of Chapter Four, p. 449-50.

[931] Burkert 1972, 105, 125; *id.* 1985, 93.

[932] Hoffmann 1972, 37, pls. 43,1, 45; Blome 1982, 85-86, fig. 18, (both with further refs.); see also the cat. entry on Oaxos (B.6). Kontoleon (1961-62) gives two other, non-Cretan, examples of divine figures in or next to a tripod.

Knossos.[933] Other scholars call attention to the possible mantic connotations of tripod-cauldrons. An oracular meaning was attached to the sound made by the bronze tripods in the Zeus sanctuary at Dodona and there is, of course the example of the mantic tripod at Delphi, which became an emblem of Apollo.[934]

Maass has denied a connection of tripod-cauldrons with a specific deity, because they occur in sanctuaries for Zeus (in Olympia, Ithome, Dodona, the Idaean cave and Palaikastro), for Athena (on the acropoleis of Athens, Lindos, Sparta), for Apollo (Delphi, Amykleion), Hera (Samos), Poseidon (Isthmia), for the Nymphs in the Polis cave in Ithaka and for Hermes and Aphrodite in Syme.[935] Yet the number of divine names in Maass' list is restricted and it is striking that the main recipients of tripod-cauldrons, Zeus and Athena, are the deities who in the Homeric epics are most closely associated with the Greek heroic rulers.[936]

Armour

A third class of large bronzes regularly encountered in Cretan EIA sanctuaries consists of armour, i.e. helmets, cuirasses, *mitrai* (semicircular plates attached to cuirasses to protect the lower belly) and sometimes greaves.[937] Cretan armour shows distinct peculiarities.[938] Helmets come in two variations, of which the one with open face appears to be a local development of an Oriental prototype. Hoffmann points out that the technique of making helmets in two halves, riveted together afterwards, has Near-Eastern parallels. According to Snodgrass, the open-faced helmet, which has its origin in the 8th century BC, was superseded elsewhere around 650 BC, but in Crete may have remained current much longer. Helmets with cheek and nose guards probably represent a later type.[939] Cretan cuirasses, often with incised anatomical details, correspond to the more widespread Greek bell cuirass which remained in use until late in the 6th century BC. Miniature cuirasses show greater variation of form, but attempts to reconstruct chronological developments have not been successful.[940] Mitrai are particular for Crete, although examples have also been found in Thrace and Etruria.[941]

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[933] Coldstream 1994, 109-21, fig. 8, pl. 15a. Also Brock 1957, 165. For the lid depicting Zeus: Brock 1957, 122, pl. 107.

[934] De Polignac 1984, 36; Rolley 1994, 93; also Burkert 1985, 116 (with further refs.). For CL-HL literary sources on the Dodona tripods: Constantinidou 1992, 160-61.

[935] Maass 1978, 3-4, n. 24; *id.* 1981, 7.

[936] As pointed out in a recent study by Van Wees (1992, 73 n. 33, 75, 142-46, 198), Zeus paralleled the heroes because he was the *primus inter pares* of the gods, while Athena, as warrior-goddess, was often personally involved with their lives. For the Archaic period, Graf (1979, 9) calls Zeus and Athena, with Apollo, the polis deities *par excellence*.

[937] Excluded are spear and lance heads and the Cretan bronze shields, which have been discussed above. The term 'mitra' derives from Homer, but is almost certainly incorrect: Boardman 1961, 141; Snodgrass 1964, 88-90; *id.* 1967, 56, 64.

[938] Snodgrass 1967, 63.

Of special interest are the helmets, cuirasses and mitrai with incised and chased figurative decoration, which will be further discussed below (Plates 18-19, 38-40).[942] Large numbers of such decorated armour have been found in the sanctuary in the lower town of Oaxos and in a recently pillaged complex at Aphrati and isolated pieces elsewhere.[943] Proposed dates for this group initially varied from the first half of the 7th to the 6th century BC, but study of the latest finds from Aphrati have led Hoffmann to establish a new grouping and a more limited time range. He assigns the bulk of this armour to the period from the late 7th into the 6th century BC and a number of individual items to the earlier period of 650-625 BC.[944]

Cretan armour (both decorated and undecorated) has been found at a total of six sites: Oaxos, the Acropolis of Gortyn, Aphrati, the West Hill at Dreros, the Altar Hill at Praisos and at Palaikastro (Table 4). It is important to note that, with the exception of Palaikastro, armour seems to be lacking in extra-urban sanctuaries. The same observation applies to the category of miniature armour. This is in contrast to the Mainland, where arms and armour were dedicated in extra-urban sanctuaries such as Olympia, Delphi and Dodona, from the late 8th century BC onwards.[945] Ancient written sources document the custom of offering one's armour and that of conquered enemies. In the *Iliad*, for instance, Hector promises to dedicate such future spoils in the temple of Apollo.[946] Votive inscriptions on arms and armour from Mainland sanctuaries (usually of the 6th century BC and later) mention the ethnic names of victors and sometimes the defeated.[947] Modern scholarship considers dedications of this kind part of the processes involved in the articulation, first, of the aristocracies and subsequently of the polis as a civic institution in later times.[948] Seen in this light, dedication of armour in extra-urban sanctuaries ties in with their development into (inter-)regional meeting places and public podia of display for elite groups from different communities.

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[939] Snodgrass 1964, 16-17; Hoffmann 1972, 1-2, 17, 42.

[940] Snodgrass 1964, 72-76; Hoffmann 1972, 6-7. For an early 7th-century date of the miniatures: Benton (1939-40b), esp. 81.

[941] Brandenburg 1966, 19-28. Hoffmann (1972, 9-10) suggests that their addition to the standard panoply may have to do with the importance of archery in these regions.

[942] For the technical details of the decoration: Hoffmann 1972, 17-20.

[943] See cat. entries B.6 and B.28.

[944] Hoffmann 1970b, 136-37; *id.* 1972, 41-46 (with full refs. to earlier works). See also Boardman 1961, 141-44, figs. 55-56; Snodgrass 1964, 30, 89.

[945] Morgan 1990, 19, 141, esp. 217.

The observed lack of armour in extra-urban sanctuaries in Crete implies that different principles governed its dedication or that the function of Cretan extra-urban sanctuaries varied in important respects from those mentioned on the Mainland; attention is drawn in particular to such sanctuaries as the Idaean cave, Syme and Palaikastro for which an (inter-)regional function seems likely. An idiosyncratic attitude towards the offering of armour would not be unparalleled: according to Plutarch, Spartans never dedicated the armour of defeated enemies.[949] For Crete, the available archaeological evidence does not point to a general avoidance of offering weaponry. Moreover, the inscriptions on 14 pieces of armour from the Aphrati hoard, though not stating any names of enemies, seem to indicate they were taken as booty. They record the name of the owner (and sometimes of his father) with the verb 'took' (ile). The presence of four complete panoplies in the hoard and the homogeneity in both their decoration and the script of their inscriptions further implies that they were taken in one major event, possibly, as proposed by Raubitschek, in an inter-city war.[950] The context in which this armour was offered or displayed perhaps provides some insights in the principles of dedication.

As recently discussed by Viviers, it is not certain that the Aphrati armour was actually dedicated to a divinity. The associated inscriptions do not consist of usual votive formulas, in the sense that forms of the verb for dedicating (aneth-) and names of deities are lacking. Viviers therefore points to another possible context for the ritual deposition of armour and weaponry. He calls attention to some well-known Late CL-HL and later authors, among them Ephorus and Dosiadas, who testify to the existence of *andreia* or male dining halls in the Cretan cities. In these halls, the male citizens gathered on a daily bases to partake in communal meals and to discuss subjects relevant to their polis. The ancient sources emphasise the political and military character of these discussions. A strong pedagogic aspect is also apparent, as the young sons of citizens were brought along and thus introduced to the customs and history of their community. Within these andreia, as argued by Viviers, weaponry may have been displayed as trophies, commemorating the important deeds of current members and their ancestors.[951] This has important implications for the identification of sanctuaries, since so far the presence of deposits of weaponry outside tombs has been commonly interpreted as evidence for votive practice. A more detailed discussion of the functions of Cretan EIA andreia and related structures is reserved for a later section. It is important to stress here that the dedication or display of weaponry in EIA Crete happened within the community and not in (inter-)regional sanctuaries, for large groups of people to see. At the same time, it should be emphasised that armour could be dedicated in sanctuaries as well as in possible andreia.[952] This is perhaps most clear for suburban find spots, and particularly for those sites where life-size armour is accompanied by miniature versions, such as the Acropolis at Gortyn and the Altar Hill at Praisos (Table 4).

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[946] *Il.* 7.83. For this and later literary evidence of the practice of dedicating arms and armour, both of the conquered and the victor: Rouse 1902, esp. 98-102.

[947] Raubitschek 1972, 15. For examples of such inscriptions, generally of 6th-century or later date: Jeffery 1990, 93, 135, 146 n. 1, 162, 191, 223, 266-67, 279, 286.

[948] See 212-13, 361 above. Also Morgan 1990, 19, 141, 217.

[949] Jeffery 1990, 191 (with reference to Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 18).

[950] Raubitschek 1972, 15-16. See also Hoffmann 1970b, 129; *id.* 1972, 30-33.

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[951] Viviers 1994, 244-49. To this may be added the custom, described in *Od.* 16.284 and 19.4-20 of keeping weaponry in the great hall of the hero's home. As discussed before, the decoration on the Aphrati items gives reason to date them to the late 7th and early 6th century BC on stylistical grounds. For the inscriptions, however, which were dated to '*c.* 600 and later?' by Jeffery (1990, 468), a 5th-century date has been considered by Bile (1988, 35-40). If the latter date is correct, one has to assume a long period of circulation or display before the objects were inscribed (or address the discrepancy between stylistic and epigraphic dating); see Prent 1996-97, 46 n. 7.

[952] The custom is also attested in the *Iliad* (7.83; 10,460-64) when Hector vows to hang won armour in front of the temple of Apollo and to dedicate Dolon's cap, pelt, bow and spear to Athena. The issue of the problems in distinguishing between andreia and cult buildings will be further discussed in section 6, p. 441-76.

Whether Cretans engaged in the dedication of armour at any of the Panhellenic sanctuaries, thereby simply bypassing their own (inter-)regional sanctuaries, is difficult to decide. Some pieces of Cretan armour have been recognised among the votives in the interregional sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi,[953] but it is not certain that these were actually brought there by Cretans. The custom of offering a slain enemy's armour in addition to the use of armour in aristocratic gift-exchange severs the link between dedicator and place of manufacture to a much larger extent than with tripod-cauldrons.[954] For the same reasons, it is difficult to bring the figurative representations on Cretan armour in direct relation to the cult in which they were dedicated. Nevertheless, the recurrent themes and supernatural connotations deserve further discussion.

With respect to the elaborate figurative decoration, Cretan armour follows in the tradition of the earlier shields. Like the representations on the shields those found on the armour commonly contain allusions to a divine or supernatural world. The style on the armour is, however, more 'Hellenized'[955] In contrast to the shields, most depictions on the armour may be characterised as heraldic. As shown by Hoffmann, symmetrical compositions of horses, often winged, of felines, sphinxes, griffins and other (fantastic) animals are most common (Plates 39-40).[956] In addition, there are a few extended scenes which have invited further speculation as to their possible mythological content. One example is the mitra from Oaxos with a representation of a tripod, lions and the epiphany of an armed female goddess (Plate 19).[957] Another mitra, a chance find from Rethymnon, depicts two pairs of young men around an enigmatic central motif. The latter was tentatively identified by Hoffmann as the symbol of a divinity, consisting of a floral element crowned by a cuirass. Much discussed is the scene on a helmet from Aphrati which shows two symmetrically opposed youths with wings at the back and feet who grab large intertwined snakes (Plate 38). Hoffmann argues convincingly against attempts to read in this an illustration of the story of Daedalus and Ikarus as known from later Greek tradition.[958] Instead, he points to similarities with more common Oriental motifs of holding and stepping on snakes, used to symbolise a deity's power. While such motifs did not become part of standard Greek iconography, there are several comparable representations from 7th-century Crete. Besides the helmet, there are large snakes on a relief pithos (now in Copenhagen) and on a painted plaque from Gortyn. On the latter, they flank a female figure who is preceded by a booted male, perhaps a divine attendant. Hoffmann calls the female figure a 'Daedalic snake goddess', thus placing her halfway in the development from the Minoan palatial and LM III snake goddesses to the historical city-goddess Athena, as proposed by Nilsson.[959] The contemporary representations on the armour, i.e. the Oriental 'snake daemons' on the helmet and the warrior goddess on the Rethymnon mitra, may indeed indicate that this Athena-like goddess served as a patroness of Cretan aristocratic warriors.[960]

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[953] A Cretan helmet in Delphi: Marcadé 1949; Snodgrass 1964, 28; Hoffmann 1972, 2, 22. Mitrai in Olympia and Delphi: Hoffmann 1972, 26-27. A Cretan cuirass in Olympia (two others are now considered Peloponnesian): Hoffmann 1972, 7, 22-23, 43, 50-53, pls. 25a-c. For Cretan miniature weaponry from Bassae, perhaps dedicated by mercenaries from the island: Snodgrass 1974.

[954] Morgan (1990, 142-46) considers the possibility of Corinthian intermediaries.

[955] Boardman 1961, 134-44; Hoffmann 1972, 39-40, pls. 14-17, 31, 33-35.

[956] Hoffmann 1972, 34, 38, pls. 8-9, 21, 30, 32, 36.

[957] Hoffmann 1972, 37, pl. 45 and cat. entry B.6 for Oaxos for further refs.

Anthropomorphic figurines

The use of bronze was not confined to the large and prestigious votives discussed in the above. The metal was also employed for small anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, whose production continued uninterrupted from the LBA onwards. There are very few cult statues or images known from EIA Crete, the obvious exceptions being the bronze Apolline triad in hammered bronze from Dreros (Plate 43). Other sphyrelaton statues have been reported from the Idaean cave, the Altar Hill at Praisos and Palaikastro, but these are fragmentary or not fully published and therefore do not allow more precise identification.

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[958] Fittschen 1969, 197, n. 936; Kardara 1969; Beyer 1976, 140-41.

[959] Nilsson 1950, 491-501; *id.* 1967, 345-50; see also section 5 in this chapter, p. 438-39.

[960] Hoffmann 1972, 34-37, pl. 51:2. Antithetical compositions of young booted men as seen on fragmentary terracotta plaques from the sanctuary at the Acropolis of Gortyn (Hoffmann 1972, 35, pl. 52:2; also Rizza & Scrinari 1968, 175 (no. 163d), pl. 25), may be related but it is—against Hoffmann's assertion—far from certain that the curled motifs in between them represent snakes. Their closest parallels are other plaques from Gortyn with winged and unwinged youths flanking, as on the Rethymnon mitra, a floral element.

In the solidly cast anthropomorphic figurines[961] a continuation of BA characteristics in both style and iconography is noticeable. It is most apparent in the rendering of heads and faces and in the retention, in some figurines, of Minoan gestures and poses of adoration. As remarked by Langdon, however, such gestures become less pronounced as time proceeds. The Minoan gesture of rigidly holding the fists in front of the chest, for instance, turns into a simple curving of the arms.[962] Most EIA Cretan figurines are executed in a distinct style which, as suggested by (terracotta) figurines from Phylakopi at Melos, also preserves elements of a more general, not specifically Cretan, LBA III style. Typical are the somewhat static postures, the schematic bodily forms with short, bent legs and nudity, the latter being a feature rarely encountered during the BA.[963] The distinct lack of imported figurines in EIA Crete and the no more than occasional influence from the Levant on locally made figurines is noteworthy.[964] This contrasts to the pronounced oriental influence on contemporary, more prestigious metalwork, such as the Cretan shields.

An exception is a group of bronze warrior figurines which in their asymmetrical, striding stance show parallels with the so-called Reshep figurines from the Near East. The latter, representing a striding warrior-god with helmet, holding a round shield in the outstretched left hand and a weapon in the raised right one, were widespread from central Anatolia to Egypt in the BA.[965] Since an important article by Burkert in 1975, it has been generally accepted that later Greek images of Zeus and Poseidon in smiting position and of Apollo as warrior derive from these earlier Reshep figurines.[966] As to the trajectory of transmission, it is striking that all known imports in the Aegean date to the LBA (for an incomplete example, see Plate 12), leaving a gap of several centuries until the emergence of the Greek types.[967] Recently, it has been argued that Crete, with its continuous tradition of bronze working from the BA into the EIA, played a crucial role in the preservation of the type and its eventual transference to the Mainland in the 9th century BC.[968]

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[961] For the techniques employed: Mattush 1988, 15-22, 34-35.

[962] E.g. Blome 1990, 44 (no. 65); Langdon 1991. For other examples: Halbherr 1901c, 396, fig. 6; Boardman 1961, 118, 120, pl. XLIV (no. 523); Verlinden 1984, 218-19, pls. 86-87 (nos. 217, 220-23).

[963] Verlinden 1984, 148 n. 269, 164-74; Langdon 1991. For Phylakopi: Renfrew 1985b, 424, figs. 6.12-14.

[964] An example comes from Ierapetra; see Boardman 1961, 9 (no. 32), pl. V; Verlinden 1984, 164-74. See also: Byrne 1991, 66-70.

[965] Burkert 1975a, 52-55; Seeden 1980.

[966] Burkert 1975a, esp. 60-64; *id.* 1992, 19-20. The suggestion of a connection with the Reshep figurines was first made by V.K. Müller (1929, 112-17, 167-76).

Anthropomorphic figurines in bronze are found in larger quantities in extra-urban than in urban and suburban sanctuaries, where (published) examples never exceed one per site (see Table 5).[969] This repeats a pattern also recognised for the BA.[970] There may have been a general tendency to dedicate more expensive or more lasting votives in cult places farther away from one's home, indicating the special character of the occasion. In the case of EIA Crete, it may further be relevant that most extra-urban sanctuaries which received bronze anthropomorphic figurines had also done so in earlier periods of their existence.[971] Strikingly enough, the custom was not popular in the newly founded extra-urban sanctuaries at Kommos, Amnisos and Palaikastro, even though these did attract large objects and animal figurines in bronze. Nor have these sanctuaries yielded any human figurines in clay.[972] Different mechanisms may therefore have been involved in the dedication of large bronze objects and of anthropomorphic figurines. There is an overlap only at Syme, with large numbers of both. In other extra-urban sanctuaries, such as Patsos,

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[967] See Burkert 1975a, 57-58; Gallet de Santerre 1987.

[968] Byrne 1991, esp. 46-47. See also Renfrew 1985b, 422-25. Burkert (1975a, 62) opts for transmission via heirlooms or antiques.

[969] The figures in Table 5 are often based on preliminary reports and therefore represent a minimum. However, given the special nature of bronze figurines, it may be assumed that these are close to the numbers actually found in excavation. This is in contrast to terracotta figurines which often occur in very large numbers and are usually in fragmentary state.

[970] Both Verlinden (1984, 164) and Sapouna-Sakellaraki (1995, 137-39) conclude that Minoan bronze anthropomorphic figurines are rare in habitation and funerary contexts.

[971] On the other hand, not all sanctuaries which received such offerings in the BA continued to do so in the EIA. This applies for instance to the Skoteino cave; see Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1995, 39-40 and cat. entry B.62. From the Idaean cave one Minoan and twelve EIA figurines have been reported: Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1995, 65-66; Mylonas 1983, fig. 122; Sakellarakis 1983, 424, 469, pl. 273a; Lagogianni-Georgiakarakou 2000.

[972] See also Table 4. An ithyphallic figurine in bronze from Kommos may have been an applique rather than an independent votive: M.C. Shaw 2000, 187 (AB 79), pls. 3.14/27. From Palaikastro there are fragments of anthropomorphic sphyrelata figures, but these may represent deities rather than votaries.

Ayia Triada and Psychro, bronze anthropomorphic figurines are not accompanied by large bronzes.

A further analysis of the mechanisms involved in the offering of bronze anthropomorphic figurines requires a closer look at their iconography. First of all, even when allowance is made for the number of figurines of unclear gender, male bronze figurines seem more common than female ones. A rarity of female bronze statuettes has been noted by Tyree for the EIA cave sanctuaries and by Lebessi for the sanctuary at Syme,[973] but appears to have wider validity (see Table 5). The same pattern has been recognised elsewhere in the Greek world.[974] Whether this means that the female bronzes represent deities is, however, not certain. The female figurine with raised arms from Syme repeats the epiphany gesture known from earlier goddess figures. Also, the presence of female bronze figurines can in two cases (Pachlitzani Agriada and Syme) be associated with cult for a goddess. None of these arguments, however, can warrant a more general conclusion that the relatively rare use of metal for female figurines means that it was reserved for deities.

Most male figurines represent, in all likelihood, votaries. Possible exceptions are given by Byrne, on the basis of parallel gestures and stances in both Aegean and Near Eastern iconography. These exceptions include figurines displaying the old Cretan epiphany gesture (in previous periods characteristic for female deities, but now also used for males) and figurines whose active, asymmetrical stance is similar to that of the Oriental Reshep figurines discussed above. As examples of the first type Byrne mentions a warrior figurine and a belted bronze male from Ayia Triada (Plates 62a-b). Probably related is the gesture of extending both arms sideways, as seen in figurines from Psychro and Syme.[975] To the second type belong two bronzes with the right hand raised from Syme (and also the sphyrelaton Apollo statuette from Dreros), and perhaps figurines with arms stretched forward, such as one from Syme with a spear in the right and a shield in the left hand.[976] Other gestures are more likely derived from old Minoan gestures of worship and probably indicate votaries.[977]

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[973] Tyree 1974, 127; Lebessi 1972, 199.

[974] Mattush 1988, 32.

[975] For the ones from Syme: Lebessi 2002, 17 (no. 11), 60-65, 319-20. Psychro: Boardman 1961, pl. III (no. 21); Verlinden 1984, no. 236.

[976] They probably wear helmets. The excavator, Lebessi (1977, 409; ead. 2002, 20 (nos. 19-20), 90-92, 321-22, figs. 55, 143, pls. 18-19), also considers the possibility of a divine status.

Although several of the figurines interpreted as divine by Byrne represent warriors, there is no indication that all armed figurines had a supernatural status. Warrior figurines and plaques are also popular terracotta votives in this period. As rightly remarked by Byrne, 'the stereotype of the warrior is generally valid in the period for both god and man.'[978] In some cases the figurines are ithyphallic. The same applies to a number of male figurines without armour (Plates 55b, 68b). Emphasis in the depiction of male worshippers appears to be on two aspects: on their virility and martial qualities.[979]

Zoomorphic figurines

Many of the remarks on the stylistic development of anthropomorphic bronze figurines apply equally well to the zoomorphic ones (Plate 72). In a comprehensive study, Pilali-Papasteriou has observed the survival of Minoan as well as later BA traits (including LM IIIC-SM), for instance in the way of rendering muzzles and tails. It is in some cases difficult to distinguish EIA examples from BA predecessors. Although there are points of contact with the Mainland, especially in the 7th century BC, the style and execution of the EIA animal figurines should, on the whole, be characterised as typically Cretan.[980] Outside influence remained limited, though Schürmann recognises some Egyptianizing traits in the decoration of 7th-century bull figurines from Syme.[981] Cretan peculiarities, varying from distinctive pouring techniques to a greater attention for anatomical detail, became especially pronounced in the 8th century BC.[982] This is not to say that there was a homogeneous Cretan style in the EIA. Schürmann believes in the existence of many, relatively short-lived workshops working independently from each other.[983]

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[977] Byrne 1991, 66-71.

[978] Byrne 1991, 40, 47, 55.

[979] Although the sample of bronze figurines that probably depict deities as given above is small, it may be relevant that none of these are ithyphallic.

[980] Boardman 1961, 9; Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 121-23. For a detailed discussion of Cretan peculiarities on the basis of the Syme figurines: Schürmann 1996, 199-214, esp. 206.

[981] Notably in the addition of incised triangles on the forehead of some of the bulls; see Schürmann 1996, 211-12.

[982] Schürmann 1996, 195-96. See also Zimmermann (1989, 296) for the manufacture of Cretan horse figurines.

Bronze animal figurines occur in even greater proportion in extra-urban sanctuaries than anthropomorphic ones. Only one bronze animal figurine has been reported from a (sub-)urban sanctuary, a ram from the Altar Hill at Praisos, while a few bronze animal figurines accompanied burials in the EIA tombs of Knossos.[984] By far the largest concentration has been found at Syme, with a total of 535, followed by Ayia Triada with 74, the Idaean cave with 65,[985] Psychro with 21 and another five sites with five figurines or less. In contrast to the anthropomorphic bronzes, it cannot be maintained that the dedication of bronze animal figurines often represents the continuation of an earlier tradition in the same sanctuary. No Minoan or LM III bronze animal figurines have been identified at Syme. In a recent study, Schürmann even casts doubt on the dating of any Cretan bronze animal figurine to the period prior to *c.* 925 BC.[986] Whether this is true or not, it is clear that the custom of dedicating zoomorphic bronzes was far more widespread in the EIA than in the BA, both in terms of absolute numbers and number of sites. In Pilali-Papasteriou's earlier overview only 11 bronze animal figurines were assigned to the Neopalatial period and 28 to the Postpalatial period.[987] In the EIA, bronze animal figurines were also dedicated in newly founded sanctuaries, such as Palaikastro and Kommos, which lack anthropomorphic figurines. There is, in other words, no direct correlation between the dedication of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic bronze figurines (Table 5). It may, on the other hand, be relevant that the four extra-urban sanctuaries with the largest numbers of animal bronzes had all received large terracotta animal figures (mostly bovids) in the preceding LM IIIC-SM period. Both large terracotta figures and small bronzes may be considered as one or more 'steps up' in terms of costliness. It is, however, not easy to connect them with a particular social group.

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[983] Schürmann 1996, 212; see also Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 121-23.

[984] Two bronze and one lead animal figurine have been noted in the EIA tombs of Knossos: Brock 1957, 197 (no. 925), pl. 58; Catling 1996b, 547, 558-59, fig. 162, pl. 273.

[985] This total is given by Schürmann (1996, 193 fig. 2), but without references.

[986] Schürmann 1996, 221-25.

[987] Pilali-Papasteriou's overview (1985, 147, 151-54, 171-77) lists three Neopalatial settlements with bronze animals (Ayia Triada, Phaistos and Palaikastro) and six sites which have yielded Postpalatial examples (including Ayia Triada, Phaistos, Psychro and Patsos). She suggests the ones from the settlements may have been associated with domestic shrines. The author's observations on the figurines from Syme have in the meantime been superseded by the study by Schürmann (1996). Bronze animal figurines are conspicuously absent in Minoan peak sanctuaries, but as pointed out by Pilali-Papasteriou, this may be partially explained by their Protopalatial date. Anthropomorphic figurines in bronze are also much rarer in Protopalatial than in Neopalatial times; see Verlinden 1984, 63-68, 137.

The majority of Cretan EIA animal figurines in bronze represent bulls and bovids (Table 5, Plate 68a), followed by rams, goats and agrimia (Plate 68b-c). The evidence has been collected by Schürmann, who for Syme, Psychro and Ayia Triada gives proportions of 61%, 69% and 89% respectively for bovids and of 38%, 23% and 11% for ovids/caprids. This is in marked contrast to most large Mainland sanctuaries, where about half of the animal figurines tend to consist of horses.[988] The picture is confirmed when taking into account the terracotta animal figurines (Table 5). This popularity of offering bovine figurines in Crete makes it difficult to give universal explanations which go beyond 'substitute for sacrificial animal' or 'something pleasing to the deity'. Although in some cases the offering of a bronze animal figurine may reflect the wealth in livestock of the dedicator,[989] it should be noted that bovids were never dominant in Aegean animal husbandry. Study of animal bones from sanctuaries often shows quite different proportions of species, with bovids forming a minority.[990] Bovids clearly represent an ideal type of animal offering, the iconography of which had, of course, a long tradition in Cretan cult. It is possible that bronze bovine figurines were dedicated more often in sanctuaries for male divinities (Table 5, Idaean cave, Ayia Triada, Amnisos, Syme and Palaikastro). In clay, however, bovine figurines are widespread and also occur in sanctuaries for goddesses, such as the Demeter sanctuary at Knossos.[991]

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[988] Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 159-60; Schürmann 1996, 215-17. See also Zimmermann 1989, 2.

[989] As suggested by Schürmann 1996, 219-20.

[990] For Syme: Lebessi 1981a, 8; Schürmann 1996, 218. For the Demeter sanctuary at Knossos: Jarman 1973, 177-78. For the Kabeirion in Thebes: Lebessi 1992c, 18. The lack of correspondence between the species of figurines and real animals is not (*contra* Schürmann 1996, 218) an argument against their dedication as 'substitute sacrificial animal'. Figurines would represent the ideal sacrificial animal, rather than the kind most easily available in daily life.

[991] For Syme, with its extraordinary number of bronze bulls, a more specific function in the initiation rituals as reconstructed for this cult place has been proposed; see cat. entry B.66 and section 9 in this chapter, p. 579-81.

The adoption of horse imagery in the island, on the other hand, was a development of later times and one that was only partial and gradual. Representations of horses, as well as of chariots were extremely rare in BA Crete in any medium. There are a few terracotta examples from Knossos and the peak sanctuary at the Jouktas, while from the LM IIIC-SM period there some terracotta horse figurines from a domestic shrine in Vronda (A.22), from the Patsos cave (A.23), the deposit at Kastri Viannou (A.32), and somewhat larger numbers (12 figurines and two figures) from Ayia Triada (A.26).[992] On the Mycenaean Mainland they were depicted more often and became a dominant theme in the G period. The custom of dedicating small horses in bronze began around 850 BC,[993] whereas in Crete the earliest bronze horse (belonging to a tripod handle) has been dated to *c.* 750 BC.[994] Significantly enough, Zimmermann remarks that the style of the Cretan bronze horses, like that of the tripods they often decorate, follows Mainland traditions.[995] In this respect they differ from the other bronze animal figurines. It must further be emphasised that horse and chariot votives remain relatively rare throughout the EIA, whether in bronze or in terracotta (Tables 4-5). In his monograph on bronze horse figurines, Zimmermann was able to list only nine Cretan examples. Of these, five are attachments of tripod handles (from the Idaean cave and Delos), while another three come from uncertain archaeological contexts. The last is a votive from the Psychro cave.[996] To be added are an example from Kommos, one from Sta Lenika and four from Syme (Table 5), giving a total of only seven independent votives. The far east of the island seems to have been even slower in adopting horse imagery, judging from the absence of figurines at both Praisos and Palaikastro (Table 4) and of horse representations in general.[997]

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[992] Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 149, 153. Also Renfrew 1985b, 419; Hayden 1991, 138.

[993] For representations from the BA: Crouwel 1981, 45-51. Zimmermann (1989, 1, 3, 319, 321 n. 25) is hesitant to see a continuous development from the BA into the EIA. See also Hurwit 1985, 58-60.

[994] Maass 1978, 59 (no. 41); Zimmermann 1989, 294-95.

[995] Zimmermann 1989, 296-97, 298 n. 44. Also interesting is his remark that later ones are in a Sub-G (rather than an Orientalizing) style.

[996] Zimmermann 1989, 293-94 (nos. CRE 1-9), pl. 68. Not included are the 23 bronze horses from the Giamalakis collection in Herakleion, which lack an archaeological context and are not all Cretan; *ibid.* 299.

[997] An exception is a LG/EO hydria from Kavousi; see Levi 1949, pl. V:1.

The general popularity of horse imagery in the Geometric Greek world has been related to a rise in importance of an aristocracy which held a privileged position with respect to the possession of horses. These animals are ill-suited for travel in the mountainous Greek landscape and expensive to keep.[998] In the *Iliad* a horse is worth more than a tripod and more than two talents of gold.[999] Practical use may have been restricted to short-distance movement, as in parades, racing, inspection of country estates and transport to battle.[1000] As pointed out by Snodgrass, the possession of horses distinguished the owner by literally raising him above others and by the implication of his sharing in an almost esoteric knowledge of the intricacies of horse breeding.[1001] Ancient literary sources testify to the existence of the order of horsemen (*hippeis*) among early Greek aristocrats. The HL author Ephorus reports that in his time, Cretan aristocrats, in contrast to those elsewhere, were still actively involved in the breeding of horses.[1002] The use of representations of horses and chariots may therefore be seen foremost as a powerful symbol of aristocratic status.[1003] As votives they clearly reflect on the dedicator and on the socio-political functions of the cult. In a balanced assessment, Zimmermann remarks that, although the great majority of Greek horse figurines are dedicated in sanctuaries, they are not indicative of specific rites or beliefs. In many cases, no special relationship with horses is known for the associated deity. At the same time, there is a lack of horse figurines in sanctuaries for Poseidon—who in myth is considered the creator or father of the horse—as well as for several other deities qualified as Hippios or Hippia. It is apparent, on the other hand, that, just as with the tripod-cauldrons, certain cults and deities were more relevant to the articulation of an aristocratic ethos than others. Throughout the Greek world, bronze horse figurines are most frequently found in sanctuaries for Zeus, Apollo, Hera, Artemis and Athena.[1004] Nor are supernatural connotations lacking for the horses themselves. In the *Iliad* horses may be immortal or of divine origin.[1005] More generally, Greek myth considers the horse as a mysterious natural force and connects horse breaking with the taming or civilising of wild nature.[1006]

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[998] Benson 1970, 139 n. 39; Zimmermann 1989, 2-3, 322; Crouwel 1992, 102.

[999] Zimmermann 1989, 330, referring to *Il.* 23.263-71.

[1000] Crouwel 1992, 10. It is not certain that fighting itself was done from horseback, although the suggestion is made by Snodgrass: see next note.

[1001] Snodgrass 1971, 414-15.

[1002] Strabo 10.481; see also Jeanmaire 1939, 450-55.

[1003] Delebecque 1951, 240; Snodgrass 1971, 414-15; Coldstream 1977b, 12, 77; Hurwit 1985, 69-70; Zimmermann 1989, 3-4, 322; Crouwel 1992, 102.

[1004] Zimmermann 1989, 2, 323-25. On myths associated with Poseidon: Burkert 1985, 138; Bremmer 1987.

In Crete, such mythical associations are indicated by the depiction of winged horses on armour, as at Oaxos (Plate 18). Anticipating the discussion of terracotta votives, it may be added that horses, together with lions, are the only 'real animals' that were represented on mouldmade plaques, finding themselves in the company of such mythical creatures as sphinxes and griffins. Whereas images of so-called horse leaders from the Mainland are utterly ambiguous,[1007] male figures flanked by animals as seen on Cretan plaques are usually provided with wings, leaving little doubt as to their supernatural status. Table 4 shows that the dedication of horse figurines and chariots in bronze occurs in a limited number of sanctuaries. The dedication of terracotta horse figurines, however, is slightly more widespread.

Personal objects and jewellery

Small personal objects in the form of pins and fibulae are most common in bronze and rare in iron. According to Boardman, specimens from EIA Crete are similar to those from the rest of Greece, with the exception of a variety of bronze and gold pins with 'baluster' mouldings and ornamental disc-heads which seem typical for the island.[1008] Little or no Oriental influence is apparent and even in the 7th century BC Cretan pins and fibulae were still basically sub-Geometric in style.[1009] The use of fibulae, of many different types, was widespread in the island, as indicated by their occurrence in tombs and, less frequently, in settlements. Fibulae and pins also occur in thirteen of the known Cretan sanctuaries: in addition to those listed in Tables 4 and 7 at Patsos, the Tsoutsouros cave and Vrokastro. Except for the Psychro cave and possibly the sanctuaries at Ida,

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[1005] Delebecque 1951, 35, 144, 239-44; Zimmermann 1989, 322 n. 30; with refs. to *Il.* 16.154, 17.444, 476, 22.277.

[1006] Delebecque 1951, 241; Langdon 1989, 200.

[1007] See esp. Langdon 1989, with further references.

[1008] Boardman 1961, 132.

[1009] Blinkenberg 1926, 34-35; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1978, 22. Jacobsthal (1956, 18) noted some Orientalizing decorative elements, in particular on gold pins from the Idaean Cave.

Tsoutsouros and Syme, numbers of fibulae and pins are modest.[1010] They certainly never attained the exaggerated size and form of those known from Mainland cult places such as Perachora and the Argive Heraion.[1011] Outside the island fibulae have been found in sanctuaries for female and male deities.[1012] Since fibulae also accompany male burials in EIA Crete, as shown by their occurrence together with weaponry,[1013] they do not seem to have been gender specific.

This may be different for the various types of pins and especially for (gold) jewellery, of which concentrations occur in sanctuaries for female deities throughout the Greek world.[1014] In contrast to the bronze ornaments, gold jewellery from EIA Crete often displays strong Eastern influence, as in the use of granulation, inlays and in the choice of motifs.[1015] The largest collections of jewellery have been found in the cave sanctuaries of Ida and Tsoutsouros; smaller numbers are reported for Syme and the Psychro cave, while miscellaneous items are also encountered in tombs of the period.[1016] The Tsoutsouros cave was in all probability dedicated to Eileithyia and in that capacity may have attracted primarily female worshippers, both aristocratic and common. For the Idaean cave the possibility that a female deity was worshipped alongside Zeus has been discussed above. It may be clear that gold and other precious jewellery belong to the most costly types of female votives known for the EIA. The dedication of such objects surely must have been the prerogative of ladies of leading families. Yet, the question as to whether the dedication of such objects followed a similar pattern of 'ritualised competition', as proposed for large bronzes such as the tripod-cauldrons and the Cretan shields, should probably be answered in a negative way. Jewellery constitutes a more personal and less conspicuous type of offering. Morgan argues that jewellery would often be dedicated to mark personal events or life crises like birth, marriage and death. At Olympia, the rise in dedication of jewellery in the late 8th century BC coincides with the resettling of the region around the sanctuary. Rather than indicating a widening participation of women from far-away regions, Morgan therefore believes that the increase in jewellery represent an enhanced involvement of women from different communities nearby.[1017]

[1010] For the latter three sites no absolute numbers have been published yet. See also Blinkenberg 1926, 34-35; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1978, 2, 16-22.

[1011] Coldstream 1977a, 334; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1978, 8 (with further refs.).

[1012] Blinkenberg 1926, 19.

[1013] Homer also mentions the wearing of fibulae by men: Blinkenberg 1926, 35 (with further refs. to the Homeric epics); Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1978, 8, 18, 20.

[1014] For example at Hera sanctuaries at Perachora and Argos, Athena sanctuaries at Lindos on Rhodes, Emporio on Chios, Tegea in Arcadia, Philia in Thessaly and Artemis sanctuaries at Sparta and Pherae; see Coldstream 1977a, 333. For the female association of pins in the Knossian tombs: Snodgrass 1996, 577, 594.

[1015] Snodgrass 1971, 407; Coldstream 1977a, 281; Higgins 1996, 540.

[1016] For Knossos: Brock 1957, 196-97; Higgins 1996.

Terracotta cult equipment and votives

As in the LM IIIC-SM period, terracotta objects constitute a large proportion of finds commonly encountered in sanctuaries. In the EIA votive deposits are found which may consist of hundreds of terracottas, executed in a variety of shapes and techniques. As noted by Blome, in coroplastic art Oriental influence becomes distinct only much later than in metallurgy, namely in the 7th century BC with the adoption of the mould and the Daedalic style.[1018] Even then, older techniques and forms were never completely superseded and simple, handmade figurines as well as large wheelmade figures continued to be made. Modelling by hand, the use of the potter's wheel and of moulds could also be combined in one and the same object.[1019]

Wheelmade anthropomorphic figures

The production of large, usually wheelmade terracotta figures of human and animal shape continued from the LM III and LM IIIC-SM periods through the EIA.[1020] There are, however, distinct typological and iconographic changes from the PG period onward. These seem to indicate a shift in function and meaning. Changes are particularly clear in the class of anthropomorphic figures which show more variation in form but lack the epiphany gesture and cult symbols prevalent in the LM IIIC-SM period. None of the EIA examples known to date can be securely identified as a Goddess with Upraised Arms (GUA),[1021] although there are a few possible candidates. It has been proposed that a PG terracotta head with plain, undecorated tiara and strong LM IIIC-SM features from Kalochorio Pediadas may have belonged to a wheelmade figure of such earlier type.[1022] Of 7th-century date is the fragmentary wheelmade figure from a small bench sanctuary at Pachlitzani Agriada near Kavousi (Plate 50). Its find context suggests that this figure too may have been a GUA, but again positive evidence is lacking, as the upper part of the body and the arms have not survived.[1023] The so-called Palladion figure, of 7th-century date, from the Acropolis of Gortyn is exceptional. This preserves the form and proportion of the earlier GUA figures, though not the iconography (Plate 32).[1024] It has a similar bell-shaped skirt and a well-articulated upper body with detached arms. The raised right arm, in a gesture reminiscent of that deriving of Oriental Reshep figurines, is thought to have held a spear. A matching helmet in clay further supports the identification of the figure as warrior goddess.[1025] As such it is one of the few large terracottas for which an identification as deity is convincing.

[1017] Morgan 1993, 24-25.

[1018] Blome 1982, 5-6.

[1019] Higgins 1954, 11; *id.* 1967, 27.

[1020] Boardman 1961, 89, 100-01; Nicholls 1970, 5-6, 11-13. Before the discovery of the Karphi Goddesses, it was thought that such figures were introduced from Cyprus in a later stage of the EIA; see e.g. Halbherr 1901b, 381; V.K. Müller 1929, 61-63; Payne 1931, 54; Alexiou 1958, 276. Nicholls argues for a common LBA legacy, resulting in parallel but largely independent development in the two islands. For later Cypriot influence on large Cretan terracottas see p. 401-02.

The type of anthropomorphic figure most frequently encountered in EIA votive assemblages is far less elaborate and represents the body by means of a simple cylinder[1026] with little or no further differentiation of anatomy. Clay heads with tenons for insertion in a (usually missing) wooden or clay stand probably form a related type. Cylindrical anthropomorphic figures of these varieties occur in numerous sanctuaries (Table 6), but rarely in other contexts. They have been found at the lower sanctuary at Oaxos, the Acropolis of Gortyn, Syme, Anavlochos, in one of the votive deposits from Lato, Phylakas at Lato, Pachlitzani Agriada, Siteia, Anixi (Roussa Ekklisia), the Altar Hill and the Vavelloi and Mesavrysis sanctuaries near Praisos. Only the cylindrical figure of a male with baldric from Kissamos in west Crete is said to have come from a tomb.[1027]

[1021] Nicholls 1970, 12. Nor is there any sign of the closely associated snake tubes or offering stands. Clay cylindrical stands possibly for offering bowls were noted in the sanctuary on the Acropolis of Gortyn. On the Mainland these are found in the context of funerary cult in this period; see Burkert 1985, 195.

[1022] See esp. Alexiou 1958, 214, pl. I'3. Also: Levi 1927-29, 619-20, fig. 650a; Nicholls 1970, 5-6; Gesell 1985, 58. Later excavations, in 1947, established extensive PG-G habitation but not the figure's original findspot: see Platon 1951a, 98-102.

[1023] See cat. entry B.40.

[1024] Blome (1982, 6) supposes a continuation through the LM IIIC-SM period and EIA of the production of such bell-shaped figures. The physical evidence for this is, however, lacking.

[1025] Rizza & Scrinari 1968, 217; Burkert 1985, 140 n. 10.

[1026] Most publications do not specify if the bodies are wheelmade or handmade. Definitely wheelmade are figures from Oaxos (Rizza 1967-68, 214), Anavlochos (P. Demargne 1931, 391) and Praisos (Forster 1901-02, 278-79).

In function and meaning these cylindrical figures seem to bear little relation to the earlier GUA figures.[1028] Standardised forms, gestures, attributes or cult symbols are missing and it is likely that most of them do not represent deities but votaries,[1029] a fair proportion of whom are of male gender. Among the few possible exceptions is the unparalleled janiform head with tenon purchased by Evans from Piskokephalo, east Crete. Its style suggests a 10th or 9th century date. According to Boardman, it may represent the faces of two deities—the larger one being female and the smaller, and therefore subordinate one, male.[1030] Of the three G human heads found at Vrokastro (Plate 47) the one that might be female (Plate 47c) is most carefully modelled and preserves facial features reminiscent of LM IIIC-SM figures. Hayden implies it may have been more than a votary.[1031]

The rest of the EIA cylindrical anthropomorphic figures have less individualistic features and vary in form from the earlier, almost tubular types found at Oaxos (Plate 20a) to the squat ones from Anavlochos, to the fine, well-modelled ones from Gortyn and the 7th-century examples with conventional, mouldmade heads. The latter idea, of combining cylinder-shaped bodies with mouldmade heads, probably derived from Cyprus, where comparable figures were made from an earlier date onwards.[1032] Cretan cylindrical figures tend to become more elaborate in the 7th century BC. Some of them wear jewellery or carry objects which, though their exact nature is not always clear, may be assumed to represent offerings. Other figures, such as examples from Gortyn, Siteia and Mesavrysis at Praisos, display the gestures also known from mouldmade nude female figurines.[1033] As will be discussed in connection with the latter, this does not necessarily mean that they represent divinities. From the later 7th century BC onwards larger, more naturalistic terracotta statues of human form were made in Crete, probably under Cypriot or East-Greek influence.[1034]

[1027] Because it has a closed base it is called a figure-vase by Boardman (1961, 89, 92, pl. XXX). Alexiou (1958, 276-77) emphasised its resemblances to the earlier LM IIIC-SM figures. Nicholls (1970, 5) dated it to the 12th or 11th century BC and considered the baldric as a snake attachment. A similar, more fragmentary example from the same collection may also date to the 8th century BC.

[1028] *Contra* Gesell 1985, 58. Hayden (1991, 139) suggests that heads with no attempt to represent the torso, but mounted on bases or necks derive from a different tradition, namely that of LM III head-vases.

[1029] Nicholls 1970, 12.

[1030] Boardman 1961, 101-02, 106, fig. 41, pls. XXXV-XXXVI.

[1031] E. Hall 1914, 112; Hayden 1991, 142.

[1032] From there it also spread to Rhodes, where heads were applied to handmade cylindrical bodies, and to East Greece, where the combination with wheelmade

With the exception of Syme, all sites which have yielded cylindrical anthropomorphic figures represent suburban or urban sanctuaries—albeit of varying character (see Table 6). They range from sanctuaries in which the presence of tripod-cauldrons and weaponry betrays additional involvement of male aristocrats in the cult (in particular the lower sanctuary at Oaxos and the Acropolis at Gortyn) to small cult places that have yielded only modest offerings in terracotta (such as Mesavrysis, Pachlitzani Agriada and Phylakas). Cylindrical human figures are often accompanied by quantities of mouldmade figurines and plaques, with female representations predominating. This, as will be further explored in the discussion of mouldmade terracottas, suggests a connection with the worship of female deities, quite possibly by female worshippers. As is also clear from Table 6, the votive assemblage from the upper settlement at

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cylindrical bodies was more popular; see Higgins 1954, 11; *id.* 1967, 27; Boardman 1961, 109. At present, such combination figures seem to have been most popular in east Crete. The mention of separate or broken off Daedalic heads at sites elsewhere in the island may, however, point to the presence of similar figures.

[1033] Böhm discusses the possibility that these gestures were already current before the introduction of mouldmade figurines of eastern type, thanks to the earlier import of ivories and bronzes. She refers to a cylindrical figure from the Acropolis at Gortyn with one hand at the upper body and the other at the (unindicated) pubic area; see Böhm 1990, 58, 70 (referring to Rizza & Scrinari 1968, 160 (no. 51)). It is questionable, however, whether the 'early look' of this figure should be taken as indicative of a date before the 7th century BC. It may well be that such gestures on cylindrical figures point to influence of mouldmade figurines and also date to the 7th century BC.

[1034] Nicholls (1970, 12) considered this as an east-Cretan or 'Eteocretan' development. One should add to the then known figures from the Altar Hill at Praisos (Forster 1901-02, 271-78), the large late 7th-century terracotta heads from Siteia (see cat. entry B.41) and a probably later bearded head from the acropolis at Knossos (Hood & Smyth 1981, 44 (no. 136)).

Vrokastro takes an exceptional position within the group of sanctuaries with cylindrical clay figures. The majority of the human figures are male; mouldmade terracotta votives are absent and the presence of wheelmade animals is odd. This supports the idea put forward by Gesell that cult here was directed at a male deity.[1035]

Wheelmade zoomorphic figures

Wheelmade animal figures continued to be made from the LM IIIC-SM period into the EIA. They have been found only in the contexts of sanctuaries. As in the previous period, most animal figures represent bulls, while agrimia and other animals are less frequent. The horse now occurs more often than before, but remains much less frequent than the bull. Fantastic figures such as sphinxes are not attested for the EIA.

Although wheelmade animals occur in several of the extra-urban sanctuaries in which they were dedicated in the LM IIIC-SM period, i.e. at Patsos, the Psychro cave, Ayia Triada and Syme, their numbers are sharply reduced. In the open-air sanctuary of Jouktas and in the Idaean cave they may have disappeared from the votive repertoire altogether. A few wheelmade animals are known from newly founded urban and suburban sanctuaries, but again in limited quantities (see Table 8). There are a few bulls and boars from the Demeter sanctuary at Knossos, one bull from the Apollo temple at Dreros, a few examples of bulls from the small cult building at the Kako Plaï cemetery on the Kastro, Kavousi, and somewhat larger numbers of equine figures (but no bulls) from the Acropolis at Gortyn (Plate 36). Only at two sites may wheelmade animal figures form a distinct presence during the EIA. The first is Vrokastro, where the find context and date of the two horses and especially of the nine bulls are not entirely secure. The second is the newly founded coastal sanctuary of Kommos, where it is clear that the dedication of wheelmade bulls and horses constituted an important practice from the PG onwards. A large PG bull figure, some 0.40-0.60 m high, was probably set up inside Temple A.[1036] D'Agata has suggested that the offering of wheelmade animals here continued a cult practice established earlier at the nearby open-air sanctuary of

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[1035] Gesell 1985, 58, 66-67.

[1036] M.C. Shaw 2000, 157.

Ayia Triada.[1037] Bull figures remained a conspicuous class of offerings at Kommos into the HL period and it may even be suggested that they became something of a speciality for this sanctuary.

For the LM IIIC-SM period it was noted that wheelmade animals did not occur in the context of traditional bench sanctuaries with GUA figures. Instead, the presence of assemblages of animal and fantastic figures appeared to characterise a different cult, taking place mainly in extra-urban sanctuaries, from Patsos in the west to Syme in the east. In the EIA wheelmade animals occur in a greater variety of sanctuaries, which may indicate they became less cult specific. As apparent from Table 8, they appear in cult places inside and outside contemporary settlements and are part of different votive assemblages.[1038] Nevertheless, a few basic trends are evident. First, wheelmade animals are still rarely found in votive deposits in which female representations, in the form of mouldmade figurines and large cylindrical figures, prevail (see also Tables 6-7). This is despite the regular presence of handmade animal figurines of terracotta in such 'female assemblages'.[1039] As in the previous period, the association of wheelmade animals with predominantly female imagery appears to have been generally avoided. The association with weaponry and with bronze animal figurines is frequent, though not exclusive. This supports the idea mentioned in Chapter Three that animal figures, especially bulls, were reserved for male deities.[1040]

In the open-air sanctuary of Syme the dedication of wheelmade animals overlaps with that of mouldmade female terracottas and larger female figures. Here, however, there is evidence for the worship of two deities, a male (Hermes) and a female (Aphrodite). This may explain the concurrence of two classes of votives otherwise distinct. Less easy to account for is the presence of bull and boar figures together with mouldmade female figurines in the newly founded sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos.[1041] At the Acropolis of Gortyn large numbers of mouldmade female figurines and large female figures were also found together with animal figures. This votive assemblage, however, is unique in that the animals, against the traditional Cretan predilection for bovids, consist of horse and donkey figures only. It is clear that from CL times onwards the sanctuary at Gortyn was dedicated to a largely Hellenized Greek goddess Athena. For the earlier periods, on the other hand, pronounced Oriental influence can be detected both in the actual construction of the temple, in the iconography of its decoration and in some of the votives. Likewise, the association at Gortyn of a female armed goddess with horses or equids may have been inspired by Near-Eastern examples. This sanctuary and associated votive assemblage will receive detailed discussion in the section on suburban sanctuaries.[1042]

[1037] D'Agata 1997 (with full refs.); La Rosa & D'Agata 1984, 181.

[1038] Nicholls (1970, 12) believed that in eastern Crete bull figures were only adopted after the LM IIIC-SM period. In the EIA the custom of dedicating animal figures was also practiced at Plaï tou Kastro (B.39) and perhaps at the Altar Hill at Praisos (B.45).

[1039] E.g. in the Demeter sanctuary at Knossos (B.19), the Acropolis of Gortyn (B.23), the Tsoutsouros cave (B.59) and in the votive deposits at Anavlochos (B.30) and Lato (B.34).

[1040] See Chapter Three, section 6, p. 208-09.

Mouldmade plaques and figurines

Crete is the most prolific source of Daedalic mouldmade terracottas in the Greek world, both in terms of absolute numbers and in terms of number of sites at which they occur. As is apparent from the catalogue and Tables 6 and 7, sanctuaries with such terracotta votives are widely distributed over the island. At least 26 sites are reported to have yielded mouldmade terracottas, from Oaxos in the west to Itanos in the far east. Isolated examples of mouldmade terracottas have also been found in EIA settlements, where they may have been used in domestic shrines.[1043] None, on the other hand, are known from contemporary tombs.[1044]

The production of mouldmade terracottas began early in Crete, with a Proto-Daedalic phase around 680-670 BC, and continued through a Sub-Daedalic phase at the end of the 7th century BC.[1045] No imported Oriental moulds or terracotta figurines are known from the island, but the Daedalic style of the Cretan terracottas, the iconographic similarities of the nude female variety to Eastern prototypes and their sheer abundance suggest direct transmission of the technique from the Near East.[1046] Despite these Oriental roots the concept of making votive plaques may not have been entirely foreign to Crete. Clay plaques with plastic rim attachments, which may have born painted decoration, are known from several LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries (Plate 7).[1047] Wooden plaques may have been current too.[1048] Gortyn appears to have been a leading centre, judging by the quantity of mouldmade terracottas found at its Acropolis. They comprise many fine and varied types, whose development covers all sub-phases of the Daedalic period.[1049]

[1041] It may be significant that cylindrical human figures are absent.

[1042] See section 7 in the present chapter, p. 476-508.

[1043] None have been found *in situ* in Cretan EIA houses. The only EIA domestic shrine known to date is at the Kastro, Kavousi; the bench here only had handmade figurines and some pottery; see cat. entry B.38. For isolated examples from mixed settlement contexts at Knossos: Higgins 1992, 351-52, 357 (nos. 2-3). For their use as toys outside Crete: Walters 1903, xxvii; Higgins 1954, 7; *id.* 1967, xlix.

[1044] This is in contrast to the general practice in CL-HL times; see Walters 1903, xxvi; Knoblauch 1937, 7; Higgins 1967, xlix-l.

The technique of making mouldmade terracottas is simple and was spread relatively quickly. Any number of moulds may be taken from the archetype or patrix, which can be of wood, wax, plaster, terracotta, metal or ivory; moulds were usually of terracotta.[1050] Higgins suggests that moulds were rarely exported, but individual figurines may have served as a patrix to take 'second-generation' moulds from at other places. Figurines of popular type could be repeatedly remoulded in different series.[1051] This accounts for the prolonged retention of older types, as noted in Praisos, and the regional distribution of series deriving from the same archetype. Boardman, for instance, has recognised plaques with sphinxes and griffins from the same series in Praisos and Papoura in the Lasithi plateau.[1052]

[1045] The use of the mould in the 7th century BC is also attested in Rhodes, Samos, Ephesus, Attica, Corinth, Argos, Laconia and Western Greece; Higgins 1954, 11; *id.* 1967, 25, 27-28; Böhm 1990, 77-78, 103, 141. A number of large and 'early looking' plaques depicting warriors from Praisos were initially assigned a date in the late 8th century BC (Hall Dohan 1931, 212-14; Riis 1949, 84; Higgins 1954, 10-11), but more recently the suggestion of Boardman that all Cretan mouldmade terracottas belong to the 7th century BC is generally accepted (Boardman 1961, 109; Higgins 1967, 28; *id.* 1973, 57).

[1046] Probably not via Cyprus, as recently shown by Böhm (1990, 107-16, 120-21).

[1047] See Gesell 2001. Painted plaques without relief are quite common in the Greek mainland from LG times onwards; see Boardman 1954. For examples from the Acropolis at Gortyn: Rizza & Scrinari 1968, 165, 186 (nos. 82-84, 243). A plaque with handmade decoration in Oxford may date from the late 8th century BC; see Boardman 1961, 108, 115 (no. 493).

[1048] On wooden plaques: Boardman 1954, esp. 188.

[1049] See also cat. entry B.23. A place as, for instance, Oaxos did not adopt the technique and Daedalic style until *c.* 670 BC; see Rizza 1967-68, 213, 274-76; Böhm 1990, 81, 87.

[1050] For the technique: Nicholls 1952, 220-24; Higgins 1967, 2-5.

[1051] For definitions of the terms 'type' and 'series', as used here, and 'group'

All in all, the number of moulds used in 7th-century Crete must have been very large. The votive deposits discussed in the catalogue often display a myriad of iconographic types. Some are unique to a certain sanctuary and may have been designed with the specific cult in mind; these are best considered within the context of the votive assemblages to which they belong. Many series, however, conform to broader, recurrent iconographic types. Prevalent among these are the different varieties of nude females (Plates 20g, 33a-b, 54c) but there are also repeated occurrences of male warriors (Plates 34a, 54a), sphinxes (Plate 35a) and griffins and a number of other types which will be discussed below. The interpretation of these terracottas is a matter of debate. For the anthropomorphic ones the question of their meaning is often posed as a perhaps too simplified choice between depiction of the deity or votary.[1053] It is to be assumed that both might occur in this period,[1054] but in the absence of standardised attributes identification often remains problematical.

Discussion has centred to a large degree on the ubiquitous nude female figurines. It has been noted that in contrast to the Greek mainland the nude type of female figurine was most popular in Crete.[1055] At the same time it is clear that these figurines occur almost invariably together with dressed varieties in the same sanctuaries (Tables 6-7, Plates 20f, 33d-e). Earlier studies have further shown that the different arm positions were used without distinction: both

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(the output of an artist or workshop) in relation to terracottas: Nicholls 1952, 217-24. See also Higgins 1954, 8-9; *id.* 1967, lii. A few pieces of mouldmade terracottas which are probably of Cretan origin have been found at Perachora, the Argive Heraion and Tarentum; see Higgins 1967, 27-28; also Knoblauch 1937, 114.

[1052] Forster 1904-05, 244; Boardman 1961, 110-11, 113, 116 (no. 503), pl. XLI.

[1053] Even by Burkert 1985, 93. Sometimes the possibility of them being priestesses or priests is allowed for; see e.g. Cassimatis 1982, 461.

[1054] Although real genre scenes are a development of the CL and later periods, Higgins (1967, l) has suggested that humans were already depicted in the 7th century BC. See also Walters 1903, xxi. For a type of Cretan plaque which may depict young, female votaries: Rizza & Scrinari 1968, pl. XXVI (no. 167); Cassimatis 1982, 461, fig. 9:h1.

[1055] Higgins 1967, 26-28.

dressed and undressed females may have the arms along the body, one hand at the breast and one at the pubic area or two hands at the breasts.[1056] Hence there seems little reason for treating them as separate groups with different meaning. All types may further be adorned with a cylindrical polos, which is often elaborately decorated.[1057]

It is this type of head gear especially that, together with the frontality of the figurines, is usually considered as a sign of the supernatural nature of the depicted.[1058] As to their further identification, there still is a tendency to construe these images in terms of the more standardised iconography associated with the Olympian deities of Classical and later times. Thus, the nude type is often called Aphrodite. Identifications of this kind have been rightly criticised, most recently by Wickert-Micknat and Böhm. These scholars emphasise the 'non-Homeric' character of the terracottas in question. There is, for instance, no mention of nudity as a feature of any goddess—including Aphrodite—in either Homer, Hesiod or the Homeric Hymns. Nor does the polos or comparable head dress appear as divine attribute in these literary sources. Rather than looking for parallels in the later, more standardised Greek iconography emanating from Homeric-Hesiodic works, Böhm has opted for a detailed comparison with both the Eastern source material and earlier Cretan iconography. For the nude type, she argues for a very general function and meaning, largely analogous to that in the Near East.[1059]

In the Near East representations of nude females were manifold. Literary sources from the 2nd millennium BC onwards testify to various goddesses connected with sexuality, human fertility and motherhood for whom the nude image was apt. Some of the better known ones are Mesopotamian Ishtar, Syrian Astarte and Anat and

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[1056] See e.g. Cassimatis 1982, 450; Böhm 1990, 78-79, 137.

[1057] Cretan female figurines are more often provided with poloi than their counterparts in the East; see Böhm 1990, 87. Poloi are not found on males, with a few exceptions in East Greece; see V.K. Müller 1915, 71.

[1058] Already by Furtwängler 1883-87, 36; V.K. Müller 1915. Also Boardman 1961, 109; Higgins 1967, liii; Fittschen 1969, 140; Blome 1982, 82; Wickert-Micknat 1982, 110. *Contra*: Böhm 1990, 137.

[1059] Wickert-Micknat 1982, 110; Böhm 1990, 125-26. In the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* '*stephane*' is used to denote the headgear of both divine and mortal women and it is not certain a polos is meant here; see V.K. Müller 1915, 102-03. For different types of headgear: V.K. Müller 1915, esp. 68, 82; Cassimatis 1982, 459. See also Snodgrass 1998a, 24-26.

Ashera in Ugarit. There are, however, many others with different local names or epithets. Through time there was marked blending and syncretism of goddesses from different regions.[1060] Riis, in an important article on Eastern relief plaques, stated that there was 'a definite conception of a certain goddess' behind these images, as indicated by the use of wings, tiaras, gestures and poses.[1061] The fact remains, however, that marrying specific iconographic types to the textual evidence is often very difficult.[1062] In his basic typology, Pritchard admitted the futility of trying to do so in particular for the nude figurines with both arms along the body and for the lotus-holding 'Qadesh' type and interpreted these as 'sacred maidens' or consorts instead. The first ones because they lack distinct attributes and appear very 'neutral' in their rigid pose; the second because the name Qadesh may translate as 'Holiness of ...' or 'courtesan'.[1063] Winter compares them to the nude females without attributes who occupy secondary positions in extended scenes in glyptic art and concludes they acted as guardians and mediators. The widespread occurrence of terracotta figurines in Near Eastern tombs, settlements and sanctuaries indicates the popularity of these numinous beings, but as they were not part of the principle pantheon they have to remain unnamed.[1064]

In her comprehensive study, Böhm notes that the Cretan type of nude female figurine with both arms along the body, and the one with both hands at the breasts, were direct borrowings from the Near East. Analogous with the interpretation given for the latter, she rejects an identification as principal goddesses. To strengthen the argument she draws attention to the plaques which depict two to five or more identical female figures.[1065] Earlier scholars also acknowledged the incompatibility of these multiple images with Olympian deities,[1066] but the interpretations given instead still seem too particularistic. They include identifications, usually based on later literary sources, as 'the Muses' and 'nursing nymphs of Zeus'.[1067] Explanations on a more abstract and general level seem preferable, if only to account for the widespread occurrence of similar female representations in so many different Cretan sanctuaries. Suggestions that the females in multiple representations would each symbolise another aspect of a multifunctional deity have been rightly rejected on the grounds that some kind of differentiation should then be expected.[1068] Blome thinks repetition of the same image was a way of simply enhancing the presence of the divine,[1069] but this leaves unsolved the question why it is specific for these female representations. More convincing is Böhm's proposal to see them as subordinate to a deity or as 'wesensgleiche Gestalten', expressing identity with the divine 'Urbild' and its primary function.[1070] This means that at least the type of 'neutral' terracottas may not fit into the categories of votives portraying deity or votary. Rather, they are idealised representations of something of concern to the dedicator and within the main sphere of influence of the deity involved. [1071] Illuminating in this context is also Burkert's discussion of 'societies of gods' which in later literary sources were sometimes specified as *daimones*, *amphipoloi* (attendants) or *propoloi* (forerunners) of a deity. They were usually imagined as youthful figures and attached to one of the great Olympian gods. There seem to have been cult associations with those names whose members imitated satyrs, nymphs or Kouretes and in doing so strongly identified with these beings. Burkert points to the ambiguity of a term as nymph 'since it refers equally to the divinities present in brooks and flowers, to human brides, and to young women in their first encounter with love.'[1072]

[1060] Thousands of divine names are known especially from Mesopotamia; see Winter 1983, 87-88, 543-52; Böhm 1990, 127-33.

[1061] Riis 1949, 81-83. Also Winter 1983, 192.

[1062] See, for instance: Barrelet 1955; 235; *ead.* 1958, esp. 40-42; Winter 1983, 88, 96, 194-95.

[1063] Pritchard 1943, esp. 84-85. See also (all with further refs.): Riis 1949, 80; Winter 1983, 112-13, 127-28; Böhm 1990, 129.

[1064] Winter 1983, 194-99.

[1065] Böhm 1990, 86-87, 104, 119.

[1066] The diads, for instance, have often been interpreted as Demeter and Kore; for a critique see esp. Hadzisteliou-Price 1971, 48-49 (with further refs.).

[1067] The association of nursing nymphs of Zeus, for instance, has been transferred to other images of male-female triads, without taking into account the rest of the cult assemblage in question. For the nursing nymphs: Korres 1968, esp. 117-18; Verbruggen 1981, 45, 164. *Contra*: Hadzisteliou-Price 1971, 50; Blome 1982, 76-78.

[1068] Christou 1968, 36; Rizza & Scrinari 1968, 250-51. *Contra*: Blome 1982, 77. See also P. Demargne 1980, 199.

[1069] Blome 1982, 77.

[1070] Böhm 1990, 137-41, esp. 138: 'Sinn der ikonographischen Identität wäre somit, die Ähnlichkeit mit den göttlichen Urbild und ihre Funktion auszudrücken.' Böhm may, however, go too far in denying the supernatural connotations of the polos-wearing figures. As 'wesensgleiche Gestalten' they would constitute sacred images nevertheless.

[1071] In that sense they come closest to the concept of 'agalma', some thing pleasing to the god; see also Chapter One, section 3, p. 27.

Böhm's study offers a basic and apt framework for the interpretation of these recurring female images. She notes that, just as for the Oriental ones, the only relatively secure connection is that with worship of a female divinity.[1073] In addition, the nude figurines express a distinct emphasis on sexuality, perhaps particularly of young women. Unlike G representations in which the gender is usually cursorily indicated, the nudity of the Daedalic figurines is as pronounced as that of the Near Eastern prototypes.[1074] Following Böhm's 'minimalist' approach, interpretation of the terracotta images beyond the, in this period only partially articulated, Olympian system becomes possible. It brings into view the host of older deities and numinous beings who were ignored or assigned secondary positions in the Homeric-Hesiodic works and later, canonical pantheon. To these belong the nymphs and other beings mentioned before, all kinds of nature deities and goddesses such as Eileithyia and Demeter.[1075] As the meaning of these images of nude and dressed females centred on the general concept of 'female sexuality', they were indeterminate enough to be dedicated in a number of different cults—something which is also indicated by their wide occurrence in the EIA Cretan sanctuaries. It is possible, however, that these relatively neutral images would assume a more specific meaning in the context of specific cults. This will have to be examined in the context of individual or certain well-defined categories of sanctuaries.[1076]

Other types of mouldmade terracottas are less neutral in appearance, because they contain additional iconographic clues in the form of gestures or attributes. In these cases, interpretation may be taken a step further, as applies, for instance, to representations that combine female and male figures. These occur in different varieties, none of them with exact Oriental parallels, but all retaining a connection with sexual and erotic aspects. One variety, exemplified by a plaque from Aphrati, shows a nude frontal female whose arms are grabbed by two males in striding position.[1077] A related variety, of a striding male with his arms around the heads of the two frontal nude females flanking him, can be seen on an architectural relief from the temple at the Acropolis of Gortyn (Plate 31) and possibly on a relief fragment from Oaxos. Rather than as specific depictions of 'early Apolline triads' or 'the seizing of Helen by the Dioskouroi', these scenes are best seen from a more general perspective.[1078] Sourvinou-Inwood argues that they are 'emblematic' and express certain perceptions about women and male-female relationships. In this case, the scenes seem to symbolise male claims to female sexuality, while in other cases a more precise interpretation as abduction scene may be possible.[1079] Similar gestures are incorporated in representations of male-female couples of the variety commonly referred to as *hieros gamos*. The term refers to the sacred marriage of divine couples, most usually of Hera and Zeus or of Persephone/Kore and Hades.[1080] Possible *hieros gamos* scenes occur on terracotta plaques from Tsoutsouros, Siteia and Vavelloi.[1081] Here, both figures are dressed and more often face each other. The gesture of taking the other by the wrist, which may be mutual in these scenes, is sometimes combined with the laying of the arm by the man around the shoulder or head of the female.[1082] Another variation shows touching of the chin, a gesture which has been interpreted as expressing intimacy or courting.[1083] Although the erotic and sexual contents seem clear in all cases discussed here, the distinction between divine, heroic or mortal couples is not articulated in the representations themselves.[1084]

[1072] Burkert 1985, 151, 173-74; with ref. to Strabo 10.466-74, Plato *Laws* 815c; also Farnell 1909, 421; Nilsson 1967, 244-45.

[1073] Böhm 1990, 23, 134-35, 140.

[1074] Wickert-Micknat 1982, 110; Böhm 1990, 125, 136-37. See also W.A. Müller 1906, 3-6.

[1075] Burkert 1985, 173-74, 183. See Finley (1979, 136-37) on Homer's ignoring of Demeter, whose cult was flourishing. It may be relevant that Homer refers to the 'Eileithyiai' as daughters of Hera. This makes them secondary to the Olympian goddess. The use of the plural may have been another way of reducing their status.

[1076] See section 7 in this chapter, p. 476-503, on the different kinds of suburban sanctuaries.

[1077] Despini 1966, pls. 20-21. For further references: Fittschen 1969, 162 (GT 4).

[1078] For an interpretations as abduction of Helen: Despini 1966, 37-38; Blome 1982, 83 (with further refs.). *Contra*: Fittschen 1969, 164-65. For the Apolline interpretation: Hadzisteliou-Price 1971, 52, 59, 69.

[1079] Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, esp. 135; also Böhm 1990, 138-39. The gesture is described in the *Iliad* (1.323) when Briseis is led to Achilles' tent; see also Neumann 1965, 59-63, n. 218.

[1080] As defined by Avagianou 1991, xiii-xiv.

[1081] See cat. entries B.59, B.41 and B.46.

[1082] Neumann 1965, 64-66; Blome 1982, 86-88; Böhm 1990, 139. Avagianou (1991, 8-9, 18) interprets the taking by the wrist more specifically as symbolising the separation of the bride from the parental home. For Cretan examples of *hieros gamos* variations, with further refs.: Fittschen 1969, 134-38 (GP 9, 12-13, 20).

Another recurrent type of mouldmade terracotta is that of a standing kourotrophic female suckling or holding an infant. In contrast to the Near Eastern prototypes, the Cretan figurines are always depicted dressed and Böhm therefore concludes that the erotic-sexual aspect was secondary to that of nursing and motherhood.[1085] Tables 6-7 indicate that kourotrophic figurines were dedicated more selectively than other types of terracotta figurines; their meaning seems to have been more specific than that of the frontal nude and dressed females without attributes.

In her study of Greek kourotrophic deities, Hadzisteliou-Price stresses that motherhood and nursing, being of basic human concern, feature in different cults in many cultures. Mixing and syncretism may happen easily. Separate cult traditions can nevertheless be traced in different parts of the Mediterranean. While in the Near East kourotrophism often formed an aspect of cults concerned primarily with fertility, Greek mythology and cult show association with a large number of divinities of different character. Even virgin goddesses and male deities could be kourotrophoi in their function of fostering or educating the young.[1086] In Crete, the situation may have been different altogether. The use of both the epithet 'kourotrophos' and of kourotrophic images seem relatively rare and may therefore have been reserved for specific deities or cults. The principal kourotrophic deity in the historical period still was Eileithyia,[1087] a goddess connected more exclusively with human conception and childbirth. Mentioned in the Knossian Linear B tablets and possibly of Minoan origin, Eileithyia tended to syncretise with Artemis and Hera in other parts of the Greek world. In Crete, however, she remained an independent deity for much longer.[1088] It is remarkable that despite the antiquity of this birth goddess' cult and the omnipresence of 'Great Goddess' figures in Bronze Age Crete, the image of a nursing female was not current in earlier times.[1089] Another deity, who may have been venerated in connection with childbirth is Lato, the mother of Apollo and Artemis.[1090]

[1083] It is also found in the *Iliad* (1.500-02): Neumann 1965, 67-69, 251. The courting scenes too have been interpreted in terms of specific myths or legends, especially with reference to Hera and Zeus or Theseus and Ariadne; see Blome 1982, 88. *Contra*: Fittschen 1969, 141.

[1084] Fittschen 1969, 133; Avagianou 1991, 109. With regard to a wooden relief plaque from the Heraion at Samos the identification as *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera seems justified by the presence of an eagle between their heads; see Neumann 1965, 64-66; Blome 1982, 86-87.

[1085] Böhm 1990, 136-37. In the *Iliad* (22.79-85) Hector's mother bares her breast to him to emphasize their mother-son relationship; see Wickert-Micknat 1982, 111-12.

[1086] E.g. Farnell 1896a, 196, 342-44; *id.* 1896b, 656, 704-05; *id.* 1907a, 17-18, 231; Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, 1-11, 199-200.

[1087] Although she never seems to have been given the actual epithet 'kouro-

Less frequent, but significant for their Oriental imagery are mouldmade terracottas with a Potnia Theron flanked by horses, sphinxes or griffins. As discussed in the section on metal votives, this iconographic scheme was already familiar in Minoan religious art, but in the EIA seems to have been given 'a new lease on life'. Renewed Oriental influence is apparent from the frequent addition of wings and from other details.[1091] Examples of Potnia Theron plaques have been found only at the Acropolis of Gortyn and perhaps at Krousonas (Tables 6-7). The scarcity of terracottas with the Mistress is somewhat surprising when compared to her more frequent depiction on relief pithoi[1092] and (earlier) metal work. Unlike the female figures on the shields, Potniai Theron on terracotta plaques and relief pithoi are not depicted in Oriental nudity but in dressed form.[1093] The images on shields and clay plaques date from different periods and may have been derived from different Oriental originals.

The male counterpart of the Mistress, referred to as Potnios Theron, is one of the few male representations in terracotta whose

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trophos', except by the CL author Antimachus of Colophon; see Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, 89.

[1088] Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, 11; Pingiatoglou 1981, 91-99.

[1089] There is one LM III figure upholding a child, but not suckling it, from the Mavro Spelio cemetery at Knossos: Forsdyke 1926-27, 263, pl. XXI; P. Demargne 1947, 268-69; Nilsson 1950, 300-01, fig. 145; Burkert 1985, 41. For a Mycenaean figurine holding a child: Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, 18, fig. 1.

[1090] Willetts 1962, 173, 183.

[1091] Spartz 1962, 5-6, 96-97; Christou 1968, 170-73; Coldstream 1977b, 12-13; Burkert 1992, 19.

[1092] See e.g. Schäfer 1957, 34-35 (with further refs.).

[1093] There is one example of a nude Potnia Theron on a plaque from the Acropolis at Gortyn (see Blome 1982, 73; Böhm 1990, 90) and another on a pithos from Aphrati (Sakellarakis 1966, 414, pl. 448b). The addition of clothes is interpreted as a 'Hellenic reaction' by P. Demargne (1947, 276).

supernatural character is certain because of the added wings. He occurs on a series of plaques in the votive deposits from the Acropolis at Gortyn (Plate 35b) and Lato.[1094] Depictions of a Potnios Theron are also known from Minoan Crete, but it is doubtful that there was a continuous development towards the later type.[1095] As in the case of the Mistress, it seems that different variations of the scheme were used even within the EIA. On the tympanon from the Idaean cave, for instance, Zeus is depicted as a Potnios Theron who stands on a bull and swings a lion above his head (Plate 57).[1096] On other 8th-century metalwork which displays strong Oriental influence, such as the bronze quiver from Fortetsa, the Tekke gold bands and the sheet bronze from Kavousi, there are representations of a helmeted male subduing the accompanying lions with his drawn dagger.[1097] In contrast, on the 7th-century terracotta plaques the Potnios does not appear as warrior but winged and flanked by griffins and horses instead of lions.[1098] Blome proposes that the images on the terracottas do not depict all-powerful deities, but subordinate beings or demons.[1099] They are perhaps best compared to the winged males on 7th-century bronze cut-outs and terracotta plaques from Gortyn, such as those discussed by Hoffmann in relation to figurative Cretan armour.[1100]

More frequent types of male mouldmade terracottas consist of warriors and generic youths with no hint of supernatural status. They are less numerous than female mouldmade figurines, without whose company they rarely occur (Tables 6-7, Plates 34, 54a). Like the generic nude and dressed female figurines, these mouldmade warriors and youths seem to represent ideal, emblematic types. Both may be depicted dressed or nude, but strikingly enough, none of them are ever depicted ithyphallic, which is in contrast to some of the bronze and clay handmade figurines of this period. Instead of an emphasis on sexuality, the primary focus for the male mouldmade figurines is on martial and youthful qualities.[1101] As also proposed for the female mouldmade plaques, the images of youthful males and warriors may have expressed both a social ideal and a certain identity between worshippers and a divine 'Urbild' or archetype.

[1094] See cat. entries B.23 and B.34.

[1095] Spartz 1962, 96; Coldstream 1977b, 12. A merging with Hermes has been proposed, but was rejected by Nilsson (1950, 515); see also the discussion on Syme (B.66).

[1096] E.g. Blome 1982, 65-67.

[1097] Boardman 1961, 134-38; Blome 1982, 67-68.

[1098] See esp. Blome (1982, 68, pl. 22:3) who also draws attention to a Potnios with lions on an unpublished Cretan pithos, a Potnios with sphinxes on a situla from Aphrati, and one with birds on a bronze plaque from the Acropolis at Gortyn.

[1099] Blome 1982, 68. Nilsson (1950, 513-16) also noted that the relationship of the Potnios with the Olympian deities is unclear. He ascribed the appearance of the Potnios Theron in 7th-century art simply to 'Oriental influence, to the popularity of the corresponding female type, and to the love of the antithetic group.'

[1100] See the discussion above, p. 387-88.

The last category of mouldmade plaques to be considered consists of rectangular plaques with griffins, sphinxes and sometimes lions, the latter probably as mythical for most people as the first two (Plate 35a).[1102] These were relatively widespread in the island (see Tables 6-7). It is striking that the mould was not employed to make figurines or plaques of other, more common animals. In some cases, moulds were used for the production of floral motives, again it seems, with a preference for exotic species such as lotuses.

As apparent from the catalogue and the foregoing discussion, mouldmade figurines and plaques occur in abundance in a large number of EIA sanctuaries. The majority of these can be classified as urban or suburban (see Tables 6-7). The most frequent association of mouldmade terracottas is that with anthropomorphic cylindrical figures. In addition, there is a repeated concurrence with handmade clay figurines and with kernoi, multiple vessels for food offerings or libations. Much rarer is the association with metal finds, whether in the form of large bronzes or of small less costly personal ornaments such as bronze fibulae, pins or other jewellery.

Assuming that a predominance of female representations in votive assemblages is not only indicative of the gender of the deity but also of that of a large portion of the worshippers, a few further observations may be made. First, the (sub-)urban sanctuaries in which large numbers of mouldmade and other terracottas are found together with substantial quantities of metal finds all belong to a group which may be labelled 'major community sanctuaries'. The sheer number as well as the range of votive types in these cult places

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[1101] Hoffmann (1970a, 37-38) has suggested that the young warriors on these plaques may have been meant to represent Kouretes, the mythical armed dancers or 'daemons' known especially as the protectors of Zeus in his infancy, but this may be too specific.

[1102] See also: Higgins 1967, 28.

indicate the participation in cult of different segments of the local population. Moreover, these sites often have a conspicuous location, on the settlement hill itself or an adjacent hill, and overlook a large part of the territory. To this group belong cult places at Eleutherna (B.4), Oaxos (B.6), Gortyn (B.23), Anavlochos (B.30), Lato (B.34), Praisos (B.46) and perhaps a number of others.[1103]

Secondly, a more limited or circumscribed use may be assumed for the various kinds of suburban sanctuaries in which few other types of votives beside mouldmade terracottas and cylindrical figures were dedicated, sometimes not even handmade anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figurines.[1104] The location of these sites is less conspicuous than that of the first group. Here, worship may have been a predominantly or exclusively female affair with a restricted range of votives being offered. The repeated occurrence of kernoi is notable, as the offering of grains and other vegetable food had distinct female connotations. [1105] In addition, there is an association of some of these sanctuaries with springs, for instance at Pachlitzani Agriada (B.40) and Mesavrysis at Praisos (B.47). The drawing of water is a task typically assigned to the younger women of the household. In early Greek literature, especially in the *Odyssey*, the image of young girls on their way to fountain or spring is frequently employed. At home, they assist in the bathing of guests, while they are also responsible for the washing of laundry in places at some distance from town.[1106] Examples of female cults with a distinct link to springs or other water emanating from the earth, as known from later Greek religion, are those of Demeter (in her aspect of Thesmophoros), Hera, Artemis, Eileithyia and 'minor' supernatural beings such as nymphs.[1107]

[1103] See section 7 on suburban sanctuaries in this chapter, p. 476-503.

[1104] I.e. at Lapsanari (B.43), Mesavrysis (B.47) and Pachlitzani Agriada (B.40, with some handmade female figurines but no animals). Some caution is warranted, since none of these sanctuaries has been fully published. It is also possible that the concomitant lack of such figurines is a phenomenon typical for east Crete.

[1105] Wicker-Mickernat 1982, 61.

[1106] Wickert-Micknat 1982, 56-61 (with ref. to *Od.* 7.19, 20.153; *Il.* 6.457, as well as to Hesiod's *Theogony*, 780ff.); also Pomeroy 1975, 30; Naerebout 1987, 119.

[1107] Nilsson 1967, 245-46; Guettel Cole 1988, 161-62. Springs also figured in sanctuaries of Apollo and Asklepios, where they often assume more specific functions as part of oracular and healing cults; these cults are less of a female affair.

Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines

Little can be said about the multitudes of small handmade figurines of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic form which, as in previous periods, were common votives in large numbers of sanctuaries (Plates 20b-d, 76).[1108] The conspicuous absence of human figurines in some extra-urban sanctuaries has already been mentioned in relation to the bronze figurines. As a suburban example the Altar Hill at Praisos may be added.[1109] With the possible exception of a number of spring sanctuaries, clay animal figurines are found in most sanctuaries, including some with predominantly 'female' votive deposits, for instance at Lato and Anavlochos. As with the bronzes, bovine figurines prevail, but horses, caprids and ovids, birds and occasionally dogs, snakes and other species are also attested. Strikingly enough, there are not many handmade figurines from funerary contexts.[1110] The few known exceptions consist primarily of mourning figures or vase attachments.[1111]

Only one type of (largely) handmade figurine deserves further comment, namely that of the enthroned or seated female. Examples of this type have been found in the votive deposits from the lower sanctuary at Oaxos (Plate 20e) and nearby Aimonas, the Acropolis at Gortyn, Lato and perhaps Siteia. Some of the figurines combine handmade thrones with mouldmade figurines, as do eleven examples from Oaxos. Terracotta seated female figurines were current in Mycenaean times, but it has proven difficult to trace their development into the EIA.[1112] For Crete, however, there are parallel representations from the LM IIIC-SM period, in the form of a large seated figure from a recently excavated defensible site at Kephala Vasilikis, and from the PGB period in the form of a figurine in a cylindrical model from Archanes (Plate 77). Only the occasional nudity of the females is owed to the Near East. Dressed varieties are, however, more common.[1113] Considering the relative rarity of seated figurines, the elaborateness of the thrones and the use of corresponding images in the stone sculpture from Gortyn and Prinias, it may be assumed they represent divine beings. They do not, however, seem to be specific for a particular goddess.[1114]

[1108] For both, general studies are lacking and even detailed studies of these objects from individual sites are rare.

[1109] There are other sanctuaries in which clay anthropomorphic figurines are absent.

[1110] Some mourners are known, for instance from east Crete; see Schmid 1967, 168-69, pl. 58:2a-c.

[1111] For three examples from Aphrati: Levi 1927-29, 186, figs. 205a-c, 196-97, figs. 217a-b, 280, figs. 355a-b. One EIA tomb, Tomb X in the Fortetsa cemetery at Knossos, yielded a concentration of miniature terracottas, including animal figurines, a boat, basket, trees and small cups and bowls; these have been interpreted as toys accompanying a child burial; see Brock 1957, 53-54, 207, pl. 36.

[1112] Krantz in a major overview (1972, esp. 51-52) therefore postulated a rediscovery of LBA figurines in the 8th century BC.

Ceramic vessels and lids

As apparent from the catalogue description, a whole range of vessels, which were also used in daily life, is commonly found in EIA sanctuaries. There is, however, little evidence in this period for specialised production of pottery for votive purposes. There are, for instance, only few recorded instances of miniature vessels. Worthy of note is the continued use of kalathoi as offering bowls, as noted in the Apollo temple at Dreros.[1115] Other possible exceptions are the clay imitations of cauldrons (for instance with griffin heads) and pithos lids which assumed the shape of shields. The latter occur in a relatively large number of sanctuaries. There is a frequent association with large and miniature bronze weaponry and tripods (Table 4), but they have also been found in a few sanctuaries with primarily terracotta votives, such as in the Demeter sanctuary at Knossos and at Anavlochos, and in settlement and funerary contexts.

In the EIA tombs of Knossos terracotta shield imitations were used as lids for cremation urns and this provides some relevant insights in their symbolic connotations, as shown by Coldstream. Urn lids for rich burials became very elaborate from the PGB period onwards, while the EG period saw the beginning of a new series which look like the large bronze shields in having curvilinear motifs and central bosses or animal protomes. In the 7th century BC the most conspicuous lids have knobs in the shape of animal heads, miniature pyxides and cauldrons. Other urn lids were of a simpler, domed shape, but these too bear resemblance to shields and apparently acquired a symbolic meaning: in the Knossian tombs domed 'lids' sometimes occur in sets, outnumbering the urns, and may have handles or suspension holes at the rim. From their common use in funerary and settlement contexts Coldstream infers that they must have had decorative and protective value for both the living and the dead. He suggests this protective power may have been linked to Zeus, because of the similarities with the Idaean shields and because of the depiction on a Knossian lid with animal protome of a male figure with a possible thunderbolt and tripod.[1116] The analogy in use and meaning of the small terracotta and large bronze shields is enhanced by the recent discovery, in the EIA cemetery at Eleutherna, of a bronze shield of Idaean type which served as a lid for a cremation urn.

[1113] Böhm 1990, 87-88, pl. 33 (TK 46, TK63).

[1114] Nilsson 1950, 305.

[1115] See cat. entry B.32.

Compared to the dedication of clay imitations of cauldrons and tripods that of terracotta shield models appears to have been more widespread. This ties in with the broadening of their meaning towards 'general protection'. In as far as their growing popularity is a 7th-century phenomenon, wider use may also be connected with the general increase in terracotta votives in 7th century BC. As with the mouldmade plaques of Potniai Theron and (fantastic) animals, there appears to have been a certain incorporation of iconographic elements previously distinctive for elite culture.

Concluding remarks

The abundance and variety of EIA votives provides a good basis for the analysis of the different cults and social groups associated with various types of sanctuaries. Among the social groups which engaged in formal cult activities, that formed by the (male) aristocracy is most pronounced. In a number of larger extra-urban sanctuaries, as well as in some (sub-)urban ones, there is a repeated occurrence of assemblages of large and precious bronzes (shields and tripod-cauldrons), often in combination with luxury items of Oriental origin or style.[1117] As elsewhere in the Aegean world in this period, the dedication of such objects in a restricted number of sanctuaries may be seen as part of a process of ritualised competition between aristocratic members of the incipient city-states.

[1116] Coldstream 1994, 109-21, fig. 8, pl. 15a. Also Brock 1957, 165. For the lid depicting Zeus: Brock 1957, 122, pl. 107.

[1117] It deserves notice that firedogs and obeloi, which elsewhere formed part of the aristocratic votive repertoire, in Crete are found primarily in the context of tombs (for instance at Fortetsa, Knossos, and Kavousi: see Boardman 1971; Karageorghis 1974, 168, 171; Coldstream 1977a, 164 n. 22).

Considering the correspondences in rich votives and rich burial gifts in contemporary tombs, it may indeed be concluded that the growing articulation of Cretan aristocratic groups took place within a comparatively coherent 'system of elite self-definition'. In the context of this system, the offering of costly votives would refer to the material wealth of the dedicators (because of the inherent value of the object), to their leading socio-political and military role (as expressed by types of votives such as weaponry) and to their privileged association with the gods. The 'international inclination' of the elite in EIA Crete is reflected in the adoption of foreign objects, styles and iconography, both from the Near East and the Greek world. At the same time, it is clear that responses to these outside cultures were selective. The limited rapport with Homeric-Hesiodic related iconography is especially notable. This is well illustrated by the Orientalizing figurative representations of the Cretan shields and other metalwork: particularly striking is the regular appearance of the thoroughly non-Homeric image of Potnia Theron on objects that were part of the elite culture. By dedicating imported, foreign objects (or locally made imitations thereof) in well-visited sanctuaries, lasting claims were laid to special relations with the 'outside world' in the broadest sense of the term: with the developing Hellenic world, with the high cultures of the Near East as well as with supernatural realms.

Accepting a high date for the Cretan shields and for many of the Near Eastern imports, it follows that the late 9th and 8th century BC was the period in which the (male) aristocracy became most articulate, leaving clear marks on the archaeological record. In this period before the 7th century BC it is far more difficult to define other social groups on the basis of particular types of votives. Jewellery of gold and other precious materials, which like the shields shows pronounced Oriental influence, may be ascribed to rich, aristocratic females. Otherwise, votives range from small personal ornaments and figurines in bronze to modest and unspecific figurines in clay. It is striking is that bronze figurines and personal ornaments, in contrast to the large bronzes, were rarely imported or subject to Oriental influence. Perhaps these objects were, as sometimes suggested, dedications of a 'lesser aristocracy'. Alternatively, instead of representing another social class than the large bronzes, these figurines may have had different cultic functions, expressing other concerns. As noted, the associated pattern of dedication was largely divorced from that of the large bronzes: only in a few cases are large numbers of both found in the same sanctuaries.

With the onset of the 7th century BC the picture changes. In the first place, there is an upsurge in the dedication of terracotta votives. With the introduction of the mould more standardised types of terracotta plaques and figurines—many of which seem to depict men and women in an emblematic, idealised manner—began to be offered in growing quantities. Secondly, the application of Oriental motifs and styles was extended more widely to votive terracottas and pottery. At the same time, there was a progressive 'Hellenization' of foreign motifs and styles. A clear example is the Daedalic style with its obvious Oriental connotations, which was probably developed in the island in conjunction with the use of the mould. This implies a certain 'wearing off' of the elite connotations of exotica.

To what extent the dedication of large bronzes and precious orientalia continued into the 7th century BC is difficult to say, because of a lack of firm dating criteria. Possibly, there was a shift towards the dedication of bronze armour. Cretan bronze armour followed in the tradition of the shields with respect to their elaborate figurative decoration. However, the motifs and themes depicted on armour correspond largely to those found on contemporary mouldmade terracottas, implying less divergence between elite and non-elite culture than in the preceding centuries. Unlike the shields and tripods, armour is found almost exclusively in (sub-)urban contexts and only rarely in extra-urban sanctuaries. Surely, these differences also indicate a shift in the function of large bronze dedications. It may be suggested that votive behaviour in the 7th century BC was aimed less at the articulation of the aristocracy, probably because of the full development of the polis and concomitant changes in ideology. This would also explain the 'levelling out' of Orientalizing styles mentioned before.

Most types of 7th-century mouldmade anthropomorphic terracottas are characterised by an iconography that displays few direct links with concepts and themes as emerging from Homeric-Hesiodic literature. This applies not only to the 'neutral' standing females without attributes, but also to kourotrophic types and the Potnia Theron, although the last most certainly depicts a deity. For most other anthropomorphic plaques, the question as to whether supernatural beings or mortals are depicted is often—and perhaps intentionally—ambiguous. The majority depict young female or male figures of more or less standardised iconography and in an ideal or stereotypical way. In the case of the nude females emphasis is clearly on their sexuality, sometimes with reference to male control or subordination. Men are most frequently represented as young warriors. For comparison, mention may be made of the men and women on the 7th-century steles from the cemetery of Prinias. Here too, men are depicted as warriors, whereas women may hold spindle whorls and distaffs,[1118] as a reference to activities considered typically female. A comparable division of roles seems expressed in the Homeric epics. For the heroes, too, emphasis is on military prowess, whereas women ideally occupy themselves with home-bound tasks such as spinning, weaving and the care-taking of guests. It is of relevance that, as on the terracotta plaques, there seems to be more attention for girls and young women just before marriage than for the reproductive qualities of more mature women.[1119]

Considering that these mouldmade terracotta votive plaques are found in large quantities in urban and suburban sanctuaries, it is clear that their dedication took place in the context of localised, community-centred cults. The articulation of the proper roles for the young male and female members of society constitutes, not surprisingly, an important component of polis religion and ideology. Social integration was in these contexts more important than ritualised competition as reflected in the dedication of large prestige objects.

Other modest votives of 7th-century date, such as handmade human figurines in clay, may display similar concerns as the mouldmade ones: there are, for instance, considerable numbers of warriors. In addition, the numerous other anthropomorphic and the zoomorphic figurines may express more basic concerns expressed with relation to general fertility and well-being. The securing of food crops and flocks were also relevant for the poleis, but appear to have demanded less new emphasis than the division of social roles.

In this section, the focus has been on the general and basic meaning of repeatedly encountered types of votives that were widely used over the island. This does not imply any kind of religious orthodoxy or fixed meaning. Regional variations in the use and iconography of votives as well as local peculiarities occur. The latter may even have been enhanced within local cult systems to distinguish one own's from neighbouring communities. Similarly, competition between large (inter-)regional sanctuaries may have led to emphasis on different aspects of otherwise largely comparable cults. Widespread, more standardised types of votives are nearly always found in combination with types unique for a certain sanctuary. The latter types sometimes provide more specific clues on rituals and cult, as they may have been made especially for the sanctuary in which they were dedicated.

[1118] Lebessi 1976a, 171-76, pls. 1-37.

[1119] See esp. Pomeroy 1975, 18, 30 and Naerebout 1987, 117, 124; also Wickert-Micknat 1982, 61.

At the same time, it is conceivable that the more generic images of female and male figures began to acquire a more specific meaning in the context of these locally defined cults and associated myths. Such hypotheses, however, can only be made plausible by taking into account the entire votive assemblages of a specific sanctuary and not by looking at isolated representations. This is one of the issues to be explored in the following sections, in which the development and function of specific types of urban, suburban and extra-urban sanctuaries will be discussed in more detail.

5. The Waning of the Bench Sanctuary and the Image of the 'Goddess with Upraised Arms'

The term 'bench sanctuary' is, in principle, applicable to any cult building that uses benches for the accommodation of cult images and votives. For the later parts of the Cretan LBA, however, it has come to define those buildings of relatively standardised form discussed in the previous chapter.[1120] With a recurrent inventory of terracotta figures of the 'Goddess with Upraised Arms' (GUA), kalathoi, snake tubes and terracotta plaques, these served as the primary focus for community cult activities in LM IIIA-B settlements. Both the type of cult building, the associated assemblage and the cult of the GUA were ultimately rooted in earlier Minoan tradition, but their specific LM III form may best be seen as a development in response to the disappearance of Minoan palace religion. In the ensuing LM IIIC-SM period bench sanctuaries and GUA figures are encountered especially in the context of newly established defensible settlements inland. As proposed in the previous chapter, they may by then have become emblematic of this type of settlement, differentiating the inhabitants of remoter upland settlements from those residing in the lowlands, especially of central Crete.

[1120] See Chapter Three, section 5, p. 188-200.

It is striking that, whereas many of these earlier defensible settlements continued to exist and developed into large towns during the EIA, bench sanctuaries of the old type became obsolete. Two of the best-known LM IIIC-SM bench sanctuaries, the Temple at Karphi and Building G at Vronda, were abandoned along with the surrounding settlements before or in the course of the PG period. GUA figures and other cult objects were left behind. In both cases the population is thought to have moved to sites nearby, the Karphiotes to a new location at the Papoura hill and the people from Vronda to the already inhabited Kastro and/or Azoria. The prolonged use of some of the tombs at Karphi and the transformation of Vronda into a burial ground show that neither of the old sites was entirely forgotten.[1121] Still, there are no signs that the old sanctuaries continued to be visited. The abandonment of these settlements appears to have rendered the use of their bench sanctuaries obsolete.[1122] So far, evidence is also lacking that cult continued in an unaltered form in bench sanctuaries situated in the new towns. In the case of the PG-A settlement at the Papoura this may be due to the limited nature of the investigations.[1123] At the Kastro, on the other hand, the extensive research conducted seems to justify the conclusion that there was no public bench sanctuary in the central part of the settlement. Only at Prinias, where a much disturbed group of LM IIIC-SM GUA figures and snake tubes was found, are there some indications that a related cult may have continued into the 7th century BC. Mention has been made of the discovery of Daedalic clay plaques on the same spot.[1124] Find circumstances are vague, however, and at least from the G period the primary focus of communal cult activities seems to have been in the area of Temple B and (later) Temple A.

[1121] For Karphi: Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 136; Watrous 1982, 40. For Vronda: Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1986, 387; Haggis 1993, 150.

[1122] As was the case with the bench sanctuary at in Ayia Triada at the transition of the LM IIIB to the LM IIIC-SM period: see Chapter Three, section 6, p. 201.

[1123] During investigations by Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts (1935-36, 10) and later Watrous (1974, 24-37; 1982, 39-40) the site of a sanctuary was located on the SE slope of the hill. Amongst the votives was a 6th-century clay plaque with a polos-wearing female with upraised arms. Although suggestive of continued veneration of a GUA, the plaque is outnumbered by others with other representations; no excavation has taken place to verify the location and form of the associated sanctuary. For the plaque: Alexiou 1958, 285, pl. IG':1.

Recent excavations in different EIA settlements show that stone-built benches continued to be employed frequently in both domestic and sacred architecture, but there are only few instances of cult buildings in which they form the principal interior feature.[1125] EIA buildings with prominent benches and no other defining internal features for which—with varying plausibility—a cult function has been proposed are Complex 8-11 at Vrokastro (B.36,), Temple A at Kommos (B.57), a complex at Aphrati (B.28) and a one-room building at Pachlitzani Agriada (B.40). None of these have produced unambiguous evidence for worship of a deity represented as a GUA. Moreover, in all but the last example associated cult equipment and votives diverge to such an extent from the assemblages in earlier bench sanctuaries that a wholly different cult must be assumed. A fuller discussion of the buildings in question may serve to illustrate this point.

Complex 8-11 in the upper settlement of Vrokastro (B.36, Plate 46) contains a stone-built bench along the east wall of compartment 8b. The complex shares with LM III bench sanctuaries a location in a central part of the settlement. Unlike most of the latter, however, Complex 8-11 is not freestanding. Its classification as a public cult place is based on the fact that entry was most probably from the neighbouring main street.[1126] As with the other buildings in the settlement, it cannot be dated more precisely than to the PG-EO period. A number of possible cult objects were associated with this complex, but their exact provenance was not recorded; none were said to have been found on the bench itself. Only the triton shell, found in Room 8, is a common denominator in bench sanctuaries from Prepalatial times onwards.[1127] Other finds consist of animal bones, agrimi horns, a horse figure and figurines, a possible bronze horse-frontlet and another small disc, bronze and iron spearheads and blades, a fibula, and a probably male terracotta figure (Plates 47b, 48). Gesell links the predilection for horses and weaponry to the worship of a male divinity, embodied in the terracotta figure. This would imply a departure from Minoan religious tradition, in which male representations are relatively rare, and certainly a departure from the cult as known from the earlier bench sanctuaries.[1128]

[1124] Pernier 1908, 455-56. Also Banti 1941-43, 43; Alexiou 1958, 184.

[1125] Hayden 1981, 140-41. See also Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1985, 330. Sometimes benches occur in combination with centrally placed hearths, in so-called hearth temples such as Temple A at Prinias (B.15) and the Apollo temple at Dreros (B.32). The genesis, function and relationship of these hearth temples to the earlier bench sanctuaries will be discussed in more detail in section 6, p. 441-76.

[1126] Hayden 1991, 109. Gesell (1985, 58) calls it a possible bench sanctuary.

[1127] Gesell 1985, 143-49 (Appendix II), *passim*. A triton was also found in the

The relation of these objects from Complex 8-11 to a group of very similar ones from Room 17 higher up the hill remains problematic. The latter included fragments of the same horse figure as found in Complex 8-11. Although Hayden, in a reappraisal of the old excavation records, is inclined to assign the Vrokastro cult objects to separate domestic or communal sanctuaries,[1129] Hall's initial suggestion that many of them belonged to one and the same deposit, which was levelled and redistributed in the course of subsequent building operations deserves reconsideration.[1130] Mazarakis Ainian envisages a freestanding ruler's dwelling acting as a sanctuary, followed by the gradual building of the area in the course of the EIA.[1131] Such a sequence of events could indeed explain the redistribution of artefacts proposed by Hall and instead suggests the existence of one important and relatively long-lived cult place on the summit of the hill.[1132] Its form remains unknown, but it is clear that the associated assemblage is very different from that commonly found with LM III bench sanctuaries. As rightly remarked by Hayden, the objects found in the areas of Complex 8-11 and Room 17 are akin to those from the extra-urban sanctuaries at LM IIIC-SM Ayia Triada and EIA Kommos.[1133] LM IIIC-SM animal figures have been found in Phaistos and in the extra-urban sanctuar-

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Temple at Karphi, see cat. entry A.6. Agrimia representations are frequent from the Neopalatial period onwards, but agrimi horns are found only rarely before the EIA: Gesell 1985, 63.

[1128] Gesell 1985, 58, 66-67. *Contra* Nicholls (1970, 12), who considers the figure a votary.

[1129] Hayden 1991, 109-10, 123.

[1130] Hall 1914, 108-09.

[1131] Mazarakis Ainian 1988, 106-09; see also Sekunda 1982, 252-53.

[1132] Some of the figures from the upper settlement, but for which there is no exact provenance, may date to the LM IIIC-SM period; see cat. entry A.15.

[1133] Hayden 1991, 123.

ies at Mt. Jouktas, Syme and in the Idaean and Patsos caves. None could be associated with cult buildings.[1134]

At Kommos (B.57, Plates 63-64), the plan of the earliest cult building, PG Temple A, could be traced partially below the later structures, showing that it was *c.* 6.5 m wide, with an open side to the east. There was no sign of a hearth, as in Temple A's successors, but the presence of a bench along the interior of the north wall is suspected. No objects were found on or near this bench and suggestions have been made that it served to seat celebrants rather than for the display of cult objects.[1135] The width of 0.44 m and height of *c.* 0.34 m would permit such a use, but it is noteworthy that when a second floor was laid out this entirely covered the bench.[1136] This seems to preclude use as seat and perhaps any use at all. The classes of votives associated with Temple A are comparable to those found at Vrokastro. Horse images, mainly in the form of clay figurines, occur together with metal finds such as an iron blade, a bronze arrowhead, disc, pin and needle, and with clay bull figures (one of which was found inside the Temple), numerous clay bull figurines, triton shells and animal horns. In addition, there were drinking cups of local and foreign manufacture. Again, the identity of the deity venerated is uncertain, but the main point to be emphasised here is the dissimilarity with the cult assemblages associated with the earlier bench sanctuaries.

Similar observations apply to a 7th-century building at Aphrati (B.28), another example of a structure that has sometimes been regarded as a late survival of the bench sanctuary.[1137] The objects found in the much-disturbed interior consist of bronze armour (Plates 38-40), animal bones and agrimi horns, and are therefore unlike the ones traditionally belonging to bench sanctuaries. Because the benches (0.4 m wide x 0.45 m high) line the interior of all walls, the plausible suggestion has been made that this building primarily served to accommodate those partaking of ritual meals.[1138] This interpretation implies that here, as opposed to the earlier bench sanctuaries, there may be a functional correspondence with the so-called hearth temples, a type of public building found at several Cretan EIA sites. The Aphrati building will therefore be discussed more fully in the following section.

[1134] For Vrokastro Hayden (1991, 122-24) emphasises a connection with the earlier BA manufacture of bull rhyta in east Crete.

[1135] Bergquist 1990, 40-41, table 2, fig. 1.

[1136] The difference in height between the two floor levels was 0.34 m: J. Shaw 2000a, 2.

[1137] Gesell 1985, 57; J. Shaw 1979, 171-72 n. 64. See also cat. entry B.28.

[1138] Viviers 1994, 245.

A cult building much closer in plan and arrangement to LM III and LM IIIC-SM bench sanctuaries is a one-room structure at Pachlitzani Agriada, Kavousi (B.40, Plate 49).[1139] Probably constructed in the PG period, it was located in a small gorge below the contemporary settlement at the Kastro. When excavated, a stone-built bench, 0.40 m wide and 0.30 m high, along the east wall (on the right when entering) still carried the base of a large terracotta figure (Plate 50) and several votives. Unfortunately, only the feet and hem of the skirt of the almost life-size, 7th-century terracotta figure had been preserved. The possibility exists that this was a late representation of a GUA.[1140] A terracotta bowl found near to it, on the bench, may have been used as an offertory vessel, in the same way as kalathoi were used in LM III bench sanctuaries.

It is indeed possible that an older cult form survived at this site. Pachlitzani Agriada is situated in a relatively remote inland valley, in the east of Crete, a circumstance favouring the likelihood of the preservation of earlier, LBA traditions. Alexiou assigned the cult at Pachlitzani Agriada to a birth goddess, more specifically to Eileithyia. The etymology of the name, which has a BA origin, remains in dispute. Nilsson believed it to be pre-Greek and to refer to a form of 'the Minoan Nature Goddess'.[1141] Burkert, on the other hand, opts for a derivation of her name from the Greek 'the Coming', since it occurs in the form 'Eleuthyia' on a Linear-B tablet from Knossos. Such a meaning agrees with the idea that the child would be delivered with the appearance of the goddess.[1142] Others have argued, that even if the name is Greek, it is likely that in Crete it would have been transferred to an already existing goddess and her cult. The unchanging concept of a birth goddess' function, and the widespread and essentially popular character of such cults are all factors that facilitate syncretism.[1143] It may well be then that the sanctuary at Pachlitzani Agriada was dedicated to a LBA goddess of syncretised form. This would accord well with the retention of LM III cult forms as seen at this small bench sanctuary of traditional appearance.

[1139] As noted by Alexiou 1956, 9; Gesell 1985, 57.

[1140] Gesell 1985, 58.

[1141] In later Greek religion she tended to merge with Artemis, as there was a clear overlap in functions: Nilsson 1950, 73; *id.* 1967, 312-14, 432. Also: Willetts 1958, 221. In literary sources, Eileithyia occurs independently, but from CL times onwards also as an epithet of other goddesses, especially Artemis: Pingiatoglou 1981, 91-99.

[1142] Burkert 1985, 26, 170-71. Also: Pingiatoglou 1981, 11-12. *Contra*: R. Brown 1985, 268; Chaniotis 1992, 84.

At the same time, the differences between Pachlitzani Agriada and bench sanctuaries as encountered in LM IIIC-SM settlements also deserve attention. First of all, the building of Pachlitzani was placed outside the contemporary settlement, on a rock ledge above a stream. This location may be explained by the specific cult requirements. An association with water, springing from the earth, is also known to have existed for other goddesses who would come to the assistance of parturient women, most notably Artemis and Hera.[1144] In Crete, a connection with water is attested in two other EIA sanctuaries dedicated to Eileithyia: the caves of Tsoutsouros and Amnisos. Both contain pools of water and the cave of Tsoutsouros is situated near a stream, which, according to later literary evidence, may have been sacred to the goddess.[1145]

Secondly, the votives at Pachlitzani constitute an assemblage different from the ones known at earlier bench sanctuaries. The previously characteristic snake tubes are absent. What remains is a strongly female element, with the clay figurine of a parturient woman explicitly expressing concerns with childbirth (Plate 51b). Such explicit iconography is not common to the known communal LM III bench sanctuaries.[1146] Whether this means that an aspect of the goddess formerly depicted in the GUA figures not previously expressed was now elaborated and particularised, perhaps in a separate, local cult, or that an independent goddess of childbirth had been venerated from time immemorial without leaving distinct traces, is a question beyond answering.[1147] It remains interesting, however, that at Pachlitzani Agriada a type of cult building since long connected with a cult for a deity represented as GUA was chosen. Another sanctuary for Eileithyia in which a link with such an older cult may have been preserved is the already mentioned cave at Tsoutsouros. Here, EIA votives included three (unpublished) terracotta female figurines with upraised arms and bronze miniature double axes, while from the LM III period there are a snake tube and the head of an anthropomorphic terracotta figure, which could have belonged to a GUA.[1148]

[1143] See also: Willetts 1958, 22. The name Eileithyia is attested frequently in later Cretan inscriptions, but as a subject of public cult it is attested only at Lato: Jessen 1905, 2106.

[1144] Guettel Cole 1988, esp. 162.

[1145] See cat. entries B.59 and B.61 respectively.

[1146] There are two LM IIIA-B depictions of parturient females, but these do not come from independent cult buildings. At Kephala Chondrou a rhyton in the form of a parturient female and other objects such as a snake tube and triton fell from the upper floor of a large dwelling. A similar female figure was found in a house at Gournia. Gesell (1985, 59, 82 (cat. 31), figs. 67-68, 127 (no. 104c)) gives one example of a Neopalatial bench sanctuary at Phaistos which contained a figurine holding her breasts.

The example of the Tsoutsouros cave brings up another issue that should be examined: that of the possible survival of a cult centring on a GUA in a setting different from the traditional bench sanctuaries. One way of approaching this issue is to see if images of GUAs or related cult equipment were preserved or continued to be made. As discussed in the section on EIA cult equipment, the production of large terracotta figures of anthropomorphic form continued after the LM IIIC-SM period, but in most cases such figures seem to depict votaries rather than deities.[1149] Only the PG terracotta head found by chance at Kalochorio may have belonged to a GUA, because of the close similarities to LM IIIC-SM examples. There is no evidence of the continued use of the closely related snake tubes. Earlier overviews given by Alexiou and Gesell indicate that small-scale representations of females with upraised arms still occur regularly in the EIA,[1150] though the gesture is not always well articulated. Most of them consist of terracotta figurines, but there are some instances of depictions in other media, such as in metalwork or on painted vessels.[1151] Rather than as typological groups, these representations will be discussed here according to find context, which varies from houses and tombs to different kinds of sanctuaries.

[1147] The answer ultimately depends on the question whether one accepts the theory of one omnipotent Minoan goddess, with different aspects or functions, or that of the existence of independent deities throughout Cretan history; *cf.* Coldstream 1977b, 5; Chapter Three, p. 190. See also Gesell (1985, 64-65) for an overview of Minoan cult objects referring to human fertility and birth. She believes that GUA figures with snake attributes, as often encountered in bench sanctuaries, bore no relation to those aspects.

[1148] As discussed in Chapter Three, section 4, p. 174-76, the occurrence of these cult paraphernalia in sanctuaries other than the bench sanctuaries is rare. Another possible exception is the fragment of a head of a clay figure found recently in the open-air sanctuary of Mt. Jouktas: see Karetsou 1975, pl. 276a.

[1149] See the discussion of 'Anthropomorphic figures' in section 4 of this Chapter, p. 394-403.

[1150] Alexiou 1958; Gesell 1985, 57.

There are some indications that worship of a GUA was continued at the household level, but they are scant. Two terracotta figures, the arms largely broken off, were, for instance, found in G houses in Phaistos[1152] and a bronze figurine displaying the gesture more clearly in one of the houses at Vrokastro (Plate 75).[1153] Two crude figurines, found near a bench in a G house on the Kastro, Kavousi, have stumpy arms pointing upwards and emphasised sexual organs (Plate 76).[1154] For the LM III and LM IIIC-SM periods Mersereau has argued that clay cylindrical models ('hut urns') served in a domestic version of the same cult as directed at GUAs in the bench sanctuaries.[1155] Cylindrical models are also rare in the EIA: there are no more than five published examples, two of which came from settlements. A PG one was found in a pit at Knossos and another in a room with bench in a G complex at Phaistos.[1156] The occurrence of figurines with upraised or outstretched arms in domestic contexts may indicate that in certain areas (or perhaps just in certain households) veneration of a goddess represented as GUA lingered on. The visible emphasis on the pubic area and breasts of the figurines from Kavousi may mean that she was specifically concerned with human fertility and birth.

Noteworthy is the rather heterogeneous collection of objects with depictions of females with upraised arms from funerary contexts, all from the central regions of the island. A figurine of a female with upraised arms is incorporated in a multiple ring-vase or kernos from the PG cemetery at Kourtes[1157] and in a PGB cylindrical model from Archanes (Plate 77).[1158] From tombs in Knossos and Aphrati there are three anthropomorphic vessels with upraised arms, ranging in date from the PG to the LG/EO period.[1159] In painted form females with uplifted arms occur on two PGB cremation urns from Knossos (Plates 78-79)[1160] and on a 7th-century urn from Aphrati (Plate 80).[1161] From 7th-century tombs there are further a clay plaque from Mathia Pediados[1162] and a rectangular sheet of gold from Eleutherna.[1163] Despite the variety in material and form of these objects, the symbolism of the gesture invites treatment as one group, especially since few other recurring figurative representations are known from Cretan tombs.[1164] Scholarly attention has, however, been unduly directed at the model from Archanes, which has variously been interpreted as a temple, a tomb and a granary.[1165] The most coherent and convincing interpretation remains the one given by J.N. Coldstream. This is based on a broader analysis of figurative scenes on funerary urns, with attention for the wider context of changing concepts and beliefs during the EIA.[1166] A discussion of the main aspects of Coldstream's theory is therefore relevant to the other depictions of females with upraised arms from funerary contexts.

[1151] In metalwork, female figures with upraised arms are usually depicted nude and as part of larger figurative compositions, as for instance on a bronze tripod stand from the Idaean cave (Alexiou 1958, 281-82, pl. ΙΔ':1) and on several of the Cretan bronze shields: see 'Shields and small 'discs'' in section 4 of this chapter, p. 368-77.

[1152] In Room P and in Room C in Chalara respectively: Levi 1961-62, 407, 410 fig. 52, 500-01, fig. 193; Rocchetti 1974-75, 201.

[1153] Hall 1914, 121, fig. 71; Gesell 1985, 58.

[1154] Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1988, 300, pls. 83:e-f; cat. entry B.38.

[1155] Mersereau 1993, 18-19.

[1156] Coldstream 1992, 68, 80, pl. 52 (GB1); Mersereau 1993, 13, 43 (no. 20).

Coldstream's discussion centres on PGB urn no. 114 from Tomb 107 at Knossos (Plate 79), on which two pictures of a polos-wearing, winged female appear to be deliberately contrasted. On one side of the vessel she raises both arms, upholding two birds, and is flanked by vibrant trees with spiral branches. On the other side she raises her wings but lowers her arms, letting go of the birds; the leafless branches of the trees likewise point downwards. In both cases she stands on a wheeled platform, possibly denoting a chariot, and is accompanied by another bird, whose supernatural character may be indicated by his plumed headgear. Coldstream interprets the winged female as a nature or vegetation goddess, who is depicted as arriving in spring and leaving in winter. Given the funerary context of the representation, he concludes that seasonal changes were conceptually linked to 'the alternation between birth, death, and rebirth—an appropriate theme for the decoration of a receptacle for human ashes.'[1167]

[1157] Xanthoudides 1905-06, 15-18, fig. 3; Alexiou 1958, 206-07; Gesell 1985, 57; Stampolides & Karetsou 1998, 190 (no. 207).

[1158] Alexiou 1950a, 445-54; *id.* 1958, 277-81, pl. IG:2; Sakellarakis 1987a, esp. 39-42.

[1159] Stampolides & Karetsou 1998, 192-93 (nos. 209-11).

[1160] Brock 1957, 125 (no. 1440), pls. 77, 163; Coldstream & Catling 1996 (eds), 155 (no. 114).

[1161] Levi 1927-29, 331 fig. 431.

[1162] Levi 1927-29, 621-22, fig. 654; Alexiou 1958, 284 pl. IG':3.

[1163] It was found in an undisturbed corner of a court belonging to a funeral building: Stampolides 1990b, 398; *id.* 1993, 75.

[1164] There are some hunting scenes on PG urns from Knossos but, in marked contrast with Attic funerary vessels, no depictions of funerals: Coldstream 1984b, 93.

[1165] Alexiou 1950b, 277; Boardman 1967, 64-66; Nicholls 1970, 17; *id.* 1972, 703. For overviews and a full bibliography: Coldstream 1984b, 100; Hägg & Marinatos 1991, 301 n. 2.

[1166] Coldstream 1984b, 93-104.

It is particularly tempting to see in these representations a connection with Persephone.[1168] The Eleusinian version of the Demeter-Persephone myth was already known to Hesiod and became fully documented in the late 7th-century Homeric Hymn to Demeter.[1169] This tells the story of the abduction of Demeter's daughter, Persephone or Kore, by the god of the underworld, Hades. During Demeter's subsequent search for her daughter all plant life perished, a situation which was not reversed until the girl was found and an arrangement was made by which Persephone could spend two thirds of the year above ground with her mother. During this time the vegetation was able to return. Notable here is that the myth of Demeter and Persephone not only expresses the distinct association of the two chthonic goddesses with the fertility of the earth, but also reveals their connection with death: they are at the same time seen as providers of food and life and as goddesses to whom the dead are entrusted. As the daughter of the corn goddess Demeter, Persephone combines her association with the realm of death with a promise of future life and future crops.[1170]

Additional arguments for such a connection are provided by the Archanes model (Plate 77), a funerary object that parallels urn 114 from Tomb 107 in its exceptionally extended and elaborate decoration. Inside the model is a figurine of a seated, polos-wearing female with raised arms. She is looked upon by two male figures who, together with a dog, perch on the roof.[1171] Coldstream notes that the Archanes model contains an important addition to the contemporary scene painted on the Knossian urn, namely the concept of confinement of Persephone under the earth.[1172] If this interpretation is correct, the Archanes model may indicate familiarity in EIA Crete with a Demeter-Persephone myth comparable to the one preserved by Hesiod and the Homeric Hymn.[1173] Coldstream further points out that a similar theme of death and rebirth is probably implied on a number of other EIA cremation urns. The most obvious ones are PGB pithos 1440 from the Fortetsa cemetery at Knossos, which shows a polos-wearing female with upraised arms and snakes dangling from her waist (Plate 78), and a 7th-century pithos from Aphrati, on which a female depicted frontally lifts her arms while holding two spiral branches (Plate 80).[1174] In more abbreviated form, the theme may be recognised in the decoration of trees and birds on two Knossian urns and on similar vessels from Prinias.[1175]

[1167] Coldstream 1984b, 99.

[1168] Burkert 1985, 42.

[1169] In the Homeric epics Demeter and Persephone are mentioned, but receive little further attention; Nilsson 1967, 462-63, 469; Burkert 1972, 256-64; *id.* 1985, 159 (with ref. to Hes. *Theogony*, 913f.)

[1170] Farnell 1907a, 48; Coldstream 1984b, 100-01; Burkert 1985, 200.

The repeated use of comparable representations of a GUA in these funerary contexts seems to mark an enhanced articulation of beliefs concerning the afterlife during the PGB period. However, there are also representations of GUA figures from earlier funerary contexts. They occur on at least three LM IIIA larnakes,[1176] from the same cemetery—and one even from the same tomb—as where urn no. 114 was found. Probably these larnakes were found during the clearing out of the chamber tombs that were to be reoccupied by the EIA Knossians. The name of this earlier goddess must, in the absence of written evidence, remain unknown. The representations do, however, indicate that the idea of entrusting the dead to the care of a goddess with upraised arms in Crete was not peculiar to the EIA.

[1171] For a more detailed description: Hägg & Marinatos 1991.

[1172] Nicholls (1970, 17; *id.* 1972, 703) interpreted the form of the object as a granary.

[1173] The identification as a nature goddess, but not necessarily Persephone, has been accepted by Burkert (1988, esp. 86-87) and by Hägg & Marinatos (1991, 306-08). They add that the representations may also bear on actual cult practice, Burkert giving examples of the enactment of a deity's arrival and departure by carrying a cult image on a two-or four-wheeled vehicle. Hägg and Marinatos, who subscribe to an older view that the Archanes model represents a cult building, emphasise that the presence of the deity was sought in a cult statue and not, as in the BA, in the epiphany itself.

[1174] As Coldstream (1984b, 100) further points out, the preferred type of ash urn in Knossos in this period is a large pyxis, a shape similar to that of cylindrical models. The idea of similarity of pyxides and cylindrical models is followed up by Mersereau (1993, 6-9). Burkert (1988, 81 n. 3) suggests that the 'snakes' may in fact have been meant as wings.

[1175] Coldstream 1984b, 95 (referring to pithoi 283.11 and 292.144, by the same painter as the urn from Tomb 107, and to Rizza 1974).

[1176] According to Watrous (1991, 291-92, pl. 91b), these LM IIIA larnakes may

Coldstream suggests that the painter of PGB urn no. 114, after a period of 200 years without figurative art, was helped in his attempts to convey an image of this deity by the LM III larnakes. That BA pottery could form a source of inspiration for EIA potters is more generally indicated by the archaising features, noted earlier by Boardman, in PGB pottery of the north-central regions of the island.[1177] In Coldstream's scenario, the PGB depictions of the GUA are to be seen as a deliberate revival and perhaps reinterpretation of an older image, rather than as an instance of unbroken continuity.[1178]

It remains to consider the evidence for the use of GUA images in sanctuaries. While evidence for the continuation of the use of GUAs as central cult image is lacking for the EIA, there are a considerable number of sub- and extra-urban sanctuaries, from which small figurines or plaques with females with uplifted arms have been reported. The quantity of such votives, however, is always modest compared to the total number of votives; in most cases, the gesture

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imitate Egyptian Middle and New Kingdom coffins with representations of Isis and Nephtys with upraised arms.

[1177] Boardman 1967, 66; Coldstream 1984b, 95, 99.

[1178] Coldstream (1984b, 100-01) is inclined to connect the appearance of these PGB representations with the introduction of a cult of Demeter by Greek-speaking people from the Mainland in the period after the LBA. A Demeter cult was practised at Gypsades at Knossos from at least the 8th century BC. The location of this sanctuary conforms to that chosen for Demeter sanctuaries on the Mainland. Others, however, emphasise the later spread of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter together with the cult of Eleusian Demeter and consider this as part of the formation of Panhellenic culture: see I. Morris 1995, 56. The evolution of the cult for Demeter-Persephone in Crete is too complex and variegated to be discussed on the basis of the EIA evidence from Knossos. Burkert (1985, 6, 13, 159-61) emphasises the ancient, possibly Neolithic, origin of cult for a corn goddess, of which Demeter is but one manifestation. An early origin of the cult is suggested by the widespread occurrence in the Eastern Mediterranean of related festivals, even if not all stages of its development or all regional variations can be known. See also: Nilsson 1967, esp. 475; Dietrich 1986, 69, 78, 118.

is not very well articulated and the arms may be better described as 'outstretched' than 'upraised'. Apart from the three G clay figurines mentioned earlier, there are three female figurines with their arms outstretched from the Eileithyia cave at Tsoutsouros.[1179] One of the few bronze female figurines from the sanctuary at Syme, of G date, also has the bent arms raised slightly forwards.[1180] From Ayia Triada come a G bronze figurine with helmet (possibly male, Plate 62a) and two clay figurines of females sitting side-saddle on a quadruped with (broken) arms up.[1181] Outstretched arms occur with a number of terracotta figurines from the votive deposit at Anavlochos, though the gender of these figurines is not clear.[1182] The cave at Phaneromeni has yielded a small bronze figurine of indefinite sex with arms raised forwards (Plate 67).[1183] Considerably later and clearer examples of females with upraised arms are a 6th-century plaque from a votive deposit at Papoura and a figurine of roughly the same date said to be from Lagou, not far from the first find place.[1184]

To sum up the EIA evidence for the use of the image of a GUA, it appears that in the EIA the old gesture of uplifting the arms in epiphany was used in connection with at least two clearly differentiated deities, one of whom may be plausibly identified as Eileithyia (with evidence mainly from domestic contexts), the other, more tentatively, as Persephone (with evidence from funerary contexts). For both goddesses, the idea of their 'Coming' or arrival is tied to very specific, liminal moments in human life: those of birth and death respectively. In these contexts, the appearance or epiphany of the deity is a direct and personal experience and not a vision shared during communal cult events, as seems to have been the case in BA cults. It may be that the epiphany gesture, which in previous periods was used broadly to indicate the deity's communion with worshippers, became restricted to indicate individual visions of the deity.[1185] There is no clear evidence from urban or suburban sanctuaries that it was still used as a central image.

[1179] Tyree 1974, 126.

[1180] Lebessi 1972, 199, pl. 189b; Gesell 1985, 57; cat. entry B.66.

[1181] D'Agata 1998, 23, fig. I.7; cat. entry B.56,

[1182] P. Demargne 1931, 386-89, figs. 24-26, 27:b; *ibid.* 392-94, figs. 29-30, pl. XIV:1-2.

[1183] Marinatos 1937b, fig. 3 (right). Alexiou (1958, 276 n. 390) thinks this figurine, like the one from Vrokastro, may depict a male.

[1184] Alexiou 1958, 277, 284-85, pls. IG:1,4.

A last issue to consider is Nilsson's theory that the Minoan GUA, whose cult had been celebrated first in the palaces and then in the LM III community sanctuaries, gradually evolved into Athena, the pre-eminent city goddess, who, by the CL period, had gained Panhellenic status.[1186] This would suggest a loss of the previously distinctive gesture of uplifting the arms, but a basic continuation of functions in a similar deity. Two Cretan EIA sanctuaries have been identified as dedicated to Athena by their respective excavators: the (sub-)urban sanctuary on the Acropolis at Gortyn (B.23) and a small cult building in the settlement on the Troulli hill at Smari (B.27). The preliminary reports on the recently excavated cult building at Smari present predominantly 7th century BC and later votive material. The form and inventory of an underlying LM IIIC-SM builing with possible cult functions remain largely unknown. At Gortyn the articulation of the worshipped deity can be traced in some detail. Votives include bronze miniature weaponry, terracotta votive shields and an exceptional terracotta Palladion figure (Plate 32)—objects which all may be taken as being in accordance with the CL Greek image of Athena as warrior goddess. Moreover, Hoffmann has called attention to a 7th-century painted terracotta plaque that shows the lower part of a female figure with snakes protruding from her robe and at least one accompanying daemon. This 'Daedalic snake goddess' may, as Hoffmann proposes, refer back to the well-known older BA image and hence provide support (at least in a broad sense) for Nilsson's theory.[1187] In addition, some objects, such as the terracotta stands for offering bowls and the kernoi with cylindrical models, seem related to cult equipment associated with LBA bench sanctuaries. At the same time, it should be emphasised that the iconography of the votive assemblage at the Acropolis of Gortyn is varied and not exclusively warlike. Associated EIA votives and especially the 7th-century temple decoration also betray a concern with female sexuality and, more generally, with 'the forces of nature'.[1188] In the combination of martial aspects and explicit female sexuality, as well as in the—for EIA Crete unusual—presence of terracotta horse figures, influence of Near Eastern traditions has been detected.[1189] Of the various goddesses who in the Near East were depicted as arms bearing, the closest iconographic parallels seem to be with Anat and Astarte; both were frequently depicted on or with horses.[1190] Oriental influence has further been recognised in various other aspects of the sanctuary at the Acropolis: in the plan of the cult building, in the use of monumental alabaster ashlar, the possible foundation offering at the southwest corner of the temple and in the sculptural decoration.[1191]

[1185] Along the same lines, it might be argued that the female figure with raised arms on an open-work bronze stand from the Idaean cave (Halbherr 1888b, 727-32; Boardman 1961, 132, fig. 49a; cat. entry B.52) is a deity appearing to the warrior standing beside her. The small figure with shield emerging from a tripod (but without raised arms) on the Oaxos mitra has been identified as Athena: Guarducci in *IC* II, 47; Blome 1982, 85-86. *Contra*: Levi 1945, 293-302. Fuller contextual and iconographical study of Cretan metalwork would be required, however, to clarify these matters; see also section 4 in this chapter, p. 367-88.

[1186] Nilsson 1950, 491-501; *id.* 1967, 345-50. See also: Willetts 1962, 278; Burkert 1985, 50, 139-40.

[1187] Hoffmann 1972, 36-37, pl. 52:4. See also Chapter Three, section 5, p. 196.

It may therefore be concluded that, if there was a functional continuity of the cult at the Acropolis of Gortyn with that of the LM IIIC-SM bench sanctuaries, then the means of expression changed substantially. There is little proof that images of a GUA were retained in the sanctuary at Gortyn.[1192] Nor is there any sign at this site of an older bench sanctuary, which would make the transformation from the GUA into Athena a locally detectable, continuous process from the LBA into the EIA. Although none of this disproves the general gist of Nilsson's theory, it should be emphasised that the proposed process was long and complex rather than unilinear. The sources contributing to the iconographic image of Athena at Gortyn were multiple and varied, and stemmed from different traditions. Even though the first characteristics of a canonical 'Greek' Athena appeared in the 8th or 7th century BC, the associated iconography was still far from uniform. Whether this EIA goddess was by then locally known as Athena or under another name is difficult to establish.[1193] The possibility that assimilation of an older Cretan goddess with the Greek Athena was accomplished relatively late, i.e. in the CL period, should be kept open. On the Linear B tablets from BA Knossos the name Athena occurs only once and seems to be used as a toponym: '*atana potinija*' or 'Mistress of At(h)ana'.[1194] On the Greek Mainland, LBA depictions of the so-called shield goddess on frescoes and seals provide a much stronger and earlier linkage with Athena as warrior goddess.[1195]

[1188] See cat. entry B.23; Rizza 1967-68, 293 and also the discussion in section 7, p. 479-92.

[1189] Böhm 1990, 140; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 227. For the rarity of horse figures see section 4 of this chapter, p. 405.

[1190] For the association of Anat and Astarte with horses: Le Lasseur 1919, 239-41; Leclant 1960; also Böhm 1990, 129. For Anat also: Le Lasseur 1919, 229-31; Winter 1983, 231, 543-45. For later syncretism of Anat and Athena: Du Mesnil du Buisson 1973, 48-55.

[1191] See cat. entry B.23; also Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 227. Further details as to the degree and sources of influence are, however, less easy to pinpoint. The excavators (Rizza & Scrinari 1968, 54-56, 150) favoured North-Syrian influence and reconstructed the sculptural reliefs as a socle, but recently Watrous (1998, 75) proposes Egyptian parallels and a possible placement of the reliefs inside. The image of the Palladion, as employed in the terracotta female figure, has an origin in the widespread and long-lived Near Eastern iconography of weapon brandishing gods, but transmission is generally placed in the LBA. The origin of the name 'Pallas' is not clear and may be non-Greek; see Burkert 1985, 139-40.

[1192] See cat. B.23 and B.27. From the Acropolis at Gortyn comes a group of terracotta figurines that show affinities with Mycenaean Psi-figurines, but it is not certain if these belong to the sanctuary or to the LM IIIC-G settlement. Of a group of later figurines, which are more firmly associated with the sanctuary, the arms are broken off before the elbow and the position of the arms has been described in cautious terms as 'aperte, forse sollevate' by the excavators; see Rizza & Scrinari 1968, 158-59 (nos. 23, 25, 27-29, 31-33).

Despite the difficulties noted in tracing EIA equivalents of LM III urban bench sanctuaries and their GUAs, it is clear that certain formal elements of the earlier cult of the GUA were preserved in EIA Crete. Several studies have observed, for instance, a continued use of benches for the display of cult objects in other types of sanctuaries and the production of large anthropomorphic figures in terracotta for votive and cult purposes.[1196] A development that should be emphasised, however, is the dissolution of the unity of the votive assemblages associated with the former bench sanctuaries. While separate elements became incorporated in sanctuaries and cults of other types, their function and meaning inevitably changed in these new contexts.

[1193] See e.g. the discussion by Capdeville (1995, 171-77) on the syncretism of Hellotis (an early name for Europa, which is also known from Gortyn) with Athena, as attested especially in Corinth, Marathon and possibly Argos. See also: Yalouris 1950, 28-29; Willetts 1962, 158-59.

[1194] Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 44-45; Vermeule 1974, 59-60; Chadwick 1984, 194; Burkert 1985, 139.

[1195] Burkert 1985, 140; also P. Demargne 1980, 197-99; *LIMC* II-1, 957 (no. 1); Rehak 1984.

[1196] Gesell 1985, 57-59.

As centrally located, primary community sanctuaries, bench sanctuaries ceased to exist in the EIA. Their place seems to have been taken by a new type of cult building, the so-called hearth temple, which is to be discussed in the next section. It is here that the most compelling examples of the incorporation of elements associated with the old bench sanctuaries will be found, albeit as part of very different cults.

6. Hearth Temples: Prytaneia, Andreia and Rituals of Communal Dining

Hearth temples take their name from the centrally placed, rectangular stone-built hearths in the main room. These are often—though not invariably—flanked by columns at the short sides. EIA cult buildings with central hearths have been discovered in different parts of the Aegean,[1197] but Crete is relatively well represented (Plate 81), with early examples such as Temple B at Kommos (B.57, constructed around 800 BC, the Apollo temple at Dreros (B.32, *c.* 750 BC) and several other examples belonging to succeeding centuries. Among the latter are Temples A and B at Prinias (B.14-15), the large building on the West Hill of Dreros (B.31) and possibly the structure at Sta Lenika (B.67).

However, centrally placed, permanent fireplaces are also common in EIA domestic structures and the distinction between 'hearth temple', as an independent building dedicated to cult, and 'hearth house' has proven to be a difficult one. In Crete, most potential hearth temples are located within large contemporary settlements.[1198] Their ground plans vary from one to two or more axially arranged rooms and masonry consists of small, roughly worked stones.[1199] Only some of the later and larger structures are differentiated by a certain sense of monumentality: for instance, Temple A at Prinias by the use of sculptural decoration and the building on the West Hill of Dreros by a megalithic building style. The chief distinguishing feature, especially for the earlier examples, seems to be the freestanding and prominent position, either on the very summit or in the saddle of the settlement hill.[1200] This impression of relative isolation may be enhanced by the presence of carefully constructed open areas, as at Kommos, Prinias and in the area of the saddle at Dreros. The freestanding position of Temple A at Prinias and the Apollo Temple at Dreros is further emphasised because their orientation is slightly different from that of the surrounding structures.

[1197] The ones at Asine and Perachora are among the better known examples on the Greek Mainland: Drerup 1969, 87-88. For an up-to-date list of EIA cult buildings with central hearths: Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 280 n. 64.

[1198] An exception is Temple B at Kommos and perhaps the building at Sta Lenika.

[1199] Even the slightly trapezoidal form of Temple A at Prinias occurs in houses, for instance in Phaistos: see Coldstream 1977a, 278 (with further refs.).

Although these topographical criteria speak for a special, probably public character of the buildings in question, they do not necessarily prove use as a temple. More conclusive would be the presence of cult objects or votives, but here the archaeological evidence is often incomplete or dubious. Matters are especially complicated by the fact that hearth temples, unlike the earlier bench sanctuaries, do not appear to have been equipped with a more or less standardised inventory of cult images or other paraphernalia. In the absence of such objects, a primary function as cult building of many 'hearth temples' is now doubted. In several cases, such as 'Temple' C at Prinias (B.16), Complex AA-P-Q-R3-EE at Phaistos, and the series of megara at Smari (B.27, Plate 37), proposed identifications as ruler's dwellings (which would have included dining facilities) are indeed more convincing.[1201] It should be emphasised, however, that these are not freestanding, isolated units but megara belonging to larger complexes. For the Apollo temple at Dreros and Temple B at Kommos, on the other hand, the presence of a bench with cult images and of a tripillar shrine respectively, removes any doubt as to their sacred character.

The discussion of the function of EIA hearth temples has become intricately linked with that of the origin of their architectural form. Two principal theories have been formulated in the course of the last century: one stressing the structural and functional similarities of hearth temples with Mycenaean palatial megara,[1202] the other parallels with EIA domestic architecture. In both cases, EIA hearth temples are seen to represent an important intermediate stage in the evolution of later Greek public buildings, including the canonical, peripteral temple and the prytaneion. Arguing from unilinear perspectives, there has been a tendency to present the different theories as mutually exclusive.[1203] As another consequence of this approach, little need has been felt to consider the Cretan hearth temples as a regional group with a history and context of their own.[1204] The idiosyncratic character of the latter, however, is clearly illustrated by the fact that in the island they evolved within a mixed architectural tradition, and for several centuries formed a predominant type of cult building, without ever being supplanted by peripteral temples. It may therefore be of interest to consider the trajectory of their development in some detail, at the same time confronting theories on the function of hearth temples with the most recent archaeological evidence.

[1200] A prominent position alone is not sufficient to suggest a public function. According to Mazarakis Ainian (1997, 272-73), rulers' dwellings also often occupy conspicuous places in the settlement. He seems inclined, however, to accept a freestanding position as a characteristic of EIA cult buildings when all houses in a settlement are agglutinative (*ibid.*, 277).

[1201] For the complex at Phaistos: Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 271, 274, 291-92, 296, fig. 482. The same may apply to a recently excavated building at Krousonas (cat. entry B.11).

It has been generally agreed that the combination of central fireplaces and axial house arrangements constitutes a 'non-Minoan' feature, deriving from Greek Mainland architecture.[1205] On the Mainland, the presence of fixed hearths in the middle of rooms forms part of a building tradition that can be traced from the Neolithic down to the historical period.[1206] Hearths acquired an elaborate form in the EH period[1207] and again in Mycenaean times, when large circular specimens, surrounded by four columns and faced by a throne, formed the conspicuous *foci* of royal megara. Wall paintings and other finds are additional indications that these megara served ceremonial and possibly religious purposes. The megaron of Pylos, for instance, contained an offering or libation table and miniature cups, while the plaster floor beside the throne was provided with a two-metre long channel joining two hollows, also used for libations.[1208] The ceremonies performed here most likely evolved around the person of the Mycenaean king. In recent archaeological studies the symbolic value of hearth and columns is therefore considered in the context of what is called a *wanax* or hearth-*wanax* ideology.[1209] The permanently burning fire in the centre of the house, as an element common to many Indo-European cultures, has also been interpreted as contact point with the divine world and as a symbol of the prolongation of the (paternal) family line; from there it would have taken its meaning as the symbolic source of legitimacy for royal authority.[1210]

[1202] The term 'megaron' is used here in accordance with the definition given by Werner (1993, 5): a simple rectangular building, with the two sidewalls closed, subdivided in one bigger and one or two smaller rooms in a row.

[1203] See e.g. Mazarakis Ainian 1985, 44 (against a connection between Mycenaean palaces and hearth temples); Samuelsson 1988 (against a connection between hearth temples and later Greek temples); Koehl 1997, 143 (against a connection with prytaneia).

[1204] See also J. Shaw 1989b. In a handbook on Greek architecture, Lawrence (1957, 88) still stated that 'Dark Age temples can excite interest only because they show the genesis of the Greek temple'. Hiesel (1990, 3 n. 5) gives examples of earlier studies in which a connection between Doric and Mycenaean architecture was sought.

[1205] E.g. Coldstream 1977a, 280; Hayden 1981, 153; Hägg 1984, 212; Burkert 1985, 48. The idea that there were no fixed hearths at all in Minoan Crete has been modified by Metaxa Muhly (1984, esp. 107-10, 121-22) and Kopaka (1989, esp. 25, 28). Against a common opinion, first expressed by Evans (1928, 20), that the use of portable fire containers replaced that of fixed hearths from the MM period onwards, it is more likely that there were co-existing practices during the Palatial periods. This is supported by the recent discovery of fixed hearths, one of them with a stone column base beside it, in the approximate centres of the largest rooms of two LM I houses in Kommos; see M.C. Shaw 1990, 233-35, 250, figs. 5-6.

Guarducci first argued the idea of a direct continuity of form and function from the Mycenaean palatial megara to EIA hearth temples in 1937. In an article written on the occasion of the discovery of the G Apollo temple at Dreros, she proposed that other EIA temples—likewise containing hearths—had once stood on the sites of Mycenaean palaces. Retaining the ceremonial and religious functions of their palatial predecessors, sacred hearths would have become essential elements of the later cult buildings.[1211] In support of Guarducci's theory, Nilsson adduced the archaeological evidence for later cult activities at the acropoleis of Athens, Mycenae and Tiryns. The mention in Homer of the visit by the goddess Athena to the palace of the Athenian king Erechtheus was seen as another indication of the close and personal relationship between Mycenaean kings and deities.[1212]

[1206] Drerup 1969, 123; Gesell 1985, 57; Hiesel 1990, 7, 239; Werner 1993, 127-29; Wright 1994, 56-57.

[1207] See e.g. Caskey 1990.

[1208] Blegen & Rawson 1966, 88; Taylour 1983, 47; Hägg 1990b, esp. 178-82; Dickinson 1994a, 153-54, 291, 306; De Pierpont 1990.

[1209] Kilian 1988b, esp. 293-96, 299-300; Wright 1994, esp. 56-59. For an alternative but less convincing interpretation, assuming ceremonies centring on a priestess: Rehak 1995, esp. 112.

[1210] Nagy 1990, 143-44; Vernant 1985, 198-99.

[1211] Guarducci 1937, 161-63.

Since the early archaeological discoveries, further excavation and research have undermined Guarducci's assumption of an immediate replacement of palatial megara by EIA temples. On neither the acropolis of Athens, Mycenae or Tiryns has evidence for EIA hearth temples come to light. In the first two places, cult may not have begun before the 8th century BC, with only few traces of the earliest cult buildings surviving. In Tiryns the presence of LH IIIC sherds in a pit near the destroyed palatial megaron may indicate continuous cult, but the temple on top of this megaron was probably not built before the 8th century BC and there is no sign that it contained a hearth.[1213] The evidence from these Mainland sites strongly suggests that a memory of the revered and sacred character of the former palaces was preserved, but in most cases only found material expression in the 8th and later centuries. There was, in other words, conceptual or functional rather than direct continuity.

As far as the specific form of EIA hearth temples is concerned, their modest scale, the small-stone masonry and the rectangular instead of circular shape of the hearths can be derived more plausibly from contemporary domestic architecture.[1214] This means that the earlier palaces and the hearth temples should be seen as separate outgrowths of a long-lived and widespread tradition of building megara or hearth houses.[1215] Such a scenario does, of course, allow for the possibility that symbolic (and religious) values attached to central hearths were retained from the BA into the EIA. It has to be added, however, that spatial and structuralist analyses thus far have concentrated on the Mycenaean and the historical periods. For the intermediate period, which lacks in written and iconographical sources, the issue of the use and possible meaning of different hearth types is only beginning to be explored.[1216]

[1212] *Od.* 7.81; Nilsson 1950, 487-88. See also Lorimer 1950, 439.

[1213] A probable EIA altar, built over a Mycenaean precursor, was located outside the building, in the court: Wright 1982, 194-97, nos. 56-57, 201 (referring to Podzuweit 1978, 497-98; Kilian 1981, 159-60); Burkert 1985, 49-50.

[1214] The circular shape of Mycenaean hearths forms an important element in Vernant's theory (1985, 178-80), who sees it as symbolising the navel (*omphalos*) of the world.

[1215] See also Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 386.

[1216] See for instance M.C. Shaw 1990; Preston Day, Glowacki & Klein 1996.

For Crete, where central hearths in axial arrangements were not part of an indigenous building tradition, the picture is necessarily different from that on the Mainland. Guarducci's idea that the introduction of hearth temples in Crete was a direct result of the arrival of mainland Greeks has long been abandoned.[1217] Results from recent excavations in LM III settlements contribute to an increasingly complex picture. More cautious suggestions that the inclusion of central hearths first happened in domestic structures, in a period of marked Mainland influence at the end of the BA, are confirmed for several sites in the northern parts of the island.[1218] The fusion of different building traditions in this period is illustrated by a large LM IIIA2-B building at Chania. Although its plan is not of Mainland type, the central, circular hearth (ø 1.60 m) has strong Mycenaean affinities. The deposition of figurines next to it is, as observed by the excavators, a Mainland custom which suggests the preservation of a symbolic or religious meaning of the hearth.[1219] The LM IIIA2-B complex 'Quartier Nu' at Mallia, described as an architectural 'hybrid' of Minoan and Mycenaean elements, contains two large rooms with central hearths: one of roughly circular shape between two columns, the other square with two diagonally placed columns. A terracotta bull and a human figurine were found in the first room, but their relationship to the hearth is not stated.[1220] Elsewhere in Crete, for instance in the contemporary settlement of Kommos on the south coast, hearths of different form (and perhaps function) were in vogue: most houses contained hearths of pi-shaped plan, which were either freestanding or placed against a wall. These have no Mainland or Mycenaean parallels and it has been suggested that they be of local or perhaps Near-Eastern inspiration.[1221]

[1217] Guarducci 1937, 161-63.

[1218] Coldstream 1977a, 280; Hayden 1981, 153. This agrees with the general image of a blending of Minoan and Mycenaean architectural traditions in LM III: see Hayden 1981, esp. 165-66.

[1219] Finds from elsewhere at the site, such as Linear B tablets, inscribed stirrup jars, Mycenaean figurines and large quantities of imported pottery, also imply strong ties with the Mainland: Tzedakis 1972, 390-91; Tzedakis & Hallager 1983, 12-14, fig. 12; Werner 1993, 116, 125. See also Hägg 1984, 213; Kilian 1988a, 148, fig. 16.

[1220] In Room X:22 and Room II:6 respectively: Driessen 1994, 78-79; Driessen & Farnoux 1994, 62.

[1221] J. Shaw 1979, 171. In a recent article, M.C. Shaw (1990, 238-42, 247-53, fig. 4) discusses how the changes in hearth forms and placement in Kommos may reflect economic and socio-political developments. The noted shift to indoor cooking may, From the LM IIIC period onwards, Cretan houses show a growing preference for centrally placed hearths. This coincides with the more frequent application of axial house plans, which is also of Mainland derivation. Hayden, who disregards ethnic connotations, believes that axial arrangements may have been especially favoured because of the steep and terraced terrain occupied by the new settlements of this period.[1222] As before, diversity prevails with regard to hearth forms. Sometimes fireplaces consist of no more than patches of burning, while in other cases they are lined with mudbrick or stone-built, of circular or elliptical shape.[1223] There is, so far, no evidence for ritual deposition of objects near LM IIIC domestic hearths. Nor do permanent hearths form a recurrent feature in LM IIIC cult buildings.[1224]

For the G period, when the first hearth temples appear, a similar picture of diversity exists. In a LG house at the Kastro, Kavousi (Building A), an unlined fireplace with columns at the long sides was found in the centre of the main room. Building L, at the same site, was provided with an apsidal, built hearth with stone column base at the rounded end and a stone-built bench at the other.[1225] By the time of the LG period the more regular, rectangular stone-built hearths are also found in houses,[1226] whereas in hearth temples they seem to be the standard form, as can be seen in the Apollo temple in Dreros, the last phase of Temple B at Kommos, and in Temples A and B at Prinias. It may be noted that in both houses and hearth temples the number and placement of columns seem to vary.[1227]

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for instance, be the result of the disappearance of communal facilities, but could also have ethnic connotations. Pi-shaped hearths are also found in later structures in Dreros; see Hayden 1981, 140.

[1222] Hayden 1981, 133. See also Hiesel 1990, 203-09. The excavators of Karphi had initially explained the occurrence of houses of megaron type by assuming the presence of Mycenaean rulers; see Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 137-38.

[1223] Hayden 1981, 140. Unlined hearths were found in Karphi, Rooms 9, 136, 137, 139; see Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, 71, 77. For a mudbrick lining in LM IIIC-SM Vronda (Building N) see Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1995, 89.

[1224] In Room 2 of bench sanctuary Building G at Vronda a patch of burning was noted on the floor but it is not certain that this was a fixed fireplace; see Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1995, 80.

[1225] Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1995, 94-97, 109-113, figs. 9, 18-19.

[1226] For instance in Prinias and Phaistos: Rizza 1991, 334, fig. 7; Levi 1964, 12; *id.* 1957-58, 271, fig. 107.

[1227] See cat. entries B.32, B.57, B.14-15. There is little actual proof for the usually assumed arrangement of two flanking columns at the short sides of the hearths: one

At Kommos it is possible to follow the development of an internal hearth through subsequent phases. With the erection of Temple B around 800 BC a first, fairly small, stone-lined hearth was installed.[1228] It was of roughly built circular shape and set on the main axis of the building, in between the pillar in the entrance and the tripillar shrine. Stone bases for interior columns were lacking.[1229] As the earth floor gradually rose, the level of the hearth was raised by the addition of more stones around 750 BC. A second hearth, roughly rectangular in shape, was constructed near the western wall of the temple, over the then obsolete tripillar shrine. The third and last hearth in Temple B was placed over the first two and has the regular, rectangular shape of carefully lined upright slabs also known from the hearth temples at Dreros and Prinias. At the latter site, tests below the floor of Temple A revealed traces of earlier fireplaces, perhaps going back to LM IIIB/C times. It is unclear, however, whether these fireplaces were inside or outside a building.[1230]

The observed correspondences in form and plan of EIA hearth temples with contemporary houses, and their apparently parallel development, form the basis of interpretations that assume analogous use. In EIA houses, the main room with central hearth probably served as kitchen, dining and living room,[1231] thereby occupying a central place in daily life. A functional analogy was already noted by Nilsson, who pointed out that, in contrast to later Greek practice, burnt sacrifice and the roasting of the worshippers' portion of the sacrificial meat took place inside the EIA hearth temples.[1232] Along similar lines, Drerup explained the low or sunken form of the EIA hearths in temples as indication of their use, in combination with firedogs, as cooking-pits. The interchangeability of the

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column base was found in the Apollo temple at Dreros (*cf.* Payne *et al.* 1940, 113 n. 6), Temple A at Prinias may have had three columns and Temples A and B at Kommos perhaps none. Late 7th-century houses in Onythe, Crete, have three to six columns (but no hearths): Platon 1955a, 298-302, fig. 1; *id.* 1956a, fig. 1.

[1228] On Temple A's first floor scant traces of burning were noted; the presence of a permanent hearth is therefore not certain. See cat. entry B.57.

[1229] It is not clear whether the carbonised remains behind the tripillar shrine belonged to a wooden bowl or pillar; see J. Shaw 1989a, 170-71 and, for more references, cat. entry B.57.

[1230] See cat. entry B.15.

[1231] Hayden 1981, 177.

[1232] Nilsson 1937, 47-48. For sacrifices in temples referred to by Homer: Oelmann 1957, esp. 27; Corbett 1970, 150.

words '*hestia*' (hearth) and '*eschara*' (hearth-altar) in Homer also appears to indicate a lack of formal distinction. On the basis of the idea that similarity of form indicates similarity of function, Drerup inferred that, just as in houses, hearths in the early temples acted as focal points for small, seated groups—in this case not families but so-called dining or hearth communities. These would have consisted of headmen and their arms-bearing followers. Drerup drew parallels with the aristocratic banquets as described by Homer and with the widespread occurrence of male dining institutions in Archaic Greek society. He saw the importance of the earlier male dining groups further reflected in the special value attached to obeloi and firedogs, as illustrated by their dedication in sanctuaries and in warrior graves. Hearth communities thus should be seen as exclusive, in cultic and in socio-political respects, and as essentially different from the more encompassing group of worshippers who would gather around the larger, built-up altars of open air sanctuaries.[1233]

Recently, Drerup's theory has been reconsidered as part of a wider interest in ritualised forms of communal eating and drinking, also referred to as 'commensality' or 'conviviality'. For the EIA, Mazarakis Ainian has incorporated some of Drerup's ideas in his model of the development of hearth temples from rulers' dwellings, where cult would have taken place in the context of ritual dining.[1234] For the later periods, an impressive series of studies combine ancient literary, iconographical, archaeological and anthropological sources to underline the structural importance—in ancient Greece as elsewhere—of commensality. The emphasis of many of these works has been on the Archaic and later periods with the well-documented and often depicted institution of the 'symposion', the drinking group of reclining, male citizens.[1235] Although the symposion may certainly be considered as highly characteristic of Greek culture of that time, the various sources also indicate the existence of other, perhaps equally important forms of commensality. Among these are different kinds of sacrificial and funerary meals, and meals of hos-

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[1233] Drerup 1964, 204; *id.* 1969, 125-27.

[1234] Mazarakis Ainian 1997, esp. 287, 393-96. See also the discussion in Chapter Three, section 5, p. 194-95.

[1235] The term 'symposion' is also used in a more general sense. O. Murray (1983, 196), for instance, defines it as 'the group of men which express its identity through the ritual drinking session'. See also Schmitt Pantel 1990, 15. For a history of research: O. Murray 1990, 5-11.

pitality such as the *xenia* and *deipnon*.[1236] In its broadest meaning, commensality can be seen as a way of (selective) bonding, creating a sense of unity between the participants and at the same time defining the exclusiveness of the group towards other segments of society.[1237]

It is notable that of the relevant ancient literary sources several deal with Crete. Detailed descriptions of Cretan institutions are to be found in texts by the 4th-century BC historian Ephorus, quoted by Strabo, and by the 3rd-century AD author Athenaeus, who drew from the works of Pyrgion and of Dosiadas on Lyttos.[1238] Other authors, most notably Plato and Aristotle, engaged in comparisons of Cretan with other institutions, especially Spartan ones, and emphasised the more egalitarian and frugal character of the first. The customs of the island seem to have excited interest because they were considered to be the oldest and most authentic still practised in the Greek world.[1239]

From these sources it becomes clear that for citizens of the Late CL and HL Cretan city-states membership in a table-companionship (*hetaireia*), with daily communal meals (*syssitia* or *andreia*) in a 'men's hall' (*andreion*), was compulsory.[1240] As elsewhere, citizenship was a male prerogative and closely tied to landownership. The messes were financed by levying a tithe of the crops from all citizens and a fixed contribution of one Aeginetan stater from slaves. Initially, the tithes would have been handed over to the respective hetaireiai,[1241] but later there probably was a central intake and subsequent redistribution.[1242] Additional taxes may have been due to cover other public expenses.[1243] Cretan citizens took their meals seated around tables, ignoring the fashion of reclining which had been adopted for symposia elsewhere in Greece from the 7th century BC onwards.[1244] It was common practice to bring along non-adult sons who, sitting on the floor, shared in part of the food.[1245] For orphaned boys, who lacked the usual introduction into the andreion by their fathers, there were special provisions regarding the apportioning and the type of food.[1246] Other details as to the daily practice in the andreia are given by Dosiadas for Lyttos, but presumably have wider relevance. He recounts that the wife of one of the members who was assigned several helpers supervised the preparation and distribution of food. Honorary portions of food would be given to those who had excelled in war or wisdom, and only the elderly men were allowed to drink more than the assigned quantity of wine. After the meal, public affairs would be discussed and there would be time to recall deeds of prowess in war and to praise the men who had distinguished themselves in this respect.[1247]

[1236] See especially Schmitt Pantel 1985. Also: Miller 1978, 5-7; Börker 1983, 10.

[1237] For definitions of these terms, see esp. O. Murray 1990, 5; Schmitt Pantel 1990, 24. For studies which focus on the involved mechanisms of integration and exclusion: Schmitt Pantel 1985, 151-52.

[1238] Ephorus in Strabo 10.4.16-21; Dosiadas and Pyrgion in Athenaeus 4.143a-f. See also: Beattie 1975, 45-47; Schmitt Pantel 1992, 60-62.

[1239] Van Effenterre 1948a, 72-74, 77-78; Schmitt Pantel 1992, 65-66. See esp. Plato *Laws* 4.711a-712c, 7.847c; Aristotle *Politics* 2.1269a-1272b.

[1240] Jeffery 1976, 190; Bile 1988, 343-44; Link 1994, 9-10. The Cretan terminology may not have been used consistently. According to Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 10-12) and Ephorus (Strabo 10.4.16), 'andreion' refers to the meal itself, while Dosiadas (Athenaeus 4.143b) says that in Lyttos hetaireiai are called 'andreia'. O. Murray (1983, 196) and others (see Lavrencic 1988, 148 for references) therefore think that all three terms were interchangeable. The earliest reference to hetaireia (as a social group) in the Cretan inscriptions belongs to the 5th century BC; see Bile 1988, 343.

[1241] According to Link (1994, 16-21), this means that, despite the egalitarian character stressed by Ephorus and Aristotle, some table-groups may have been better off

With the current scholarly interest in ritual dining and with these specific references to the Cretan institutions at hand, there have been several attempts to identify the corresponding dining places in the archaeological record. Dining by hetaireiai may, as a ritualised and therefore repeated and formalised activity, be expected to leave recognisable traces. As suggested in earlier studies, these may range from an accumulation of specialised and often elaborate eating and drinking equipment, such as (bronze) tripods and cauldrons, mixing bowls and cups, to the occurrence of public dining halls with permanent benches or couches.[1248] It is important to note in this context that, according to a recent interpretation by S. Link, the idea that each hetaireia had its own hall is based on a misreading of

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than others, depending on the size of the tithes brought in by the respective members. Link, in general, sketches a picture of restricted competition within the andreia.

[1242] Willetts 1955, 193; Jeffery & Morpurgo-Davies 1970, 151.

[1243] There is some dispute as to the translation and meaning of this part of the text (Dosiadas in Athenaeus 4.143a-b. See Guarducci 1933; Beattie 1975, 45; Lavrencic 1988, 151-54.

[1244] Pyrgion in Athenaeus 4.143e. For reclining: Börker 1983, 12 (with further refs.).

[1245] Ephorus in Strabo 10.4.20.

[1246] Pyrgion in Athenaeus 4.143e.

[1247] Dosiadas in Athenaeus 4.143a-d. See Beattie 1975, 45.

[1248] O. Murray 1983, 197, 199. For benches: Drerup 1969, 125-26.

Dosiadas. He considers it more likely that Cretan citizens were organised in table societies within the same (large) hall.[1249]

Accepting the claims made by the Late CL and HL authors on the ancient nature of Cretan institutions, and in line with the ideas expressed earlier by Drerup, attention has again turned to 8th- and 7th-century hearth temples and comparable buildings. In some cases, little more is done than pointing to the presence of benches and food remains as evidence for ritual or institutionalised meals.[1250] This is unfortunate, as settings for ritual dining may vary from different kinds of sacrificial banquets in sanctuaries to communal meals in andreia, prytaneia or other buildings.[1251] Two recent and more elaborate case studies, however, present new insights for the identification of andreia and related public structures. At the same time, they illustrate some of the problems and potential confusion in trying to distinguish between different forms of commensality on the basis of archaeological finds.

In a recent reinterpretation of the sculptural decoration of Temple A at Prinias (Plates 23-24), Carter argues that this, rather than reflecting the nature of cult, betrays a function as andreion for the building. Not only is the choice of the frieze with armed horsemen appropriate for a dining hall of aristocratic warriors, the statues of seated females above the door, the reliefs with felines, grazing stags and sphinxes all seem to derive from a wider but comparable repertoire of motifs encountered on ivory plaques which decorated the wooden couches in the buildings of Syro-Palestinian *marzeah*. *Marzeah* consisted of groups of prominent men, who associated themselves with a particular deity. The iconography of the ivory plaques centres on themes of protection, fertility, rebirth and eternal life; use is made of depictions of the 'woman in the window', winged female guardians, sphinxes and grazing stags. According to Carter, the Prinian aristocrats must have been aware of the similarities between their and the Near Eastern institutions and adopted the *marzeah* iconography 'not only because the possession of such things enhanced their status but also because [it] gave expression to their own beliefs'.[1252]

[1249] Link 1994, 18, n. 36.

[1250] Bergquist (in Hägg (ed.) 1983, 121; 1990, 43-44, fig. 2) overemphasises dining functions, up to the point of denying a temple function altogether. Viviers (1994, 245) follows her identification of the HL Temple A1 at Kommos as a banquet house.

[1251] An extreme example of interpreting all archaeological indications for ritual dining as evidence for a function of the building in question as andreion, without taking into consideration other possible settings, is provided by an article by Koehl (1997, esp. 143). He argues against a function as 'proto-prytaneion' by assuming that prytaneia would be dedicated to Hestia only, and not to other deities as well. This disregards the findings of Miller (1978) and Graf (1979).

Viviers proposes that the 7th-century complex at Aï Lia at Aphrati, previously considered as a temple, may have served as an andreion. The main room is characterised by the presence of continuous benches along all walls, interrupted only by the door. A large hoard of illicitly excavated pieces of armour has been associated with the site (Plates 38-40), many of them bearing inscriptions with the names of owners, but none of them mentioning dedication to a deity. Since the description of syssitia by Dosiadas betrays ritual attention to military matters and for citizens who had distinguished themselves in war and battle, Viviers suggests that the pieces of armour were displayed on the walls as trophies and memorabilia. This means that, although there can be no doubt that armour and weaponry were also considered suitable offerings to certain deities, concentrations of such objects can no longer be automatically interpreted as part of votive deposits in sanctuaries.[1253] The well-known Spensithios decree of *c.* 500 BC, a contract with a scribe/commemorator which was inscribed on a bronze mitra and makes reference to an andreion, perhaps originally formed part of the same hoard.[1254]

In the contexts analysed by Carter and Viviers, the interpretation of food remains and drinking equipment as leftovers of syssitia becomes convincing. There is, however, a basic difference of opinion underlying these scholars' respective theories. Carter transfers a function as andreion from Temple A to other buildings at Prinias on the grounds of similarity in plan and the presence of a central hearth in the main room.[1255] Viviers, on the other hand, compares the Aphrati building with a number of later buildings, which have been identified as prytaneia, but decides to call it an andreion because of the absence of a hearth.[1256] Each seems to return to ideas formulated earlier. Whereas Carter follows Drerup by coupling the cultic use of hearth temples with that of dining hall for male aristocrats, Guarducci's idea that hearth temples united functions as cult building and prytaneion is implicitly accepted by Viviers. Prior to further attempts to establish archaeological criteria for public buildings of varying functions, it may therefore be useful to address a number of more basic questions. One of these is how far the institutions of andreia and prytaneia, as known primarily from Late CL and HL written sources, can be traced back into time.[1257] Secondly, the question should be raised if all hearth temples had the same functions and, lastly, to what extent secular functions can be separated from religious ones.

[1252] Carter 1997, 74-95, 112. Carter is careful in emphasising that the borrowing of motifs does not mean that the Cretan institutions themselves were imported from the Near East.

[1253] See the discussion on armour in section 4 above, p. 384-86. If Viviers' identification of the building at Aï Lia as andreion is correct, the agrimi horns found inside may have been hunting trophies.

[1254] Viviers 1994, 244-49. For the Spensithios decree: Jeffery & Morpurgo-Davies 1970; Van Effenterre 1973.

[1255] Carter 1997, 91. *Contra* Link (1994, 18 n. 36), who believes in the existence of only one dining hall per settlement.

To begin with the latter issue, Schmitt Pantel, in her overall study of commensality in ancient Greece, argues against the idea that there was an opposition between 'sacred' and 'profane' meals. Until at least the 5th century BC, all types of collective meals, including the symposion, which was a Dionysiac ritual, and the *xenia*, which was imbedded in the cult for Hestia, would have had religious significance.[1258] As for the Cretan andreia, religious elements are not prominent in the accounts of the Late CL and HL authors. What can be inferred from the texts is that they formed an intricate part of the economic and socio-political structure of the contemporary poleis and also had a distinct ideological function. It is clear that andreia were instrumental in the differentiation of gender and age groups and in the expression and reproduction of culturally approved values and behaviour.[1259] References to religious practice, perhaps not elaborated upon because this was taken for granted or deemed irrelevant to the purpose of the authors,[1260] are nevertheless present. According to Pyrgion, for instance, syssitia began with a libation in silence for the gods, while the 'third table on the right' when entering the andreion was called the table of 'Zeus Xenios' or 'Xenia'.[1261] In the already mentioned Spensithios decree reference is made to (unspecified) sacrifices in the andreion which were supervised by a senior member.[1262] A gloss in Hesychius further refers to the existence in Crete of a Zeus Hetaireios, 'the god of good comradeship', an epithet that also may have had certain military or political significance.[1263] Of relevance to the cultic associations of hetaireiai may also be the often-quoted description by Ephorus of a ritual involving the initiation of Cretan youths in the hetaireia of a senior, male abductor. With the consent of the chosen boy's companions a mock pursuit took place which ended at the andreion. After a period of withdrawal to the countryside the ritual came to a conclusion with the return of the company and a feast in which the newly accepted member of the andreion sacrificed an ox to Zeus.[1264]

[1256] Viviers 1994, 245. It might, however, be argued that the severe disturbance of the interior down to bedrock by looters would have removed any trace of such a hearth.

[1257] See also: Lavrencic 1988, 152.

[1258] Schmitt Pantel 1990, esp. 24, n. 61.

[1259] Schmitt Pantel 1992, 66, 69-71.

[1260] In general, the emphasis of the Mainland authors appears to have been on the educational and military aspects of the andreia and the associated system of levies.

For prytaneia, the entwinement of religious and other functions is particularly well attested. In a general study of prytaneia of the CL-HL Greek world, S. Miller calls their religious functions at least as important as their political ones. The prytaneion contained the communal hearth (*koine hestia*) which, symbolic of the life of the polis and personified as the goddess Hestia, also served as an altar. Besides being the formal meeting and dining hall of the city's magistrates, the prytaneion offered a place of reception for citizens from allied poleis and other distinguished guests. Hospitality (xenia) and asylum were embedded in religious convention.[1265] Literary and epigraphic sources testify to different kinds of official sacrifices in the prytaneion. In HL Athens, for example, ephebes had to bring sacrifice at the common hearth as part of the rites to become citizen. In several cases, other deities besides Hestia were honoured in the prytaneion. Most prominent among these is Apollo, because of his frequent connections with initiation of new male citizens and with polis institutions in general.[1266]

[1261] Pyrgion in Athenaeus 4.143e-f. According to Dosiadas (Athenaeus 4.143c), there were two tables for guests in andreia. See Beattie 1975, 46; Lavrencic 1988, 160-61.

[1262] Jeffery & Morpurgo-Davies 1970, 146; Van Effenterre 1973, 45; Beattie 1975, 43.

[1263] Farnell 1896a, 74-75; Guarducci 1935, 439-40; Capdeville 1995, 194.

[1264] Strabo 10.4.21. See also Burkert 1985, 261. The place of this celebration is not specified by Ephorus and it cannot be ascertained that the ox sacrifice took place at the andreion itself. Evidence for initiation rituals similar to the ones described by Ephorus now comes from the large extra-urban sanctuary at Syme (cat. entry B.66), see section 9 below, p. 577-78.

[1265] Frazer 1885, 145-46; Miller 1978, 13-16, 22-23; Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 12. For Hestia: Burkert 1985, 61.

To sum up, there are several reasons to consider both andreia and prytaneia as institutions that combined articulated cultic, social and political functions. This having been said, however, the problem remains of distinguishing andreia and prytaneia in the archaeological record. It is telling that most earlier studies take only one of the two into account, without addressing the problem of possible interrelationships. Attempts to identify the Cretan andreia described by the Late CL and HL authors are usually directed at remains of the 8th and 7th centuries, while public buildings with hearths and benches that are contemporary with those sources are invariably called prytaneia.[1267]

Judging by the epigraphic evidence there must have been andreia in Crete from at least the Late A period onwards.[1268] The term *prytaneion*, on the other hand, which was current in other parts of the Greek world from the mid-6th century BC onwards, is not attested in Crete until the 3rd century BC.[1269] As Miller points out, regional variation in terminology may be expected, as the name for the building prytaneion derived from that for the officials. In some regions buildings with corresponding functions were known under a different name, such as '*hierothyteion*' at Lindos and Karpathos.[1270]

[1266] Miller 1978, 16, 168-70 (A 195-202); Graf 1979, esp. 18, 21-22; Burkert 1985, 170.

[1267] Apart from the prytaneion of Lato, which is to be discussed below, HL prytaneia have been identified at Phaistos and Ayia Pelagia; see J. Shaw 1979, 172-73; Viviers 1994, 244. The excavator of Ayia Pelagia, Alexiou, considers a function as prytaneion and andreion both possible; see Alexiou 1972a, 235-38; *id.* 1972b, 620; *id.* 1973a, 561; *id.* 1973b, 461-62; *id.* 1973-74, 883.

[1268] An inscription from Oaxos (*IC* II, v. 1, 14-15) and the Spensithios decree (see Jeffery & Morpurgo-Davies 1970, 122) both date to the late 6th/early 5th century, and an inscription from Gortyn (*IC* IV, 4, 4) to the 5th century BC.

[1269] Beattie 1975, 44; Miller 1978, 22, 184 (A 275), 210 (A 427). Once the term prytaneion was adopted in Crete, it was apparently used for public buildings with the same functions as prytaneia elsewhere. HL inscriptions indicate that they contained the public hearth (Viannos and Dreros), served as dining rooms for the kosmoi and as reception hall for kosmoi from other poleis (Malla), and as places to put up treaties (Gortyn and Lato, Phaistos). The term prytaneion is also known from HL inscriptions at Istron, Lyttos, Olous, Priansos, Rhavkos (?) and Hierapytna; see Willetts 1955, 198-99; Bile 1988, 340.

[1270] Miller 1978, 10.

The situation is, however, different in Crete in that a consistently used synonym is not attested. Dosiadas mentions the existence of two public buildings in each city: an andreion and a *koimeterion* in which guests would be lodged.[1271] The latter term, however, appears to be a *hapax legomenon*, as it is not repeated in other literary sources or inscriptions.

Beattie suggested that in Crete the term andreion, at least in Archaic times, be used to refer to men's halls and prytaneia alike. He based this on the mention in two Late A inscriptions of the permission granted to certain individuals—artisans in Oaxos and the scribe Spensithios respectively—to participate in communal meals in the local 'andreion', a privilege which is usually associated with prytaneia.[1272] Graf went one step further and proposed that in many Cretan poleis the functions of andreia and prytaneia, and hence the buildings, were not differentiated until after the Archaic period.[1273] This is conceivable in view of the similarities in function of the Cretan andreia, as documented by the ancient authors and local epigraphic evidence, to those of later Greek prytaneia in general. These similarities include the provision of meals for foreigners, such as the artisans and scribe just mentioned, the permanent reservation of seats for strangers, the presence of a table or altar for Zeus Xenios, a possible function as 'museum' for the storage of trophies, such as weaponry, and perhaps its role in rituals connected with the initiation of young men into adulthood.[1274] A lack of differentiation of the andreion and prytaneion in the time before the Archaic period also seems to fit in with the general picture of political life in the EIA. Finley, for instance, concluded on the basis of the Homeric epics that 'a large measure of informality, of fluidity and flexibility, marked all the political institutions of the age.'[1275] Yet, there are several reasons not to accept the proposed identity of prytaneion and andreion for EIA Crete, but rather to assume a differentiation from the 8th/7th centuries BC onwards. This is indicated by both the available literary and archaeological evidence.

[1271] Dosiadas in Athenaeus 4.143b-c. *Contra* Koehl (1997, 138, 144, 145), who considers the *koimeterion* 'the second component of the andreion'.

[1272] Beattie 1975, 44-45, referring to *IC* II, v.1, 14-15; *IC* IV, 4, 4; the Spensithios decree; see also Graf 1979, 12. *Contra*: Lavrencic 1988, 151 n. 39, 156, n. 77.

[1273] Graf 1979, 12.

[1274] Tables or seats for guests in the andreia are mentioned by Dosiadas and Pyrgion (Athenaeus 4.143a, 143e). For a function as 'museum' and archive of the later Greek prytaneia: Miller 1978, 16-17.

[1275] Finley 1979, 82.

'Reading between the lines' of the Homeric epics reveals that open-air meeting places or agorai, sometimes provided with permanent seats, may have been well established by the 8th-7th century BC, even if few explicit details are given. Public buildings (other than temples) are mentioned twice in the Odyssey: a *leskhe* or lounge 'for people to sit and talk' and a 'public house', casually referred to by Telemachus when he accepts Odysseus, disguised as beggar, in his home.[1276] In his general study of prytaneia, Miller expresses the idea that in Athens the prytaneion already became an independent institution in the EIA. He supposes that this happened as a corollary to the rise of an oligarchic type of government, perhaps as early as the 9th or 8th century BC.[1277] If such a correlation is indeed valid, the existence of a second public building beside the andreion may be expected in the Cretan cities from at least the 7th century BC onwards, the time of the first mention of the office of kosmos in inscriptions.[1278]

It is, in this context, relevant to return to a suggestion made by Guarducci in her article of 1937. Although concerned primarily with the BA ancestry of hearth temples, Guarducci also reflected on their later development by drawing attention to a 2nd-century inscription from Hyrtakina, a small polis in the mountains of southwest Crete. In this inscription, ambassadors from Tenos are invited to a meal of hospitality (*xenia*) at the '*koine hestia* in the D[elph]ineion'. Guarducci therefore concluded that the EIA hearth temples were the precursors of the later prytaneia and sometimes retained their old name.[1279] A connection of HL prytaneia with a cult for Apollo is also found elsewhere, both in Crete and abroad. In HL Knossos, for which there is no evidence of the existence of a prytaneion, two separate decrees, one of them concerning proxeny for ambassadors from Teos, had to be set up in the Delphineion.[1280] A HL treaty between Phaistos and Miletus had to be written up in the prytaneion of the first and in the temple of Apollo of the latter.[1281] Outside Crete, Archaic bronze statuettes of Apollo figure prominently in an inventory of the HL prytaneion at Delos.[1282] In a HL inscription from Olbia someone is honoured with an invitation to *xenia* in the sanctuary of Apollo, which also suggests functions analogous with prytaneia.[1283] In other instances, privileges are given in prytaneia to priests and priestesses of Apollo.[1284]

[1276] Scully 1990, 101-05; Van Wees 1992, 28-32; with reference to *Od.* 2.7-9, 6.266-67, 7.44, 8.5-7, 18.328-29 (*leskhe*), 20.264-5 (public house), *Il.* 18.503-04.

[1277] Miller 1978, 22, 52-54.

[1278] Jeffery 1976, 189-90; Jeffery 1990, 315 (with a full bibliography).

[1279] Guarducci 1937, 162-63; also Miller 1978, 15 n. 23. Guarducci's suggestion has been taken up by Samuelsson (1988; see also Bergquist 1990, 43), who has announced but not yet published her findings.

[1280] *IC* I, viii, 8, 12; 12,45. Willetts 1962, 263; Graf 1979, 10.

The recurrent association of Apollo with prytaneia may be explained along slightly different lines. In an article by Graf, emphasis is placed on the political and initiatory functions of Apollo, especially of Apollo Delphinios. Public buildings referred to as Delphineia are found throughout the Aegean world. They are usually situated near the agora and serve for the storage of sacred laws, state decrees, honorary and proxeny decrees and other matters that concern the right to citizenship. No less importantly, as discussed by Graf, Apollo Delphinios supervises the last step into manhood of young Greek citizens.[1285] Other scholars have also commented on Apollo's importance in male initiation rituals and on his common representation as 'arch-ephebos'.[1286] On the basis of these observations and the available ancient texts on the role of Cretan andreia in initiation rites, Koehl proposes to identify Cretan Apollo temples, such as the hearth temple at the agora of Dreros, as andreia.[1287] By thus applying Graf's findings to Crete, however, the issue of a possible overlap on the island with Zeus as initiation god is ignored. Zeus is explicitly mentioned by Ephorus as the deity to whom an ox was sacrificed by newly initiated citizens upon their return to the city. Ephorus and the other ancient authors further make mention of a Zeus Xenios and a Zeus Hetaireios,[1288] which strengthens the association of this god with the andreion even more. A connection with Apollo may not, in other words, be an argument exclusively in favour of an identification as andreion. The possibility of Apollo's connection with prytaneia should be left open as well.

[1281] Miller 1978, 205 (referring to *IC* I, xxiii, I, 65-66).

[1282] Miller 1978, 16, 185-86 (A 286-87).

[1283] Guarducci 1937, 163; Miller 1978, 7; Graf 1979, 8-9.

[1284] In the HL prytaneion of Naukratis, the priests of Apollo and Dionysos received double portions of food (Miller 1978, 12, 199-200 (A 367)) and in Delos the priestess of Apollo was one of the few women to enter the prytaneion (*ibid.*, 11). A late 5th-century inscription from Athens records that it is Apollo who chooses people to have *sitesis*; see *ibid.* 139 (A 26).

[1285] Graf 1979, 7-9, 13-18, 21-22.

[1286] Burkert 1975, 10-11; Versnel 1993, 314; both with ref. to Harrison 1912, 440.

[1287] Koehl 1997, 143.

[1288] See above, p. 454-55. See also remarks by Versnel (1993, 298).

In order to avoid an uneven emphasis on initiatory aspects of Apollo, it may be useful to turn briefly to other, more general characterisations of this deity. Following a suggestion by Nilsson, Versnel calls purification Apollo's most basic function. In his capacity of averter of harm, plagues and impurity, Apollo was typically associated with the creation and maintaining of *kosmos* and harmony within the established community and the keeping out of impure and foreign elements. Apollo is both related to the centre of the community and familiar with the outside world. Hence he 'controls the passages which connect, and the borders which divide, the two worlds of inside and outside.' Initiation into manhood and citizenship may have formed one of the most relevant of such passages for the poleis, but it was by no means the only kind of passage to be supervised by the god. The regulation of relations with outsiders also falls within his realm. Although in this aspect too, there seems to be an overlap with the functions of Zeus (Xenios) in relation to the andreia, there is no reason to exclude the possibility that in Crete (as elsewhere) temples for Apollo served as prytaneia, i.e. as the place where the kosmoi formally met, dined and received distinguished foreign guests.[1289] As prytaneia commonly contained the community's central and sacred hearth, hearth temples remain the best candidates, although this does not imply that all hearth temples should be considered as such. It is in this respect noteworthy that there are two Cretan sites, Prinias and Dreros, which have each yielded two free-standing buildings with central hearths at prominent locations within the settlement. Although these buildings were not constructed simultaneously, they seem in both cases to have coexisted for a considerable period of time.

At Dreros, there are the Apollo temple in the saddle and the large structure on the summit of the West hill (Plates 41-42, 81).[1290] Both buildings contained a central hearth in the main room, probably remained in use into the HL period and yielded objects that may be interpreted as votives or cult equipment. The hearth temple in the saddle, built around 750 BC, is the smallest and oldest of the two. Its internal arrangement and inventory leave little doubt as to its usage as cult building: objects on the small bench in the southwest corner included terracotta figurines, and around it were found remains of offerings in the form of ash, bone, goat horns and small cups. The three bronze statuettes (Plate 43), also discovered near the bench, have been plausibly identified as Apollo, Lato and Artemis. Associated votives from the area in front of the temple include terracotta animal figurines and figures, small bronze discs and a sheet bronze Palladion. In line with the ideas advanced by Guarducci, there are several reasons to argue that this 8th-century temple for Apollo combined these cultic functions with a function as prytaneion.[1291] With respect to its location in the saddle, directly above the stepped agora, as well as in other aspects, this EIA cult building displays close similarities with one of the few later buildings whose identification as prytaneion has been generally accepted, namely Complex 36-39 at Lato (Plate 44).[1292] The identification of the latter as prytaneion is secured by the discovery in the westernmost large room of the fragments of a treaty with Gortyn, which prescribed its setting up in the prytaneion.

[1289] For instance, colleague magistrates from other cities, in contrast to foreign artisans or people of other professions who might be accepted in the andreion as (semi-) citizens.

[1290] See cat. entries B.31 and B.32, also for a synopsis of the various interpretations.

The HL prytaneion of Lato consists of a four-room complex at the agora in the saddle of the settlement hill. The complex is situated above a flight of steps, bisected by stairways, which probably served as a place of assembly. Finds from the complex attest to a number of functions, including cultic ones. Room 37 has wide stone-built benches along the walls and a possible altar in the middle, consisting of a small rectangular construction, with an attachment for the concave stone table which was found next to it. Entrance was from the eastern and largest room (no. 36), which has a narrow bench or ledge along the walls and another, large rectangular structure, perhaps a peristyle or clerestory, in the centre. Column fragments were found around it, but no traces of fire were reported to ascertain whether it was a hearth. Associated finds consist of terracotta figurines of Athena, a warrior, a dog and a large number of libation bowls. A small room (no. 38) at the northwest contained the remains of pithoi, lances and other weapons.[1293] With these different rooms, one of which served as dining room, another for storage, its positioning at the agora, and the treaty, the complex of Lato provides a good illustration of the criteria that according to Miller distinguish later prytaneia.[1294]

[1291] The excavator, S. Marinatos (1936a, 232-33), initially considered a function as prytaneion but rejected this because of the similarities of the building to Temple A and B at Prinias.

[1292] Miller 1978, 91-92.

At Dreros, fragments of several 7th-century legal inscriptions had probably fallen from the walls of the Apollo temple into the adjacent cistern, likewise indicating a function as archive for the cult building. The temple at Dreros yielded less evidence for storage of weapons than the prytaneion at Lato: there were only two bronze rings that may, however, have belonged to a mitra. As in Lato, a concave stone table was found in the interior of the cult building, while from the triangular area west of the temple fragments of no less than twelve pithoi were found. It is possible that the stone tables and mortars associated with the temple were used for the preparation of grain or other foods, which, perhaps together with other goods, would have been stored in the pithoi. This does not, however, prove a function as main hall for the daily meals of the male citizens of the city. The relatively small size of the building (*c.* 7.20 x 10.90 m) argues against such identification. In addition, it should be noted that, although the hearth of the Apollo temple at Dreros showed traces of fire, no large quantities of bones or other food remains were found.[1295] The cult building may, however, have been used for the smaller-scale meals of the kosmoi, occasional xenia and for the required offerings to the gods.[1296]

Despite the frequent association of Apollo Delphinios with buildings functioning as prytaneia,[1297] the generally accepted identification of the Apollo temple at Dreros as Delphineion, which was first proposed by Marinatos, is problematic. Marinatos based his identification on the mention of this deity in the HL civic oath of 180 Drerian *agelaoi* found on the West hill, but also of that in another HL inscription recording the construction of the cistern next to the hearth temple under his protection.[1298] Kirsten has exposed the flaw in Marinatos' reasoning by stressing that these inscriptions list many different deities without making explicit reference to the hearth temple in the saddle. Kirsten convincingly argues for a connection with Apollo Pythios, who occurs in another HL inscription from the cistern and also in the HL oath. In the latter Apollo Pythios precedes Lato and Artemis, probably reflecting the same cult triad as represented by the bronze statuettes.[1299] As a parallel, reference may be made to the temple of Apollo Pythios, located in the Archaic agora of Gortyn, which similarly contained many legal inscriptions.[1300] Graf also notes that Delphinios was by no means the only manifestation of Apollo that was intimately linked with polis institutions. Inscriptions of HL date attest to a function as main archive for temples of Apollo Pythios in the cities of Lyttos, Phaistos and Itanos.[1301] In addition, temples for Apollo Pythios appear to have been associated with the central intake of taxes ('tithes') levied by the state. A HL treaty between Gortyn and the island of Kaudos stipulates that the inhabitants of both communities had to pay their tithes to the Pythion. Apollo is also given the epithet 'Dekatophoros' ('Tithe-receiver') in a HL inscription from Hierapytna.[1302] For the earlier period of the EIA, the presence of large numbers of pithoi in the Apollo temple at Dreros and in the prytaneion at Lato may point to a function of central intake and storage.

[1293] None of the finds have been published by the excavator; see J. Demargne 1903, 212-18. Also Kirsten 1940b, 352-55; Ducrey & Picard 1972, 571-91; Miller 1978, 78-86, 91-92.

[1294] Miller 1978, 91-92.

[1295] It has to be emphasised, however, that although the inventory largely consists of 8th- and 7th-century objects, the assemblage as a whole was left in HL times. Later activities may have changed the original arrangement, at least of the portable objects.

[1296] *Contra* Koehl (1997, 143) who interprets such storerooms with pithoi as pantries belonging to an andreion. Mazarakis Ainian (1997, 275) considers an abundance of storage vessels typical for rulers' dwellings.

[1297] See esp. Graf 1979, 6.

The megalithic building on the summit of the West hill of Dreros is later and considerably larger (*c.* 10.70 x 24 m, Plate 81) than the Apollo temple at the agora.[1303] Possibly constructed in the 7th century BC, it further differs from the latter because of its sturdy construction and the presence of a substantial group of bronze weapons. Among the few terracottas that were reported was a plaque of a female and several bull figurines. Near the building was also found the HL inscription of the 180 Drerian initiates.[1304] Since this mentions an Apollo Delphinios, Xanthoudides, the excavator, proposed an identification as Delphineion and archive.[1305] S. Marinatos, however, argued that it was an andreion rather than a temple and there are indeed several features that support such an identification. The size of the building is compatible with a function as dining hall and the weapons, as demonstrated by Viviers, would also in be place. The same applies to the associated HL oath of the Drerian *agelaoi*. Unlike in Athens, where ephebic rites are mainly known in connection with the prytaneion, in Crete they were associated with hetereiai and hence, possibly, with andreia. A function as andreion does not, of course, exclude the possibility of cult, but there is no firm evidence for any of the proposed deities.[1306]

[1298] Marinatos 1935a, 209-10; *id.* 1936a, 255.

[1299] Kirsten 1940a, 137.

[1300] See cat. entry B.24.

[1301] Graf 1979, 20, n. 152 (with ref. to *IC* I, xvii 1, 17; *IC* III, xxii praef.; *IC* III, iv 8, 7).

[1302] *IC* IV, 184, 19; Guarducci 1933, 488; Willetts 1962, 261; Graf 1979, 20 n. 153.

[1303] It has been suggested that the building would have carried a second storey; see Kirsten 1940a, 132.

At Prinias there also are two EIA buildings with hearths in their main rooms, Temples A and B, which seem to have overlapped in use. Unlike the ones at Dreros, these buildings are situated side by side, in the highest part of the table-shaped settlement hill and bordering an open area, which may have been used as meeting place (Plates 22-23, 81).[1307] Despite the additional information provided by the architectural sculpture of Temple A, archaeological indications for the dates of construction and subsequent use of the buildings are scanty, while epigraphic evidence is altogether missing.

Temple B, consisting of three axially arranged rooms, appears to be the older of the two. Although there were traces of fire in the central hearth, no mention was made of bones. Only few objects were found, none of them necessarily votives. Significant, however, is the presence of a conically shaped stone at one end of the hearth, which has been interpreted as the base for a table or altar. In an arrangement akin to that of the Apollo temple at Dreros, the far northwest corner opposite the door contained a possible stone libation basin. As in the temple at Dreros, the presence of grindstones was noted, while the backroom contained the fragments of at least six pithoi.[1308]

[1304] See cat. entry B.31.

[1305] Xanthoudides (1918, 27-28) based the idea of combined functions of a Delphineion and archive on a HL inscription from Knossos which mentions the setting up of a treaty in the local Delphineion.

[1306] Kirsten (1940a, 132) proposed identification as temple for Apollo Delphinios or for Athena Poliouchos, who are both mentioned in the HL oath. Koehl (1997, 139) thinks of Aphrodite-Astarte because of the weapons and the female figurine.

[1307] See also D'Acunto 1995, 29; cat. entries B.14-15.

Its neighbour, Temple A, was most likely constructed during the 7th century BC. This building consists of only two rooms but is more monumental than Temple B. As discussed before, Carter has made a good case for identifying Temple A as andreion for Prinian aristocrats on the basis of its elaborate sculptural decoration. The main room produced animal bones and ash in abundance, as well as a few fragments of clay cauldrons and of bronze weaponry. Cult connections are indicated by the sculpture and perhaps also by the small bench against the south wall, but unambiguous votives are, as in Temple B, missing.[1309]

The juxtaposition and difference in construction date of these two buildings at Prinias have led to different opinions concerning the interrelationship between the two. Most commonly, a development from an earlier ruler's dwelling (Temple B) to the establishment of an independent temple or andreion (Temple A) which eclipsed part of the former's functions is assumed.[1310] Although this seems plausible, especially in the absence of unequivocal cult objects in Temple B, the option that the latter may have been a cult building *c.q.* prytaneion containing the communal hearth, should not be abandoned.[1311] Its location and freestanding position, the possible altar at the hearth and libation basin in the corner would fit such a function. The conical stone at the end of the hearth may have been a beatyl or 'omphalos', which in the Apollo temple at Delphi denoted the 'centre of the world'.[1312] Nor would the pithoi, on the analogy with the Apollo temple at the agora of Dreros, be out of place in a prytaneion.[1313] Moreover, the scenario of a transference of certain functions from Temple B to Temple A does not take into account the evidence for earlier sacrificial and/or dining activities at the site of Temple A, which perhaps go back to LM IIIB/C times. Judging from the two loose column bases found below the floor of Temple A, there may even have been an earlier building, whose chronological and functional relationship to Temple B has yet to be established.[1314]

[1308] See cat. entry B.14.

[1309] *Contra* Koehl (1997, 142 n. 58, with ref. to Pernier 1914, 26, 73), who maintains that 'among the fine, decorated wares from Temple A, only craters and cups were identified.' In fact, pottery described by Pernier came from *below* Temple A's floor and this also included pyxis fragments; decorated sherds from the Temple itself were, according to Pernier, too small to be determined. Nor is there any evidence or suggestion from Pernier (*contra* Koehl 1997, 140) that the short stone bench along Temple A's south wall was originally longer; see also Lebessi in the discussion following Koehl's paper (p. 148).

[1310] D'Acunto 1995, 27-28. Carter (1997, 91) considers both Temple A and B as dining halls. *Cf.* also the discussion in Kirsten 1940d, 1147.

[1311] Mazarakis Ainian (1997, 225-26, 305, 389) keeps the possibility open that Prinias B was initially a temple or prytaneion, associated with the sacrifices that took place in the area to the north before the erection of Temple A. By the 7th century BC, however, he believes B would have lost such a function.

A third EIA site that deserves to be discussed in this context—even though the existence of hearth temples is not attested—is Oaxos. Here, a large megalithic building (B.5) with similarities to the one on the West hill at Dreros, crowns the summit of the settlement hill. The building was only partially excavated and few specifics as to its date and function are known. The excavators reported a possible rock-cut altar, bones and carbon, some terracotta animal figurines and pithos sherds from the area in front of it. While these findings primarily suggest sacrificial practices, the concomitant discovery of the A inscription, discussed above, which refers to provisions for artisans in the andreion, adds the possibility that it served as a dining hall for hetereiai.[1315] The situation at Oaxos is not exactly paralleled by that at Dreros or Prinias, as no weaponry was associated with the building on the summit. Instead, a hoard of weapons was found lower down, on the shoulder of the hill. Besides the bronze weapons, there were contemporary deposits of hundreds of terracotta figurines and some architectural relief fragments. A nearby three-room building and altar probably belong to a much later period, but it is likely that this was the place of a second important sanctuary, albeit of unknown form.[1316]

[1312] Burkert 1972, 127.

[1313] Pithoi, of course, merely indicate (central) storage of any conceivable kind, without being exclusive for one type of institution, whether ruler's dwelling, prytaneion or andreion. Their repeated presence in the buildings under discussion here is, however, interesting.

[1314] *Contra* Mazarakis Ainian (1997, 226), who believes there were only hypaethral activities.

[1315] Kirsten (1937a, 1689) did not accept an identification as andreion, allegedly proposed earlier by Halbherr (Taramelli 1899, 312), but argued for a cult for Apollo (Pythios or Delphinios) or Zeus; his reasons for this are not clear, as the terracotta figurines referred to (Petroulakis 1915, 46 fig. 4:16) came from somewhere else.

On the basis of the sites discussed above, it may be suggested that in Crete, at least by the 7th century BC, a differentiation had taken place between public buildings serving as prytaneia and those with a function as dining hall for the daily meals of the male citizens. Although criteria to distinguish between the two are not easily defined, some may tentatively be proposed.

First, it should be emphasised that the freestanding and prominent position of EIA buildings, either on the very summit or in the saddle of the settlement hill, may indicate a common or public use, since the prevailing building style in Cretan EIA settlements is agglutinative.[1317]

Second, with regard to the possible EIA prytaneia, Guarducci's suggestion that these may have to be sought in hearth temples dedicated to Apollo should be accepted. A location near an open area or agora at a central place—not necessarily at the highest point of a settlement—may, as in the case of the later prytaneia, be a distinctive characteristic. Apart from the presence of the communal hearth, few generalisations can be made about the artefact inventory of these hearth temples. On the basis of the Apollo temple at Dreros and Temple B at Prinias, it appears that food remains may be more scarce in early prytaneia than in buildings serving as andreia. Substantial numbers of pithoi, as well as stone querns, were associated with both the Apollo temple at Dreros and Temple B at Prinias, although such objects cannot, at this point, be considered as exclusive for the prytaneion. The presence of storage vessels, however, may indicate the central intake of food and other goods.

Third, for the EIA buildings that may have served as andreia, a location on the very summit of the settlement hill may constitute a recurrent feature. Food remains, especially in the form of animal bones, may be more abundant than in prytaneia. While there is a recurrent association with Apollo for the early prytaneia, the only name mentioned in the ancient texts with relation to the Cretan andreia is Zeus. Although there should be room for regional and local variation, Zeus is indeed a likely candidate, also for the period of the EIA. Close bonds between the supreme god and hero-warriors are reflected in the Homeric epics.[1318] It may be relevant that the *Iliad* couples the mention of 'the peaks of Ida' as the site of sacrifice to Zeus with that of 'the uttermost part of the citadel' at Troy.[1319] Similarly, an altar for Zeus is known to have existed at the highest part of the Athenian Acropolis.[1320] Moreover, for EIA Crete a combination of the remains of (sacrificial) dining with deposits of bronze weaponry is also encountered in a number of extra-urban sanctuaries for which there can be little doubt that they were dedicated to Zeus, i.e. the Idaean cave (B.52), Palaikastro (B.69) and Amnisos (B.60). While Zeus may have played a leading role in ritual dining by aristocrats, additional mention should be made of the noted association of Cretan male aristocracy with a Potnia Theron.[1321] This association with a powerful nature goddess may be expressed in the sculptural decoration of Temple A at Prinias.

[1316] There is no reason to suppose this second sanctuary would have had functions similar to a prytaneion. Rather, as will be discussed in the next section, it displays characteristics of suburban sanctuaries like the one at the Acropolis of Gortyn. The example of Oaxos shows that some caution is required in interpreting deposits of weaponry in settlement contexts as trophies stored in andreia.

[1317] See also p. 442 n. 1200 in this section.

It has been proposed that both institutions—prytaneia and andreia—took over functions of, and therefore derived directly from the earlier 'Ruler's Dwelling'.[1322] Whether the origin of hearth temples is to be sought unilaterally in rulers' dwellings is, however, doubtful. While the relationship between cult and ritual dining in EIA hearth temples and that in rulers' dwellings in preceding periods is certainly meaningful, it is clear that other sources and traditions also contributed to the formation of what was essentially a new form of cult, developing in close relation to EIA aristocratic institutions. These sources and traditions stem from Crete itself as well as from areas abroad.

In respect to Cretan traditions, hearth temples display indigenous features that can be traced back to the LM III period. As noted for hearth temples serving as andreia, there may have been a meaningful connection with elevated places. At Prinias the custom of ritual dining at the highest part of the settlement may have begun in the LM IIIB/C period. Recent research at various defensible sites of the LM IIIC-

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[1318] E.g. *Il.* 2.98, 11.77-73; see also Van Wees 1992, 73 n. 33, 75, 142-46, 198.

[1319] *Il.* 22.171.

[1320] Burkert 1972, 136.

[1321] See section 4 in this chapter, p. 372-76, on the iconography of the Cretan shields.

[1322] E.g. Willetts 1955, 199; Mazarakis Ainian 1985, 44.

SM period seems to provide evidence of similar phenomena. At Arvi Fortetsa, Oreino Kastri, Kastellopoulo (Pefki) and Kypia bone fragments, fine drinking vessels and sometimes ash have been discovered in crevices at the rocky summits of the settlements, while at Thronos Kephala there was an impressive series of pits with similar refuse. Only at Oreino Kastri and Kalamafki there are substantial buildings close by.[1323] This may indicate that ritualised dining at the summit of the settlement originated in the last phase of the BA, without being unilaterally associated with a ruler's dwelling. The presence of dining debris in conspicuous spots in several defensible settlements suggests the possibility of regular gatherings in designated places other than the leader's house from an early period onward.

Links also existed between hearth temples and LM III bench sanctuaries. Several hearth temples, for instance Temple A at Prinias and Temple B at Kommos, were provided with benches. For the Apollo temple at Dreros, S. Marinatos already pointed out that the host of different cult objects which, instead of one large cult statue, were placed on the bench represented a survival of BA cult practice.[1324] The connection with LM III bench sanctuaries seems particularly close for EIA hearth temples serving as prytaneia. The location of these hearth temples within the EIA settlements displays distinct correspondences with those of the earlier bench sanctuaries. The juxtaposition of cult building and open area continues an arrangement known from LM III sites such as Ayia Triada (Plate 15) and Tylisos[1325] and Karphi (Plate 4). Likewise, it has been argued that the Minoan stepped 'theatral areas', such as the ones at Knossos, Phaistos and Mallia, were the precursor of the later agora.[1326] It is tempting to suggest that the similarities of hearth temples with the earlier bench sanctuaries represent, more than a casual borrowing, a conscious replacement and co-option of a previously dominant cult.

[1323] Nowicki 1990, 170, pl. 37b; *id.* 1994, 249-53, figs. 6-8; *id.* 1996, 264; Whitley, Prent & Thorne 1999, 238-42, fig.11; cat. entry A.1.

[1324] Marinatos (1936a, 234-36) referred specifically to the LM IIIB Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos. He called the use of such benches 'Minoan', but after the discovery of the LBA cult centre at Mycenae it is clear that the arrangement in the Apollo temple at Dreros also incorporates Mycenaean elements. See: Hägg 1984, 212.

[1325] Hayden 1981, 88, 151, 154.

[1326] MacDonald 1943, 1, 6-7, 13-18.

A recently excavated complex (Building Epsilon) at the summit of the LM IIIC-SM defensible settlement of Kephala Vasilikis (on the Ierapetra isthmus) may provide a 'missing link' in the development from bench sanctuaries to hearth temples as the dominant type of urban cult building. Building Epsilon consists of at least eight rooms, several of which will have had a ritual use. The lay-out and inventory of one these rooms closely resembles that of a typical LM III bench sanctuary—complete with GUA figures, snake tubes, *etc.* Other rooms seem to foreshadow the different functions of EIA hearth temples.[1327] These latter consist of Room 6, which forms the centre of the building, and Room 3 to the north. Room 6 (measuring 7.5 x 5 m) contains a clay hearth, flanked by two stone column bases on the short sides and a stone-lined pit in the northeast corner. Its back room (Room 7) yielded a number of broken pithoi. Room 3 (8. x 5 m) has benches along all walls, although some of these were clearly too narrow to have served as seats. The central feature of this room is a low, table-like stone construction with an unworked upright rock at one end. The excavator, suggests a function as altar and baetyl and draws a parallel with the omphalos at Delphi. The presence of animal bones has not been mentioned for any of the rooms. Pending further investigation of the site, it is difficult to interpret the exact function of Building Epsilon for the surrounding settlement. Although Eliopoulos refers to the building as a 'temple complex', he also considers the possibility that it combined its ritual functions with that of ruler's dwelling.[1328] Regardless of the answer, Building Epsilon is important in that it shows a clear separation of bench sanctuaries and hearth temple as well as the beginning of a fusion of their functions, by their incorporation in one building.

Despite the incorporation of traditional elements, it is clear that the EIA hearth temples represent new forms of cult that were to play a dominant and lasting role in the Cretan communities. The genesis of these cults appears to have been intricately linked with the articulation of a socio-political elite.[1329] The prominent position of the 8th- and 7th-century hearth temples within settlements, the types of associated objects (such as weapons and cauldrons in some of them) and the relative scarcity of votives of negligible intrinsic value seem to indicate the involvement of male aristocrats and a correspondingly exclusive character of the associated cult. Emphasis would have been on dining and sacrifice 'which by the sharing of food, the hospitality, and the commensality it occasioned, allowed the basileis regularly to bring into play and to strengthen the multiple networks of alliance, solidarity, and dependence which gave them authority over the inhabitants of the region.'[1330]

[1327] For the Room acting as a bench sanctuary and a fuller general description, see cat. entry A.16 and the discussion in Chapter Three, p. 194.

[1328] Eliopoulos 1998, 304-10, figs. 9-18. The incorporation of a bench sanctuary with GUA figures is paralleled at Karphi, albeit on a less grand scale; see Chapter Three, cat. entry A.9 and previous note.

[1329] As described in the introduction to this chapter, p. 212-13.

Seen in relation to the formation of an aristocratic elite, the presence of a number of non-Cretan elements in the cult associated with the hearth temples may be better understood. The adoption of foreign cult elements may be explained as part of the 'international orientation' of Cretan aristocrats in the late 9th and 8th century BC (and perhaps later). Their assimilation of foreign cultural elements, both from the Near East and Greece, is apparent from the different types of prestigious votives and other objects of foreign origin or style that were deposited in rich tombs and sanctuaries.[1331] Two aspects of the cults associated with the hearth temples deserve attention in this light: the practice of burnt animal sacrifice and the connection of the god Apollo with the hearth temples that may have served as prytaneia. The issue of the introduction of these new elements into the Aegean world, which is complex and disputed, has been studied in detail by Burkert. His conclusions are summarised here with special reference to the Cretan situation.

In the Aegean, there is some evidence for the practice of burnt animal sacrifice in the LBA. Small altars with traces of burning, ash and bones have been discovered in Mycenae and, more recently, burnt animal bones have been reported from ritual contexts in the Palace at Pylos and Ayios Konstantinos on Methana.[1332] In the Near East, however, altars for burnt offerings have a much longer and better-documented history. Considering the lack of evidence from the intervening centuries, the possibility therefore exists that the custom was reintroduced into the Aegean during the EIA. Burkert has suggested that it was transmitted via Cyprus, where it was adopted in the 12th century BC.[1333] When and how exactly the rite of burnt animal sacrifice found its way further westwards is not clear. Although it appears as a standard practice in the Homeric epics,[1334] in EIA Crete it may never have achieved the level of common practice. The recent excavations at Syme show that even in the 8th and 7th centuries BC evidence for the burning of parts of the sacrificial animals is missing. This despite the fact that large numbers of animals were killed and probably consumed.[1335] The possibility that burnt animal sacrifice, with its foreign connotations, was part of the rituals taking place in the Cretan hearth temples therefore underlines the exclusive or elite character of the associated cult.[1336] By adopting foreign and innovative cult practices, the participants boasted their external relations and distinguished themselves from other members of their community lacking such contacts.[1337]

[1330] De Polignac 1994, 12.

[1331] See section 4 in this chapter, p. 363-66.

[1332] Isaakidou *et al.* 2002; see also Yavis 1949, vi, 32, 41, 58, 87-88; N. Marinatos 1988; Bergquist 1988.

A combination of Aegean and Eastern elements has also been detected in the cult for Apollo. Although this god, judging from the number of known sanctuaries and his role in the Homeric epics and in early Greek colonisation, was amongst the most important deities of the Greek pantheon, he seems to have been a relatively late addition.[1338] Burkert has distinguished Minoan-Mycenaean, Greek and Eastern components and different periods of syncretism. The image of youthful god with bow, arrows and deer clearly derives from the so-called Reshep figurines, which were widespread in the Near East.[1339] While Phoenician votive inscriptions identify these images as 'Reshep Mkl', Greek-speaking people saw a connection with

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[1333] Burkert 1975a, 75-76. The complexity of the introduction of burnt sacrifice has led Burkert (1985, 51-53) to summarize developments as follows: 'the peculiar form of the Greek sacrificial ritual is of very great antiquity and post-Mycenaean at the same time, and not without connection to the East: the communal meat meal of men combined wit a burnt offering to the gods.'

[1334] Burkert 1975a, 75.

[1335] See cat. entry B.66.

[1336] A parallel may exist in the introduction of cremation at the transition from the LBA to the EIA. For comments on the possible parallelism between burnt animal sacrifice and cremation, with fire acting as a 'mediating force' between gods, men and animals: Burkert 1983a, 48-58; I.M. Morris 1995, 55-56.

[1337] See also the discussion in section 4 of this chapter, p. 363.

[1338] Apollo is not mentioned in any of the known Linear B tablets. See esp. Burkert 1975a, 72; *id.* 1975b; *id.* 1985, 144. Also: Nilsson 1941, 498; Graf 1979, 3.

[1339] See for further refs. section 4 in this chapter, p. 389-90.

Apollo and sometimes applied the epithet 'Amyklos', as a transcription of the Semitic 'Mukal'. Considered in the Near East as 'Lord of the arrows and the plague', Reshep's functions display obvious similarities with those of Apollo. A link with earlier Minoan-Mycenaean religion consists, according to Burkert, in the healing god Paiawon, known from a Linear B tablet from Knossos. The probable Minoan roots of the god are indicated by the non-Greek character of the name, while the metre of the paian (the type of song connected with his worship) also seems non-Greek.[1340] In Burkert's scenario, the Minoan-Mycenaean god Paiawon was syncretised with the Syrian Reshep (A)mukal in Cyprus at the end of the LBA. His cult, tied to the Reshep figurines, then spread to Crete and the Peloponnese, where a fusion with the Greek Apollo took place.[1341] For Crete, the time of full syncretism remains uncertain. The first mention of the Greek name Apollo is in inscriptions of 6th-century or later date.[1342] Paiawon still appears as an independent deity in the *Iliad* and in the works of Hesiod. The title of Paiawones, 'singers of paians', is applied to the Cretans who in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* established the cult at Delphi.[1343]

A site that may have been particularly relevant to both the formation of the cult of Apollo and the introduction of burnt animal sacrifice into Crete is the EIA sanctuary at Kommos. Here, the inclusion of a fixed hearth took place in a small cult building, Temple B, which also contained a tripillar shrine of Phoenician inspiration (Plate 65). Large quantities of bone fragments were associated with the hearth, indicating the temple's use for burnt sacrifice and dining.[1344] Although the excavator, J. Shaw, is careful not to assign the origin of the hearth and that of Temple B as a whole simplistically to 'the East', he implies some kind of Phoenician connection by comparing Temple B with Phoenician sanctuaries in which the sacrificial altar was usually placed in front of a baetyl.[1345] A link is further laid between the tripillar shrine and the cult triad of Apollo, Artemis and Lato, which in Crete is well-attested. In addition, Shaw has proposed an identification of Kommos as ancient Amyklai, mentioned as a harbour by Stephanus of Byzantium and as a place name or community in HL inscriptions from the western Mesara.[1346] Shaw's ideas are fully in line with those expressed by Burkert, as the latter also tends to consider Apollo, Amyklos, burnt sacrifice and the combination of temple and altar as part of the same cult complex, which may have reached a decisive form in 12th-century Cyprus. With regard to the recent archaeological evidence from SM-PG Kommos the question remains, of course, whether important elements of a Reshep-Mkl cult were then first introduced to Crete or whether earlier syncretism between Eastern and Aegean deities with comparable functions had already provided the needed base for shared worship of Cretans and foreigners in this sanctuary. In connection with the tripillar shrine in Temple B, the occurrence of baetyl-like stones in Cretan contexts of LM IIIC-SM date deserves mention. One example is the upright rock at the end of the stone-built feature in Room 3 of the LM IIIC-SM building complex at Kephala Vasilikis, discussed above. Other examples consist of two larger and clearly worked standing stones in Area 76 in Karphi.[1347] Aniconic worship focused at baetyls, with its long history in Cretan religion, may have been one of the common grounds that helped to facilitate religious syncretism at Kommos.

[1340] Burkert 1975a, 56-57, 68-70, 72. Also: Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 164-65; Huxley 1975, esp. 120-22.

[1341] Burkert 1975a, 73-74. Others believe that the cult of Apollo Amyklos may have been brought to Crete by settlers from Laconia; see Perlman 2000, 68-71; Sporn 2002, 182-83. See also J. Shaw 2000b, 713; M.C. Shaw 2000, 167.

[1342] *IC* IV, 3, 2a-c; Willetts 1962, 258.

[1343] Huxley 1975, 119-21; also Burkert 1975a, 72.

[1344] See cat. entry B.57.

[1345] J. Shaw 1989a, 183, n. 76.

The presence of a cult building with central hearth at Kommos may seem odd when compared to the situation in other EIA extra-urban sanctuaries, where cult buildings are missing and fire-places or ash-altars existed in the open air. Nearly all the other known Cretan hearth temples are located within settlements.[1348] Considering the functions of urban hearth temples as reconstructed above, it may be suggested that the use of Temple B at Kommos was likewise restricted to male aristocrats or citizens (as in andreia) or more likely, considering its small size, to only magistrates (as in prytaneia). The leading role of aristocratic men in the rituals at Kommos is spoken for by the types of votives, which include weapons, Oriental faience objects and a relatively large number of horse and chariot figurines. This means that the sanctuary at Kommos may have served as an official meeting place. Here, leading members from one or perhaps different communities in the Mesara may have met with people from overseas under the *aegis* of Apollo, in his capacity of supervisor of intercommunity relations. There are at least two settlements from which worshippers might have come to Kommos. Closest to Kommos, a settlement founded in LM IIIC and occupied into the G period has recently been detected in the hills bordering the Mesara plain to the south, above the modern village of Siva.[1349] On the other hand, it is important to point out the traditionally strong territorial links with Phaistos, a site which remained inhabited during the transition from the LBA into the EIA and developed into one of the largest and most powerful poleis of the Mesara.[1350]

[1346] J. Shaw 1978, 152-54; *id.* 1989a, 174; accepted by Cucuzza (1997b, 66-69), albeit on the basis of a different reading of the relevant passage. For the literary and epigraphical evidence: *IC* IV, 172; Willetts 1962, 260. For a further discussion of the location of 'Amykleion' see J. Shaw 2000b, 709-11. The presence at Kommos of HL inscriptions mentioning Zeus, Athena and perhaps Poseidon (see cat. entry B.57), do not preclude an identification as sanctuary for Apollo; see, for the combined worship of Apollo, Zeus and Athena: Graf 1979, 9.

[1347] See cat. entry A.8.

[1348] See also M.C. Shaw 1987, 373. Another example may be Sta Lenika; see cat. entry B.67.

It is most important to underline here Kommos' function as an 'international sanctuary' from early in the EIA onward. As argued by De Polignac, the existence of EIA 'international sanctuaries' may have had a regulating effect (whether intended or not), by which contact with foreigners was confined to certain people at certain places.[1351] This would give a partial answer to the question as to how the import and use of exotica and other foreign objects could be monopolised by an elite, as clearly happened in Crete in the period before the 7th century BC.[1352]

Kommos was to expand its function as a harbour-sanctuary in the following centuries. The period with archaeological evidence for regular contact with Phoenician tradesmen is succeeded, after *c.* 760 BC, by a period for which imports point to contact with many different areas in the Aegean as well as with Egypt. The Phoenician tripillar shrine inside the temple was covered up to accommodate a new hearth.[1353] Nevertheless, Kommos' function as a place where Cretans and non-Cretans could meet and exchange both goods and ideas, seems to have been preserved for several centuries.

[1349] Watrous *et al.* 1993, 229-30.

[1350] The issue of the relationship between Kommos and Phaistos will be explored more fully in section 8 of this chapter, p. 523-27.

[1351] De Polignac 1992, 122-23, 125.

[1352] See the discussion in section 4 of this chapter, p. 363-66.

In conclusion, whereas most Cretan EIA hearth temples, in contrast to the one at Kommos, were urban in location, it should be emphasised that within the EIA Cretan settlements no other types of sanctuary are known to have occupied an equally central position. Clearly, hearth temples provided a primary focus for the articulation of EIA socio-political groups and institutions. Despite their centrality the hearth temples were also exclusive, admitting only small and select companies. Religious rituals aimed at the integration of the community as a whole and involving larger segments of the population were more often designated a place near to, but outside the settlement. These are the suburban sanctuaries to be considered in the next section.

7. The Rise of the Suburban Sanctuaries: Rituals of Integration and the Articulation of Social Roles

Suburban sanctuaries form the largest groups of newly established cult places in EIA Crete. Perhaps as many as 24 of the total of 51 new sanctuary sites in this period deserve the predicate 'suburban', against 21 urban and six extra-urban ones.[1354] Known types of EIA suburban sanctuaries range from small open-air sites with few or no architectural remains to major sites with cult buildings at conspicuous places. The available information, however, does not always permit a precise evaluation of the location, form and the associated votive deposits of the sites here listed as suburban sanctuaries. The following discussion will therefore concentrate on the better-documented sites. The group most easily defined consists of six to nine sanctuaries characterised by large votive deposits and by their often conspicuous location close to the main settlement. These seem to have served large segments of the local population and may be labelled as 'major community sanctuaries'. Other suburban sanctuaries, of which there are some 13 examples, have more modest votive deposits and seem to be distinguished by less prominent settings. Although some of these cult places too seem firmly tied in with community cult, they probably served smaller groups of worshippers. Within this category of smaller suburban sanctuaries five to six are marked by their proximity to a water source or a cemetery.

[1353] Johnston 1993, 340-42; cat. entry B.57.

[1354] See also the introductions to parts 1 and 2 of Cat. B, p. 244-45, 311. Two of the EIA suburban sanctuaries were perhaps used in the LMIIIC-SM period: B.23 and B.29. New ones that are suburban: B.4, B.7, B.8, B.9, B.10, B.13. B.18, B.19, B.25, B.30, B.35, B.37, B.39, B.40, B.42, B.45, B.46, B.47, B.48; new and possibly suburban: B.6, B.26, B.34, B.41, B.43.

The proliferation of sanctuaries around EIA settlement centres and the concomitant differentiation in form and function accords well with the idea of a progressive spatial and cultic articulation of the territories belonging to the different incipient poleis.[1355] It is therefore appropriate to include in this section a discussion of the theories of De Polignac and to point out some of the differences in location and functions, particularly of the major community sanctuaries in Crete as opposed to those in other regions of the Greek world.

Major community sanctuaries at conspicuous locations

There are a number of suburban sanctuaries which occupy prominent positions in the landscape, usually on the summit or upper slope of a distinct hill, but which are never far away from a large settlement centre. Judging from their position and by the large and sometimes varied votive deposits, these sanctuaries must have attracted considerable numbers of worshippers and provided a primary focus for community cult activities. Despite the fact that available information on the extent and lay-out of the associated settlements is not always complete, the following six to nine sites may be included in this category of 'major community sanctuaries': the sanctuary lower down the Oaxos hill (B.6), the Acropolis at Gortyn (B.23), Kako Plaï on the Anavlochos range (B.30), the (not precisely known) site near Lato which yielded a large votive deposit (B.34), Vavelloi near Praisos (B.46) and, tentatively, the cult place at the Nisi ridge west of the main settlement at Eleutherna (B.4), Siteia (B.41), Anixi (B.42) and Lapsanari (B.43).

A striking feature of the votive assemblages from these suburban sanctuaries is the invariable presence of large quantities of anthropomorphic terracotta figurines, in particular mouldmade ones (see Tables 8-9). As discussed earlier in this chapter, EIA votives in terracotta tend to conform to established, traditional types and exhibit few signs of the amplification of social differences between dedicants. This would, for instance, be indicated by variations in size or costliness of votive objects, or by discernible attempts to dedicate unique and outstanding objects. On the contrary, for several series of mouldmade terracottas the continued use of old moulds, even when worn, has been noted.[1356] The scarcity of large bronzes in these sanctuaries underscores that here there was little room for 'ritualised competition' between wealthy aristocrats.[1357] It may therefore be argued that the presence of relatively homogeneous votive assemblages, together with the proximity of the respective find spots to large settlements, places the associated rituals in the context of community-based cult. This means rituals would have been embedded in local(-ised) religious custom and tradition, with emphasis on social integration instead of distinction and on a just division of societal roles.

[1355] See the introduction to this chapter, p. 218-26.

Most prominent in the assemblages from the suburban sanctuaries are mouldmade terracottas of standardised female types, nude and robed (Plates 20f-g, 21a, 33a-b, 54c), which are frequently accompanied by hand- and mouldmade figurines of young male warriors (Plates 34a, 54a) and more generic youths.[1358] These constitute relatively neutral images, with a potentially wide range of meaning, which may explain their widespread occurrence in sanctuaries dedicated to different deities. In the context of local community cults, however, their symbolic content is likely to have become more specific. Premises for the interpretation of the standardised mouldmade votives, such as those of the nude females, have been proposed by Böhm and others.[1359] Although it may well be that some EIA votives were indeed meant as specific representations of deity or votary, a substantial group seems to have had a more emblematic function: they are idealised representations, referring to a concern that would have been of importance to the dedicant and would have lain within the main sphere of influence of the associated deity. Thus, in the nude figurines, ubiquitous at the suburban sanctuaries under discussion here, an elementary concern with (young) female sexuality may be recognised. Their occurrence with the equally idealised depictions of young males—some of them nude, some of them wearing military gear—suggests that they were dedicated as part of cult activities in which the definition and reproduction of ideal, stereotypical female and male roles took on a particular relevance. To explore this latter issue further, it is necessary to consider some of the major Cretan suburban sanctuaries and their votive assemblages in greater detail.

[1356] See the discussion in section 4 of this chapter, p. 358.

[1357] For the concept of 'ritualised competition' and its manifestation in the dedication of large and precious bronze objects, see 'Sources and models for interpretation' in section 4 of this chapter, p. 355-57.

[1358] No warrior figurines have been reported from Oaxos (B.6), Krousonas (B.12), Anavlochos (B.30) or Siteia (B.41).

[1359] See the discussion on mouldmade votives in section 4 of this chapter, p. 408-11.

The richest and most varied suburban votive assemblage—and one of the few that has been published in detail—is from the sanctuary at the Acropolis of Gortyn (B.23). The main classes of votives consist of anthropomorphic figures and figurines (including young warriors and females of the types noted above), terracotta models of helmets and shields, terracotta tubes and stands (perhaps for offering bowls), multiple vases or kernoi, terracotta bovine, equine and bird figurines and large equine figures, and, in bronze, miniature tripods and armour, fibulae and pins (Plates 33-36). One of the excavators, Rizza, saw in these votives a preoccupation with a broad range of concerns from 'the forces of nature, the mystery of procreation and the forces of war'. Others have taken the diversity of votives at Gortyn as a sign that different deities were worshipped, or one who, in the style of BA 'great goddesses', had a multitude of separate functions.[1360] Less attention has been paid to the nature of the rituals that would have been practised or to the identity of the worshippers. As a result, a function that seems basic to the cult of the Acropolis, i.e. the definition and integration of different social groups, has been overlooked.

Prior to an attempt to gain more insight into rituals and cult participants at the Acropolis of Gortyn, it should be noted that the sanctuary was in use for an extended period of time: from the PG (or even LM IIIC-SM) to the O period and later.[1361] It is likely that there were shifts of emphasis or even considerable changes in cult practice in the course of these centuries. Some of the clearest changes in the life of the sanctuary are marked by enhanced building operations. First, in the 8th century BC, a terrace was laid out on the steep slope above the Mitropolianos gorge (Plate 28). Then, in the succeeding 7th century, the sanctuary area was truly monumentalised. A second, well-built terrace wall (with 'checkerboard masonry') and a large platform or altar (2.2 x 13 m) were built in the area above the first terrace, while at the summit of the hill an ashlar temple with elaborate sculptural decoration was erected (Plates 29, 31). The employment of alabaster slabs in both temple and altar suggests one building program. Significantly enough, monumentalising happened in roughly the same period as the abandonment of the EIA settlements on the Acropolis itself and on the hill on the other side of the Mitropolianos gorge.[1362] With this move of population, probably to the plain below, the sanctuary on the Acropolis evolved into a suburban complex.

[1360] E.g. Levi 1956, 300, 306-07.

[1361] The problems of relating the earliest figurines (of LM IIIC-SM date) to the sanctuary are more fully discussed in cat. entry B.23.

Both the 8th- and 7th- century building activities appear to have coincided with changes in votive types. Unfortunately, not all votive objects from the sanctuary are closely datable and only some broader developments can be sketched. It is particularly difficult to assign precise dates to the handmade figurines, but it probably has to be assumed that they were dedicated throughout the PG to O periods.[1363] The miniature bronzes and imitation weaponry in terracotta—objects strongly associated with male aristocrats[1364]—enter the scene in the 8th century BC, the time of the construction of the first terrace; they continue to be dedicated in the 7th century BC. Changes in votives in the 7th century BC are most pronounced. The monumentalisation of the sanctuary and its transformation into a suburban cult place seem to have been accompanied by a general increase in the number of votives and by the addition to the votive repertoire of several new kinds of terracotta objects. Amongst these are the mouldmade terracottas of anthropomorphic form. At the same time, 7th-century votives show an elaboration of iconography relevant to both deity and worshippers. As to the worshippers, the mouldmade figurines and plaques, even if not actually portraying votaries, clearly reflect their (desired) status and express concerns that were supposed to fall within the sphere of influence of the deity. There is an emphasis on martial qualities for young men and on sexuality and beauty for young women.

[1362] The abandonment, which according to the most recent archaeological evidence took place in the late 8th or early 7th century BC, may have followed on an earthquake; see Allegro 1991, 327, 329-30.

[1363] This corresponds to the date range of the pottery associated with the altar; see esp. Levi 1955-56, 227-31, figs. 15-24.

[1364] See, on the association of weaponry with male aristocrats, the discussion of 'Metal cult equipment and votives' in section 4 of this chapter, esp. the sections on shields, cauldrons and associated stands, and armour, p. 368-88.

One of the few scholars who have addressed the issue of the nature of the rituals at the sanctuary at the Acropolis of Gortyn is Cassimatis. She has noted an absence of female terracottas referring to pregnancy, childbirth or kourotrophism and argues that an important part of the rituals must have centred on young, unmarried women. While a scarcity of explicit kourotrophic images is a general phenomenon in EIA Crete,[1365] her idea is valid and supported by other representations. Cassimatis points, for instance, to the presence of an atypical series of mouldmade plaques depicting a fully dressed, younger girl—the breasts hardly indicated and with a low stephane instead of the more usual polos (Plate 33e).[1366] In a later paper, she explicitly calls the sanctuary at the Acropolis of Gortyn a place of initiation for both female and male adolescents: for girls the rituals would have marked the transition to puberty and for boys the moment that they were allowed to bear arms.[1367] Attention is thereby also drawn to the initiation rites of Cretan girls, which in contrast to the ephebic rites for young men, are less well documented in the literary sources.[1368] However, the question as to which age groups would be involved and what form the initiation rites would have assumed deserves further exploration.

As for Crete, the literary sources on the subject are limited. For male initiation practices there is the description by Ephorus in the 4th century BC. His account, as preserved by Strabo, focuses on the education of aristocratic male adolescents and on the rituals that effected their graduation into citizenship.[1369] Adolescent boys, probably at the age of 17 or 18,[1370] were grouped in *agelai* (herds), which were put together by the most influential among them. Directed by an older man, usually the father of the organising boy, they were prepared for their future role as male citizens. According to Ephorus, the boys were trained in hunting, running, archery and battle, as well as in war dances, Cretan songs and 'letters'. The period of adolescent education ended with an elaborate ritual—described by Strabo as 'a peculiar custom in regard to love affairs'. With the consent of the agela, a boy outstanding in manliness and proper conduct was 'abducted' by an adult male, who was to be his lover. After a mock pursuit, which ended at the andreion, and the presentation of gifts, the boy, agela and abductor would retreat to the countryside for two months, a period which would be spent hunting and feasting. Upon return, the chosen boy (who now was *kleinos*, famous) would be given more presents by his lover and by his friends. Customary among these presents were a military outfit, an ox and a drinking vessel.[1371] The ritual may have happened at an age of approximately twenty, after which the initiate was called a *dromeus* or 'runner'. This term refers to the completed athletic training and the right of access of citizens to the stadium (the dromos) and it is used independently as an equivalent of 'citizen' in a number of Cretan inscriptions.[1372]

[1365] See the discussion on mouldmade plaques and figurines in section 4 of this chapter, p. 413.

[1366] Cassimatis 1982, 450-51, 461-62. For the plaque: Rizza & Scrinari 1968, 176, pl. XXVI (no. 167).

[1367] Cassimatis 1990. Her earlier proposal (Cassimatis 1982, 461) to see these girls as priestesses may therefore be replaced by an identification as initiates or votaries.

[1368] Burkert 1966, 13; Dowden 1989, 24; Calame 1997, 259. For a critical overview of studies concerning ancient Greek initiation: Versnel 1990, esp. 46-59; *id.* 1993, 51 n. 98. Recent monographs on ancient Greek initiation rites for girls include: Calame 1977 and 1997; Brulé 1987; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988b; Specht 1989.

It is not clear how widespread or general the custom described by Ephorus was in Crete. Perhaps it applied only to an elite segment of the male aristocracy or to certain cities.[1373] A different ritual connected with male initiation into citizenship is attested by an independent literary tradition and additional epigraphic evidence. This ritual, unlike the one described by Ephorus, centres on a temple and may therefore be more relevant to the present discussion. The HL author Nikander tells the myth of the daughter of Galateia and Lambros from Phaistos, who changed into a boy when she reached puberty. The metamorphosis took place in the temple of Lato Phytia after prayers of the mother. She, fearing the anger of her husband, had kept the real gender of the child secret from the moment of birth and had raised her as a boy under the name Leukippos. The miraculous transformation of the girl was celebrated in Phaistos during the festival of the *Ekdysia*. Leitao and others suggest that the associated ritual may have involved an act of initiatory transvestism. In analogy to Leukippos, who in the myth is said to have cast off his feminine peplos, the Phaistian boys may actually have been wearing girls' robes which were to be taken off as part of the ritual that marked their transition into puberty.[1374] Alternatively, the clothes that were removed may have been associated with a younger male age group and may for that reason have had girlish connotations.[1375] The changing of clothes or robes is a recurrent theme in initiation. Inscriptions from other Cretan cities testify to celebrations of similar festivals in which old garments were laid aside for new ones, usually, it seems, in relation to the taking of the civic oath by novice citizens. Besides the more frequently encountered Ekdysia, there was a 'Festival of Donning' (*Periblemaia*) at Lyttos, while for Lato and Olous the use of the term 'stripping off' (*ekdramein*) is epigraphically attested.[1376] In both cases, symbolic reference is made to the civic privileges which the initiand was about to assume: whereas 'donning' may be interpreted as the dressing of the warrior in full military gear, 'stripping off' would reveal the young man in athletic nudity, thereby referring to his right to bear arms and his right of access to the stadium. In the well-known HL oath from Dreros, the novice citizens are called *azostoi* and *panazostoi*, terms that may mean

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[1369] Strabo 10.4.16, 20-21. See also section 6 in this chapter, p. 455.

[1370] This age is mentioned in a gloss in Hesychius; see Guarducci in *IC* IV, 150; Jeanmaire 1939, 423-26; Willetts 1955, 7, 14, 16.

[1371] The term used in Strabo 10.4.21 is *poterion*, which is best translated as 'drinking vessel'; Sergent (1986, 16-17), with the help of cross-references in other ancient texts, reconstructs a deep type of cup, with raised foot and sides that curve inward.

[1372] The term apodromos was used for minors who were excluded from the public athletic exercises; see Willetts 1955, 11-12; *id.* 1977, 184; Capdeville 1995, 202-03. Leitao (1995, 145) thinks the age of entering the agela may have been lesser in pre-CL times.

[1373] Sergent 1986, 26-27; Lavrencic 1988, 150; Capdeville 1995, 198-99. For the more general idea that full initiation was the prerequisite of an elite: Burkert 1966, 20; Bremmer 1984, 121.

[1374] The myth is preserved in the works of the 2nd century AD author Antoninus Liberalis; see esp. Leitao 1995, 130-33; also Jeanmaire 1939, 442; Willetts 1962, 175-76; Brelich 1969, 202; Dowden 1989, 65.

[1375] Willetts 1955, 120; Burkert 1985, 261.

[1376] For inscriptions from Oaxos, Lyttos, Dreros and Malla (not Mallia); see Burkert 1985, 261-62; Capdeville 1995, 203-04; Leitao 1995,131-32.

'nude', 'unarmoured' or perhaps 'lightly armed'.[1377] In ceremonies elsewhere, the two civic 'costumes' of nudity and armour were sometimes combined, as in the pyrrhic dances performed during the Panathenaia in Athens.[1378]

For younger boys, Ephorus reports that their fathers took them to the andreia and it is clear that this marked the initial phase of their education. The boys were dressed in simple clothes, took their meals sitting on the floor and waited on their seniors, while listening to the political debates, stories and legends told by the men. Supervised by the *paidonomos*, the boys would engage in fights with contemporaries.[1379] Ephorus does not, however, specify the boys' age. The 5th-century Law Code from Gortyn employs the terms *hebion* and *hebionsa/horima* to distinguish male and female adolescents respectively from younger children, who are called *anhoros* or *anhebios*. Willetts argues that the transition to hebion/hebionsa coincided with physiological puberty for both sexes and would have taken place at an age of *c.* twelve.[1380] Although it is possible that ritual festivities accompanied this transition, it is not certain that this age also marked the boys' introduction to the andreion. Willetts thinks this may have happened earlier, at the age of seven. In Sparta, aristocratic youngsters also began their *agoge* at this age.[1381]

With regard to the initiation of Cretan girls, the only available literary evidence consists of a remark by Ephorus on the collective marriage of the new Cretan citizens at the moment their agela was dissolved. This suggests a large, communal ceremony, which probably coincided with an important religious feast.[1382] Ephorus maintains that the newly-weds did not begin living together until the wives were actually able to run the household, thus implying a young age for the initial marriage vows.[1383] The Gortyn Law Code states that girls could marry at the age of twelve, but it is not clear if this constituted an exceptional minimum or a common practice.[1384] While several ancient authors, among them Hesiod, Plato and Aristotle, pleaded for marriage at an age of sixteen or even twenty-one, Brulé concludes on the basis of juridical texts from various parts of the ancient Greek world, that a marriage age of fourteen was standard for girls. Compared to the proposed age of twenty for boys to become a *dromeus*, adolescence and its fulfilment in marriage seems to have occurred considerably earlier for girls.[1385] This implies a certain divergence of education and initiation trajectories for the two sexes.

[1377] For the inscription, see also cat. entry B.31-32. For the meaning of the term: Jeanmaire 1939, 442; Willetts 1955, 119-20; Bile 1988, 344; Bremmer 1994, 44, n. 51; Leitao 1995, 133-34. For the interpretation 'lightly armed': Vidal-Naquet 1986, 147.

[1378] Leitao 1995, 134.

[1379] Strabo 10.4.20.

[1380] Willetts 1955, 7-8, 10; *id.* 1962, 47; *id.* 1977, 184; Bile 1988, 343-44.

[1381] Willetts 1955, 14. For the Spartan system: Burkert 1985, 262; also Jeanmaire 1939, 499-512; Willetts 1962, 45-46; Calame 1997, 214-15, 226-27.

[1382] Strabo 10.4.16, 20.

[1383] Strabo 10.4.20; see also Burkert 1985, 262; Sergent 1986, 36.

Insight into the initiation practices for Cretan girls may be enhanced by a brief discussion of the more general, recurring elements of initiation practices elsewhere in the Greek world. What is known about ancient Greek education and initiation practices for girls outside Crete indicates that the process, as for the boys, began several years before physiological puberty, at the age of six or seven.[1386] Female education was largely determined by the preparation for future life as wife and mother.[1387] As with the boys, girls were organised in age groups, which, as shown in a comprehensive study by Calame, often took the form of choruses for a specific cult. Like the Cretan agelai, girls' choruses were led by one of their peers together with a (female) adult. The first was usually a slightly older or more mature girl, who excelled in qualities associated with female *arete*: beauty, domestic capabilities and 'self-control' (*sophrosune*).[1388] While it is not possible to reconstruct exact age limits for the different kinds of choruses, Calame distinguishes three broad categories: *paides* (a term which may refer to children and adolescents), *parthenoi* (unmarried adolescent girls; equivalent terms being those of *korai*, *neanides* and *nymphai*) and *gynaikes* (married women).[1389] The status of the chorus members tended to correspond to the sphere of influence and the characteristics of the deity. Goddesses most frequently encountered in the context of initiation practices for unmarried adolescent girls are Artemis and Athena, while Hera and Aphrodite are often associated with young women at the threshold to marriage.[1390]

[1384] Boys were also legally allowed to marry while still *hebion*, although the ideal seems to have been to undergo the full initiation as described by Ephorus; see Willetts 1955, 7-8.

[1385] This is partially corroborated by later Greek medical texts; see esp. Brulé 1987, 361-65, 402-06; also Sourvinou-Inwood 1988b, 26-28.

[1386] This age seems to have denoted the end of infancy; see e.g. Brulé 1987, 8, 98, 406. At Sparta, girls and boys left the parental home at the age of seven to begin their education; see Calame 1997, 235, 262.

[1387] Hence the often-quoted statement by Vernant (1980, 23) that 'marriage is to a girl what war is to a boy'; see e.g. Lloyd-Jones 1983, 99; Brulé 1987, 401.

[1388] The latter term has many connotations, among them, as listed by Brulé (1987, 342), modesty, prudence, chastity, discretion *etc.*; see also Specht 1989, 92-99; Calame 1997, 232, 259, 262.

In the choruses, girls learnt song and dance, which they were to perform during religious festivals. By learning poetry, legend and myth, girls became fully acquainted with the history, traditions and norms and values of their community. Although there are variations between the educational systems of different Greek poleis, the embedding of girls' education in music and dance appears to have been a common feature.[1391] In addition, attention would be paid to physical training, often in the form of footraces,[1392] to basic female skills such as spinning, weaving and corn grinding and, no less importantly, to sexuality.[1393] In some cases, the girls engaged in a period of temple service, which could last as long as nine months. Such periods of temple service display all features of a classic initiation ritual, with consecutive phases of separation, marginality and reintegration in society.[1394] Well-documented examples consist of the service of young Athenian girls as '*arrhephoroi*' in the temple of Athena on the Acropolis of Athens, and as '*arktoi*' ('she-bears') in the sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron [1395]

Returning to the sanctuary at the Acropolis of Gortyn, an attempt may now be made to interpret the iconography of the temple sculpture and certain groups of votives—in particular those belonging to the 7th-century phase of use—in the light of initiation rites of the kinds discussed above. While doing this, it should be reiterated that there is no reason to assume that initiation rites, important though they must have been, account for all votive activities at the site. They may, however, provide a certain unifying principle underlying the apparent diversity of votives and promises insight into the role of sanctuaries of the kind as Gortyn in the articulation of different social groups and their integration in the developing Cretan poleis.

[1389] Calame 1997, 26-30; see also Sourvinou-Inwood 1988b, 26; Dowden 1989, 2-3. Brulé (1987, 7) also concludes that a more precise subdivision is not possible.

[1390] Calame 1997, 90-100, 113-37; see also Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 419-28.

[1391] Calame 1997, esp. 221-22, 231, 237-38, 258.

[1392] In the Spartan system, where there was great emphasis on physical training, girls were even allowed access to the stadium. The importance of running for girls also found expression in, for instance, the footraces held during the festival of Hera at Olympia; see Calame 1997, 235-36.

[1393] Burkert 1966, 13-14; *id.* 1985, 260; Versnel 1993, 51. As with the boys, this may have involved homoeroticism; see Calame 1997, 260.

[1394] Burkert 1966; *id.* 1972, 150-52; *id.* 1985, 98, 228-29, 260; Brulé 1987, 79-105; Seaford 1988, 121-22.

[1395] See esp. Burkert 1966, 1-6, 9-12; *id.* 1972, 150; *id.* 1983a, 150-54; *id.* 1985, 98, 228-29; Brulé 1987, 79-105.

Interpretation of the sculpture and votive assemblage at Gortyn is helped by the occurrence, aside from the more generic types of nude and robed female and young male figurines, of types of votives that display a more singular iconography and which may have been made with the specific ritual in mind. As said before, the representations of the young females suggest emphasis on sexual attractiveness and beauty, something which may not only be reflected by the nudity of some of them, but also by the elaborately decorated garments of others (Plate 33). This suggests that an important part of the rites at the Acropolis of Gortyn were aimed at *parthenoi* or at girls who, as Cassimatis has suggested, were about to reach this status. The presence of the plaques showing young girls with emergent breasts indeed suggests participation of girls entering adolescence.[1396] If Cassimatis is correct, this could mean that the choice of the images of well-developed young females reflected a *desired* or expected state of sexual attractiveness. Examples from elsewhere suggest that allusions to sexuality and cultic nudity did not need to be confined to the last stages of female education or to rites surrounding actual marriage. Such elements sometimes appear in the early stages of initiation, when they seem to prefigure or foreshadow aspects of the future life and role of the girls. The closest parallel in that respect is perhaps with the *arkteia*, in which young girls were prepared for the onset of puberty. At one stage, the girls take off their special robes to reveal their nakedness. Here, the assumption of cultic nudity signified the reaching of the desired status of marriageable girl rather then its completion.[1397] Alternatively, it may be proposed that the sanctuary at the Acropolis at Gortyn was used for various initiation rituals, involving different age groups.

[1396] On the analogy of rituals elsewhere, in which pre-adolescent girls learnt and demonstrated their competence in such typically female tasks as the grinding of grain or the making of bread, it may be proposed that the flat round objects they carry on their heads represent sacrificial breads or cakes.

[1397] Sourvinou-Inwood 1988b, 64, 123, 127; see also Brelich 1969, 72 n. 60, 202; Guettel Cole 1984, 239-42.

The votive deposit from Gortyn also includes plaques with representations of niche-like structures or 'naiskoi' (Plate 33c), which often contain multiple images of dressed and nude women and which may be taken to signify a structure or building associated with the sanctuary. Perhaps, as elsewhere, a period of temple service formed part of the initiation rites for the girls at Gortyn.[1398] The suburban location of the 7th-century sanctuary and its lofty setting made it an appropriate place to spend some time in relative isolation. With the Acropolis' wide view over much of the plain, a visible link with the city below was, however, retained.

The role of male cult participants at the Acropolis of Gortyn is primarily attested by the terracotta plaques and figurines of warriors, the (less frequent) figurines of nude young men and the miniature tripod-cauldrons and weaponry which occur in both bronze and terracotta (Plate 34). The figurines of warriors and of nude young men concur with the descriptions of initiation rites in the Cretan written sources: both the assumption of weaponry and of 'athletic nudity' were part of the rituals marking the transition to adulthood and citizenship.[1399] Cassimatis believed that the male rites at the Acropolis were concerned with the coming of age of young warriors and reflected their right to bear arms. It also seems possible, however, that male rites at the Acropolis of Gortyn marked the beginning of the young aristocrats' final stage of education, and admission to the *agela*.[1400] Significant in this respect may be the dedication of tripod-cauldrons and weaponry in miniature form and the lack of full-scale objects of these kinds, the latter being most closely connected with mature, established warriors. The terracotta effigies of warriors and nude young men, like those of the nude females, may have prefigured a desired status and qualities that were to be acquired in the near future. It is worth mentioning in this context that there also is a plaque with two young nude males flanking a lyre.

[1398] Cassimatis (1982, 461) may have had something similar in mind when she suggested these plaques depicted priestesses.

[1399] See above, p. 486.

[1400] As a parallel, in Athens the sacrifice of the *koureion*, during the Apatouria, also marked the beginning of the ephebia; see Guettel Cole 1984, 243; Vidal-Naquet 1986, 107-11.

The playing of music and the reciting of myths, in Crete as elsewhere, formed an important element of education.[1401]

It was not unusual for rites for young males and females to be combined in one festival. The fact that boys and girls would eventually become husbands and wives also determined part of their earlier education and they may have been regularly brought into association during other rituals as well.[1402] Male and female initiation rites often follow the same calendrical pattern. There are numerous examples of sanctuaries which served both girls and boys in this respect, including the Artemis sanctuary at Brauron, that of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, the sanctuary of Hera Akraia at Corinth and perhaps Delos.[1403]

References to direct interaction between males and females at Gortyn consist of a fragmentary, painted plaque which depicts a female, turned sideways, and the outstretched hand of a second figure who nearly touches her chin. Although the scene has been labelled a *hieros gamos,*[1404] it may be safer to consider it in less specific terms as a 'courting scene'.[1405] Of interest is also the representation of the striding young male with his arms around two rigid, frontally depicted nude women on one of the limestone reliefs from the 7th-century cult building at the summit of the Acropolis (Plate 31). The representation does not qualify as a scene of 'erotic pursuit'—a theme well-known from Classical Greek iconography, which refers to a form of ritualised abduction, often by chariot, which is to end in marriage[1406]—as it misses references to the chasing or taking away of the girl. Nevertheless, a distinct male claim to female sexuality seems to be expressed.[1407]

The goddess who presided over the rituals at the Acropolis of Gortyn was depicted in different ways. In the 7th century BC an image of the goddess as warrior was articulated, as shown most explicitly by the terracotta Palladion figure (Plate 32). This accords well with the martial character of part of the votives and with possible broader capacities of the goddess as protector of the community.[1408] More specifically, the warrior image may have given young male initiands a means of identifying with the deity. A second image is that of the goddess as a robed, seated female without further attributes. It is chiefly represented by the large limestone statue that was found near the altar (Plate 30). This must have been one of the most powerful images in the sanctuary; among the votives are a few terracotta figurines of the same shape.[1409] Otherwise, the votive assemblage form Gortyn shows a tendency to conceive of the goddess as a Potnia Theron, who exerted unrestricted power over all sorts of creatures. This is apparent from the terracotta plaques of Potnia Theron with birds, horses and lions and from the numerous plaques which show 'daemons', griffins, sphinxes, felines, horses and exotic floral motifs (Plate 35). It is true that the concept of an all-encompassing nature goddess goes back to the BA, but this is not to say that her presence at the EIA sanctuary of Gortyn merely constitutes a relic of earlier times. Here, in the context of initiation rites for the young members of community, the image of a goddess reigning over wild nature may have assumed a new and more specific meaning. The idea that children and adolescents were like wild animals that had to be tamed was widespread in the ancient Greek world. It is, for instance, expressed in the designation of the Athenian girls doing their temple service in Brauron as 'she-bears'.[1410] The metaphor of the taming of animals is used for both girls and boys in ancient Greek language and literature. In myth, for instance, there are references to the turning of young men into wolves.[1411] Other examples refer to the world of animal husbandry, as in the repeatedly used image of the yoking of cattle and the breaking in of mares. In Crete, the term *agela*, for the 'herds' of adolescent boys, has connotations with the leading by hand of individual horses and with the leading of herds of horses or droves of cattle.[1412] For girls, the earliest use of the metaphor of horse taming is by Homer, who applied it to the loss of virginity on the wedding night.[1413] A recurrent motif in later myths is that of adolescent girls roaming the countryside as wild animals – an episode commonly associated with Artemis. Their 'frenzied roaming' supposedly went hand in hand with all kinds of indecent behaviour.[1414] Examples include the stories of Io and the daughters of king Proitos, who were driven away from home by an enraged Hera and then began to behave as if they were 'mad cows'.[1415] The names of the maidens in such initiation myths regularly contain the element 'hippo' ('horse'), such as those of the daughters of Proitos, Lysippe and Hipponoe,[1416] and those of Leukippos from Phaistos. Interestingly enough, this and many of the other attested stories end with the bringing back of the stray girls by men, who thereby reestablish order in the polis. According to Hesiod, the hero Bias, who is accordingly described as 'tamer of horses', brought the daughters of Proitos back from the mountains.[1417] In another version of the myth Melampous, with a band of youths, rounds up the girls and than becomes king by marrying one of them.[1418]

[1401] The learning of 'Cretan songs' is mentioned by Ephorus (Strabo 10.4.16, 20-21).

[1402] Dowden 1989, 200-01.

[1403] At the latter site this is suspected because of the combined cult for Apollo and Artemis, both deities with strongly articulated initiatory functions; see Lloyd-Jones 1983, 100; Dowden 1989, 33-34.

[1404] Avagianou (1991, 83 no.11). For the plaque: Levi 1955-56, 272, pl. Ia.

[1405] See section 4 of this chapter, p. 412-13.

[1406] Sourvinou-Inwood 1973; *id.* 1987, 139.

[1407] See previous note.

[1408] See the discussion in section 5 of this chapter, p. 438-40.

[1409] See Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 156 (no. 7), pls. II-III, 180, 187 (nos. 203, 255-56), pls. XXXI, XXXVII.

[1410] Sourvinou-Inwood 1988b, 111-12, 128-34; *id.* 1987, 137-38, 145. See on the 'wild ephebe' especially: Vidal-Naquet 1986, 120. Also: King 1983, 110-11.

[1411] Burkert 1972, 87-89.

The capacities of the goddess of Gortyn as Potnia Theron may have been transferred and particularised to such similarly specific denotations. Similarly, the symbolic value of the terracotta horse figures found at the Acropolis may have gone beyond that of animals with a decided aristocratic flavour. This also means that there was more than a simple, unfiltered borrowing of iconography from the Near East. Although the image of a warrior goddess associated with horses surely derives from there, its adoption at Gortyn apparently served very specific purposes.

It may be clear that the lack of uniformity in the iconography of divine representations and other votive objects at the Acropolis of Gortyn is not necessarily a sign of the worship of multiple deities.

[1412] Chantraine 1958, 88ff.; Calame 1997, 44,118, 215; see also Seaford 1988, 119, 123.

[1413] Calame 1997, 239 (with further refs.).

[1414] Burkert 1972, 168-69; King 1983, esp. 110-11; Versnel 1993, 278-79, ns. 168-89 (with further refs.).

[1415] See e.g. Burkert 1972, 168-69; Seaford 1988, 119-20, 123.

[1416] Calame 1997, 242.

[1417] Calame 1997, 118 n. 88, 242 (with ref. to Hes. Fr. 37.13 MW).

[1418] Apollod. 2.29; see esp. Burkert 1972, 171-73; Dowden 1989, 200.

The suggestion by Rizza, that the goddess was many-sided and exercised different functions may be maintained, but not without acknowledging some kind of unifying principle that structurally links these different functions, i.e. that of general protector of the community. This was expressed in a special emphasis on the education the young members who were seen as both the basis of future generations of citizens and as the defenders of the community in case of military threat. In these respects, there are both similarities and differences with the later, CL cult for Athena. While the qualities of warrior and educator of the young foreshadow those of the canonical Athena, the iconographic emphasis on the control or mastering of wild nature does not. Significant seems also the presence at Gortyn of the considerable number of terracotta stands, possibly for offering bowls, and of elaborate kernoi—ritual vessels which were probably used for vegetal or first-fruit offerings.[1419] Although first-fruit offerings are not unfamiliar in the context of sanctuaries that simultaneously served for initiation rituals,[1420] at the Acropolis of Gortyn agricultural concerns may more simply tie in with the goddess' general capacity as protector of the community and with her assumed control over nature. Notably lacking at Gortyn are references to spinning and weaving, occupations typically associated with Athena. Again, it should be emphasised that full syncretism of the goddess venerated at Gortyn with Athena may not have happened until the CL period.[1421]

Compared to the Acropolis at Gortyn, significantly less information is available for the other suburban cult places that have been grouped here under the heading of 'major community sanctuaries'. What they have in common is the presence of large numbers—often literally running into the hundreds—of terracottas of female form, often in combination with figurines of young male warriors and more generic youths. A major problem is, however, the rudimentary state of publication of many of these sanctuaries, in which only the more common types of associated votives are depicted or just described.

[1419] See esp. Xanthoudides 1905-06; Gesell 1985, *passim.*

[1420] An example is Delos, where, according to the etiological myth, the Hyperborean maidens instituted the custom of offering first fruits during the spring festival. Calame (1997, 105, 107-09) seeks a conceptual link between such offerings and initiation in the shared renewal and the idea of 'propitiation before the plants come into flower'; see also Nilsson 1906, 147-48; Farnell 1907a, 287-91.

[1421] See section 5 in this chapter, p. 438-40.

This is unfortunate, because a more detailed interpretation of their function is to a large extent dependent on the iconography of smaller groups of the less common, but presumably more cult-specific votives. Discussion will therefore be limited to three more examples, Oaxos in west Crete and Praisos and Siteia in the far east. The state of publication of the last two sites is not necessarily better, but at least they have provided evidence for the dedication of more specific types of votives. Moreover, they widen the discussion to include not just the central but also the western and eastern regions of the island.

The EIA votive deposit from Oaxos, associated with a sanctuary lower down the settlement hill (B.6, Plates 18-21), is one of the few that has been published in final form. However, the architectural form of the sanctuary during the EIA has not been ascertained and little is known about the extent and layout of the settlement in this period. The fact that there appears to have been a public area at the summit of the hill may indicate that this was the settlement centre and that the sanctuary lower down the slope was situated near its edge, having a suburban position.

Evidence for cult activities in the area lower down the hill consists of four separately buried deposits of terracotta votives, which range in date from the PG or G to the HL period, and three deposits of late 7th-century bronze armour. The armour is remarkable for its figurative decoration and includes several items with winged horses, as well as the well-known mitra with a female warrior rising from a tripod (Plate 19).[1422] The majority of terracottas are anthropomorphic in form (Plates 20-21). The earliest ones are tube-like, while fourteen handmade seated female figurines belong to the 8th and 7th centuries BC. There is one handmade terracotta head of a warrior. Mouldmade terracottas are all female and include the usual range of nude and robed types as well as rarer varieties, such as the more than nine figurines of a female exposing her pubic area in the so-called *anasyrma* gesture (see Plate 21c). In addition to these anthropomorphic votives, there are some (not precisely dated or described) terracotta horse figures or figurines and a boar.

Although the categories of votives attested at Oaxos do not correspond exactly to those from the Acropolis at Gortyn, there are some interesting parallels. From a general perspective, the combined emphasis on female sexuality and martial aspects is noteworthy. The large numbers of female terracottas, like the ones at the Acropolis of Gortyn, may well have been dedicated in the context of initiation rites for girls or young women. The horse figures constitute another common trait, perhaps reflecting the same view that young people resemble animals in need of domestication. In addition, there is a sculptural fragment with part of a human couple. This may, as at Gortyn, have conveyed a message of women's expected submissiveness to men. Perhaps, in this case, it formed part of a *hieros gamos* or wedding scene. The fact that such a theme would find expression in the temple decoration indicates that it was considered a major aspect of the cult.

[1422] See also section 4 of this chapter, p. 387.

There are, on the other hand, also a number of differences with the sanctuary at the Acropolis of Gortyn. At Oaxos, there is a scarcity of male terracottas, including warriors, and of miniature weaponry. Instead there is an impressive collection of full-scale armour, the stylistic date of which points to a relatively late and short period of dedication, i.e. the late 7th to early 6th century BC. Assuming that these disparities with Gortyn are not due to the vagaries of excavation, some suggestions may be made with regards to the age groups participating in the rituals at Oaxos. There is little evidence for the initiation of boys. Full-scale bronze weaponry and armour in (sub-)urban contexts are rather to be interpreted as votives or trophies of established warriors.[1423] Possibly, the female figurines at Oaxos relate more exclusively to the age group of *parthenoi* than the votives at Gortyn. There seems to be a more unequivocal emphasis on beauty and sexual allurement. Some of the figurine types are striking for their elaborate jewellery, in particular in the form of large ear discs,[1424] and *anasyrma* figurines are relatively popular. The dedication of the latter type of figurine is rare enough in EIA Crete to draw attention to the only other contemporary sanctuary where such representations have been found, i.e. the extra-urban cult place at Syme; here later epigraphic evidence attests to cult for Aphrodite, together with Hermes.[1425]

[1423] See section 4 in this chapter, on bronze armour, p. 383-88.

[1424] See e.g. Rizza 1967-68, 214-16, fig. 2 (nos. 7, 15), 220-22, fig. 5 (nos. 35, 37).

[1425] See cat. entry B.66. Another correspondence is the presence of tubular

Several scholars have also suggested a cult for Aphrodite at the lower sanctuary of Oaxos, though often on the basis of the nude figurines alone.[1426] Rizza has described the process involved in the iconographic articulation of this divinity at Oaxos as leading from an undifferentiated image to the more canonical and specialised one of the Hellenized Aphrodite. He draws attention to the appearance in the EIA assemblage of iconographic elements that may foreshadow those associated with Aphrodite in later times, with special reference to the *anasyrma* pose. Considering the general composition of the votive assemblage at Oaxos, as discussed above, Rizza's hypothesis may be accepted, albeit with some additional remarks. The realm of Aphrodite concerns primarily that of sexual pleasure and attraction. Her association with girls awaiting marriage is illustrated by the poems of Sappho.[1427] The presence of weaponry in the sanctuary of Oaxos, however, implies that she was conceived of as an armed Aphrodite,[1428] which adds an eastern connection. As discussed with respect to the Palladion figure from Gortyn, the image of an armed goddess was influenced by Near Eastern iconography.[1429] Most scholars agree that Aphrodite was a relatively late addition to the Greek pantheon and that her cult displays many similarities with that of Ishtar-Astarte in the Near East. However, the path and pace of transmission remain disputed.[1430] As with the goddess venerated at Gortyn, it is not known when the goddess of Oaxos would have received her more generally accepted Panhellenic name.

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terracotta objects at both sanctuaries. The votive assemblage from Oaxos also contains mouldmade female figurines with two hands at the breasts, a type missing at Gortyn. Cassimatis (1982, 162) calls the female figurines from Oaxos 'less austere' than those from the Acropolis at Gortyn.

[1426] Halbherr 1899, 539; Levi 1930-31, 50. De Polignac (1995b, 82) on the other hand assumes a cult for Athena, but for unspecified reasons.

[1427] As a goddess of sexual pleasure, she already occurs in the *Odyssey* (22.444), see Burkert 1985, 152-55; also Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 419, 430-31; Calame 1997, 123-24, 140.

[1428] Although it cannot be maintained that any of the armour found in the votive deposit at Oaxos was made for dedication, the mitra with a representation of a female warrior appearing from a tripod would certainly have been considered a suitable offering.

[1429] Nilsson 1967, 521 n. 5; Burkert 1985, 140, 153; Flemberg 1991, 12-16, 21-22.

[1430] The name does not occur on the Linear B tablets; see Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 259; Burkert 1985, 152-53; Flemberg 1991, 12-19; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 5-7.

At Praisos, the existence of an EIA suburban community sanctuary is indicated by the large votive deposit from Vavelloi (B.46, Plate 54), on a hill slope *c.* 0.9 km south of the main settlement. The deposit consists of a homogeneous group of 7th-century and later terracotta votives, which are predominantly mouldmade. Other categories of finds—as far as published—are limited to (fragmentary) miniature vessels or kernoi and human figures (probably cylindrical), which may be of the same date as the mouldmade votives. Unlike the assemblages elsewhere, the deposit from Vavelloi does not seem to have yielded any handmade figurines, whether of human or of animal form.[1431] It is also worth noting that there is no clear evidence of votive activities before the 7th century BC.

The anthropomorphic terracottas display a good selection of typical female images, as well as of nude males and warriors. At the same time, there are several less widely attested types. Several of these suggest an emphasis on the transition to full maturity for both sexes. The female images include a series of kourotrophoi, which express a concern with nursing and motherhood. Moreover, there are examples of terracottas with multiple figures. One variety shows a male holding a dressed, polos-wearing female by the wrist.[1432] This is akin to a series of mouldmade representations of a couple on a chariot from Siteia; unfortunately, only the upper portion has been preserved. Chariot or not, the gesture of taking a woman by the wrist most likely points to marriage. This provides a second indication that rituals at this sanctuary were connected with the transition to the status of adult and marriage.[1433] Important in this context are also the more than 50 plaques of a young male in a calf-long chiton. Despite earlier identifications as charioteer or priest, it may be more justified to consider this a votary in ceremonial costume (Plate 54b).[1434] It may have to be seen in the light of the literary and epigraphic sources on the removing and changing of clothes as part of the male initiation rites.

The identity of the associated deity remains unknown. Of the fully articulated Olympian goddesses, Aphrodite and Hera are most commonly associated with the threshold to marriage. Whether any of these goddesses could already have been the object of veneration at Vavelloi, however, is open to question. Rituals here took place in the context of local or localised cult, which may account for various kinds of peculiarities. Considering the representations of kourotrophic females and of the male-female couple, a goddess in the vein of Hera seems the most likely candidate. She is the archetypal spouse, protects married women in a general sense, and is also connected with childbirth.[1435] Another possibility is Demeter. She is also intimately associated with the life of married women, their fertility, and in function is sometimes close to Hera.[1436]

[1431] See cat. entry B.46.

[1432] J. Demargne 1902, 573 fig. 2.

[1433] On the other variety of plaque only a male has been preserved, with just the hand of another figure showing; see Forster 1904-05, 246.

[1434] See for further refs. cat. entry B.46.

Apart from the terracottas showing warriors, there are no votive offerings with strong military connotations. Interestingly enough, though, miniature weaponry was found in some quantity at the nearby Altar Hill (B.45). This sanctuary lies, like the one of Vavelloi, on the southern access route to Praisos, but closer to the settlement. If the offerings of miniature weaponry, as at Gortyn, may be considered as dedicated by young aristocratic men as part of initiation practices, the corresponding festival must, unlike that at Gortyn, have been held at a separate sanctuary. The cult at the Altar Hill is characterised by the dedication of large bronzes and animal sacrifice, which betray the dominant role of established male aristocrats. It therefore constitutes an essentially different cult from the one at Vavelloi, not inconsistent with the initiation of young male aristocrats.

A last sanctuary that may be briefly considered, although a suburban location cannot be proven, is the one of which numerous offerings were discovered in the modern town of Siteia (B.41). The similarities of the associated votive deposit with those from the suburban community sanctuaries discussed above are so compelling as to suggest that it belonged in the same category. Votives from Siteia consist of more than 900 terracotta objects, which have been dated to both the G and O periods. As in the suburban community sanctuaries, mouldmade figurines of female form are most common. Male representations are present as well, but details of their iconography have not yet been published: one plaque shows the same robed male figure as at Vavelloi. More is known about the female terracottas. Besides the usual varieties of nude and dressed figurines, types of more specific iconography are relatively well represented: there are eleven mouldmade kourotrophoi and seven depicting a man and woman in a chariot. Both themes may be relevant to rituals accompanying the transition to maturity. A significant detail of the chariot scene is that the male figure does not hold the female by the wrist (as at Vavelloi), but by the shoulder. The representation may qualify as an abduction scene. As discussed by Sourvinou-Inwood, ritualised abductions were sometimes enacted in human wedding ceremonies. Ancient Greek representations of the theme often included references to a mythical prototype, most notably the seizing of Persephone by Hades.[1437] This raises the possibility of worship of Persephone or Persephone and Demeter at this sanctuary, as perhaps corroborated by the occurrence in the votive deposit of several pottery fragments with painted and applied snakes.[1438] The matter must remain undecided, however, pending the full publication of this important cult assemblage.

[1435] Burkert 1985, 131-35; Calame 1997, 113-14, 119-20.

[1436] Demeter sanctuaries did not serve only for the all-female *Thesmophoria*. In some cases, these sanctuaries also attracted male worshippers and votives; see esp. Guettel Cole 1994, 203-04 n. 21. See also Burkert 1985, 161; Calame 1997, 138-40.

In several respects, the functions of the major suburban sanctuaries, as tentatively reconstructed above, should be seen as different from, and complementary to, those of urban hearth temples.[1439] In the latter, cult was more exclusively directed at an elite of established male citizens, who engaged in ritual dining and sacrifice rather than in the dedication of permanent votives. As far as it was directed at a small group of privileged men, the associated cult underlined the differences between people within the same community. The major suburban sanctuaries, on the other hand, appear to have hosted festivals in which more inclusive groups of worshippers, consisting of both men and women, participated.

The characterisation of these major suburban sanctuaries as places of social integration for different segments of the community calls to mind functions analogous to those that have been recognised by

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[1437] See above, 412-13.

[1438] See, on the connection of snakes and Demeter-Persephone, e.g. Nilsson 1967, 474, 476.

[1439] Unfortunately, no examples of Cretan EIA settlements are known with both a centrally located hearth temple and a large suburban cult place of the type to be discussed here.

De Polignac for a well-defined class of non-urban sanctuaries in other parts of the Greek world. These consist of sanctuaries that were situated in the *chora* of a specific polis, at an average distance of 5-15 km from the city. They often occupied conspicuous sites at the transition of arable to uncultivable land, for which reason they are also referred to as 'border sanctuaries'. Examples include the Argive Heraion, the Heraion at Samos, the sanctuary of Aphaia at Aegina, the Amykleion near Sparta and the sanctuaries at Perachora and Isthmia, which were both affiliated with Corinth.[1440] De Polignac convincingly shows that these border sanctuaries, despite their physical separation from the city, provided an indispensable focus for community cult activities. With their distinctive and conspicuous rural setting, they came to symbolise the unity of *chora* and *astu* and acted as pivotal points in the articulation of the spatial and socio-political structure of the developing poleis. Associated rituals and votives reflect a range of concerns, all of them pertinent to core needs of the newly developing communities. De Polignac sees a preoccupation with fertility and kourotrophic aspects in relation to agriculture and with military aspects in connection to the territorial and political independence of the polis. In addition, he points to the importance of initiation rites, which would have been instrumental in achieving the required integration of the different social groups constituting local society.[1441]

A variety of concerns, comparable to those distinguished by De Polignac, may also be discerned in the votive assemblages from the large Cretan suburban sanctuaries. Aside from the anthropomorphic terracottas, which accentuate ideal female and male roles, many assemblages contain terracotta animal figurines and/or kernoi and miniature vessels that probably held vegetal offerings or libations. Objects such as these may refer to the fertility of herds and crops and may, in line with De Polignac's scenario, have been dedicated to secure the agricultural base of life in the poleis.[1442] The frequently encountered warrior figurines, which are sometimes accompanied by (imitation) weaponry, have clear martial connotations and may therefore be explained by the expected concern with military and political independence. At the same time, it is clear that these Cretan cult places differ in several important ways from De Polignac's border sanctuaries.

[1440] See esp. De Polignac 1995b, 22-23.

[1441] De Polignac 1984, 15-92; *id.* 1995b, 22-23; see also the introduction to this chapter, p. 215-16.

[1442] See also the introduction to this chapter, p. 215. Terracotta animal figurines are only missing in the votive deposits from Krousonas (B.12), Anixi (B.42) and Vavelloi (B.46); no kernoi or miniature vessels have so far been recorded for the assemblages from Nisi (B.4), Oaxos (B.6), Krousonas (B.12) and Lato (B.34).

De Polignac considers a 'bipolar arrangement' of city and extra-urban border sanctuary typical for the fully developed, CL Greek poleis. Only Athens, with its central cult on the Acropolis, presents an exceptional instance of a 'concentric arrangement'. The bipolar model is—as apparent from De Polignac's long list of examples—far more common and is epitomised by the spatial and cultic relationship between Argos and the Argive Heraion.[1443] De Polignac envisages a development in function of these border sanctuaries from modest rallying points at the centre of a regional or local network of settlements, in which worship was shared between different communities, to places of ritualised competition in the 8th century BC, when the involvement of male aristocrats becomes most tangible. At some point, such sanctuaries would be appropriated by an individual polis and thereby turned into a symbol of the territorial independence and sovereignty of one community. A substantial part of the rituals were aimed at forging the needed social cohesion among different members of the community. Festivals included, apart from the leading citizens, also 'the nonwarrior population usually excluded from public life: dependants of every kind, women and adolescents.'[1444]

It is evident that the Cretan sites classified here as 'major suburban sanctuaries', despite probable parallels in social and political functions, do not match De Polignac's criteria for border sanctuaries because of their different location and setting.[1445] The Cretan suburban sanctuaries are located much closer to the contemporary settlement centres than the average distance of 5-15 km given by De Polignac. Although the exact extent of the settlements and the precise locations of votive deposits cannot always be firmly established, the intermediate distance is nowhere more than one kilometre. The two major suburban sanctuaries farthest removed from the associated settlement centre are the Acropolis at Gortyn (B.23) and Vavelloi at Praisos (B.46), at distances of *c.* 0.75 and 0.9 km respectively.[1446] More significantly, none of the Cretan examples appears to be situated at the transition of arable land to 'wild countryside'. This has important implications for an evaluation of the associated cults and rites, since De Polignac sees a meaningful connection between a borderline setting and a symbolic and cultic function as 'place of transition'. Functions of the latter kind are, elsewhere in the Aegean, indicated by the frequent association of border sanctuaries with deities acting as guardians in transitory situations, for instance in rites of passage.[1447] In the meantime, it is difficult to give an appropriate description of the setting of the major Cretan suburban sanctuaries in general terms, except that they often occupy conspicuous locations and would have been visible from large parts of the surrounding territory. In addition, several of them overlook routes leading to the respective settlement centre, for instance the sanctuary at Nisi, west of Eleutherna (B.4), the Acropolis at Gortyn (B.23), the sites of the votive deposits near Anavlochos (B.30) and Lato (B.34) and that of Vavelloi near Praisos (B.46). Their dominating position in the landscape may have conveyed as strong a message of sovereignty as the typical border sanctuary elsewhere, but De Polignac's characterisation of the latter as pole in a symbolic axis linking the periphery with the city-centre of the polis, does not apply. The spatial configuration of large settlements and major suburban sanctuaries in Crete is therefore more akin to the 'concentric arrangement' exemplified by Athens.

[1443] See esp. De Polignac 1995b, 2-3, 22-23, 81-88.

[1444] De Polignac 1994, 5; *id.* 1995b, 39-40. De Polignac (1995b, 38) adds that 'in areas where no major city was strong enough to eclipse the other communities or cities, sanctuaries situated at equal distance from them all continued to be shared.' Well-known examples are Olympia in Elis and Thermon in Aetolia. Cretan examples will be discussed in section 9 on extra-urban sanctuaries with (inter-)regional functions, p. 559-604.

[1445] De Polignac defines suburban sanctuaries as located on the margin of the inhabited area, i.e. 'on the edge of the town or just a little way off' (De Polignac 1995b, 22). His definition is therefore narrower than the one employed in the present study (see the introduction to Catalogue A, Part One, p. 127-28). As a result, some of the Cretan sanctuaries listed as suburban here would perhaps qualify as extra-

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urban in his classification. However, this difference in terminology should not obscure the fact that the spatial arrangement of city and major sanctuary in most Cretan poleis does not conform to the bipolar model.

[1446] In the case of Gortyn it is assumed that the temple of Apollo Pythios in the plain below the Acropolis indicates the centre of the 7th-century and later settlement. The distance of 0.75 km is that from the temple at the Acropolis to the temple in the plain and therefore represents an absolute maximum.

[1447] De Polignac 1984, 42-49, 51-54; *id.* 1994, 6, 18.

Crete's divergence from the bipolar model is further underlined by the general lack of extra-urban sanctuaries that show the required combination of a 'marginal' position at the border of the *chora* and the distinctive accumulation of functions (i.e. pertaining to agriculture, sovereignty and social integration), as recognised by De Polignac.[1448] In the Cretan EIA sanctuaries with a possible border position, such as the coastal sites of Kommos and Amnisos, the types of votives suggest that cult was restricted to an elite of male aristocrats and therefore did not serve in the forging of cohesion between different social groups within the same community. Terracotta votives, which would indicate participation of non-elite groups, are scarce or absent at these sites. Moreover, it is difficult to find evidence for an original function of these sanctuaries as rallying points at the centre of a regional network of settlements, as proposed by De Polignac. The ties of Kommos and Amnisos, for example, with nearby settlements seem to have existed of old.[1449] Crete's divergence in these matters is probably to be explained by the different trajectory along which the principal settlements in the island developed. De Polignac's bipolar model relies heavily on the idea of a scattered population in the centuries after the LBA and a consequent need for meeting-places. In Crete large, nucleated settlements continued to exist throughout the period from the LBA to the 8th and 7th centuries BC—in central Crete these moreover occupied the seats of some of the former, LBA palatial centres. The fact that there had been established communities for so long would surely have affected territorial and cultic organisation.[1450] To sum up, in EIA Crete there appears to have been more of a segregation between sanctuaries serving as places of ritualised competition for the male elite and those where rituals were more unilaterally focused at social integration.

[1448] A possible exception is perhaps to be found in the Lasithi plateau, where the Psychro cave (B.65) and the EIA settlement of Papoura are situated on opposing sides of the fertile plain. Here, however, a complication consists in the fact that the sanctuary was much older than the EIA settlement. This implies that its foundation cannot be seen as a phenomenon related to certain advances in the formation of the city-state, as in De Polignac's model.

[1449] For Kommos: see section 6 in this chapter, p. 473-76, section 8, p. 523-27. For Amnisos: see section 8 in this chapter, p. 527-29.

[1450] In fact, De Polignac himself (1995b, 86) refers to Athens' tradition of autochthony and its continuity of habitation to explain its exceptional concentric arrangement of city and sanctuary at the Acropolis.

Smaller suburban sanctuaries in the countryside surrounding the settlements

Aside from the major community sanctuaries that provided a focal point for rites of integration and initiation, there are a substantial number of smaller suburban cult places, whose function can often not be determined exactly. Detailed information on the location, natural setting, form and the types of associated votives has not been published or is incomplete because of limited excavation. The resulting impression of this group is one of heterogeneity and, in those cases where the spatial relation to the nearest settlement is not clear, the distinction with smaller extra-urban sanctuaries becomes blurred. Some general observations may, however, be proposed. The smaller suburban cult places usually differ from the community sanctuaries discussed previously in the larger distance from the settlement nuclei and the modest and less varied votive assemblages. There are rarely any accompanying metal votives, while among the terracotta offerings plaques or figurines of warriors are rare.

Considering the current lack of reliable information on the location and setting of small suburban sanctuaries, only a broad evaluation of their function based on votive types can be attempted. The presence or absence of mouldmade female figurines and cylindrical anthropomorphic figures—types of votives that figure prominently in the major community sanctuaries—may be taken as a criterion for a functional differentiation. Dedicated in rituals aimed at the forging of social cohesion, these votive types played a distinct role in defining ideal social roles and identities. Despite the modest numbers of objects, the votive assemblages from the smaller suburban sanctuaries display some interesting variations in the presence of such votive types. There is no sharp dividing line, but a sliding scale leads from small suburban cult places without any mouldmade female figurines or cylindrical human figures to sites where such votive types predominate. Apparently, the former cult places were not affected by the relative standardisation of votive offerings that took place in the context of the major community sanctuaries. An implication is that the socio-political functions of the associated cults may have been limited, or at least not 'officially' articulated. This probably applies to the cult places at Bouno near Oaxos (B.8) and Volakas near Krousonas (B.13), for which only some handmade animal and anthropomorphic figurines of PG-G date have been reported.

At the other end of the scale are the smaller suburban sanctuaries that primarily received anthropomorphic terracotta votives of the types encountered in community sanctuaries, albeit in smaller quantities and as part of a less varied range. As far as the means of expression is concerned, these cults seem firmly tied in with community cult as celebrated in the large suburban sanctuaries. In several cases the scarcity of available information may actually hide the presence of cult places that, like the Demeter sanctuary at Knossos (B.19), housed relatively important festivals for one or more segments of the community.[1451] Without reaching the status of major community sanctuary they would nevertheless have been firmly imbedded in the structure of the developing poleis. To this category of 'minor community sanctuaries' probably belong three sites near Oaxos, i.e. Leivada (B.7), where anthropomorphic and animal figures were found in a burnt layer,[1452] Aimonas (B.9), with mouldmade nude females, fragments of terracotta thrones, plates, cups and miniature jugs, and Drakopigado (B.10), for which terracotta votives 'of types known from Oaxos' have been reported; perhaps also the hillock of Vamies opposite Itanos (B.48), where mouldmade female figurines were found in survey.

In some cases a 'minor community sanctuary' is marked by its position near a source of fresh water. The best example known to date is the cult place at the spring of Mesavrysis near Praisos (B.47). Its importance to the inhabitants of the city in later times is indicated by the terracotta water pipe (probably of CL-HL date) that led from the spring to the foot of the First Acropolis of the settlement. The cult activities at Mesavrysis apparently took place in the open air, since no architectural remains were encountered. Mouldmade figurines were not recorded, but there was a series of cylindrical female figures with elaborate jewellery instead, which seem to refer to a similar ideal female image. The predominance of female votive images at spring sanctuaries is in accordance with the female association of water springing from the earth, common in the ancient Greek world.[1453] Already in the Homeric epics, the drawing of water for domestic needs is depicted as a female task, especially of younger girls, as is doing laundry at a stream or spring.[1454] In cultic terms, fresh water is connected with purification. For women, ritual cleansing was needed after birth, in the ritual preparations for marriage, in the bridal bath just before the actual wedding and as part of more general purification rites such as in the Thesmophoria. Apart from Demeter, cults associated with springs and streams often concern Hera, Aphrodite, Artemis or nymphs, divine or semidivine beings in full female form, who may bear individual names.[1455] In the Homeric and Hesiodic works, as well as in later literary sources, nymphs are intimately connected with free nature. They inhabit springs, caves, mountains and trees—places where they would be worshipped in modest sanctuaries.[1456] In the dedication at these sites of idealised images of young females, all aspects of meaning embedded in the concept 'nymph' seem embraced: that of nature deity, of young woman and of bride.[1457] There is, in other words, a coalescence of related images and a pronounced element of identification between deity and worshipper.[1458] Regarding the votives from Mesavrysis, few specifics on the iconography of the female figures have been published. One of these figures, however, is said to hold a pomegranate—a kind of fruit that, like apples, denotes courtship[1459] and hence contains a reference to young women just prior to marriage.

[1451] The votives from the Demeter sanctuary at the Gypsades hill (B.17) include a significant number of mouldmade female figurines of types characteristic for major community sanctuaries at other EIA settlement centres. Yet it seems clear that the Knossian Demeter sanctuary cannot simply be considered a local variation of major community sanctuary with a similar range of functions as those discussed in the foregoing section. The number of 8th- and 7th-century votives at Knossos is relatively modest. Besides, one would expect a more conspicuous location and some kind of monumentalisation of the sanctuary's premises in the course of the 7th century BC. It is rather to be suspected that a major community sanctuary still remains to be discovered somewhere around the largely unexplored EIA settlement of Knossos, perhaps on the acropolis to the west.

[1452] There is possible temple of later date nearby; see the respective cat. entry.

[1453] See esp. Guettel Cole 1988, 161-64. On the Mainland, terracotta figurines of hydrophoroi are dedicated from the 7th century BC onwards, for instance at the Argive Heraion. No such representations, however, are known from EIA Crete.

[1454] The same picture emerges from the *Hom. Hymn to Demeter* and Hesiod's *Theogony*; see Wickert-Micknat 1982, 56, 59-60.

[1455] Farnell 1909, 421; Nilsson 1967, 244; Burkert 1985, 77-79; Guettel Cole 1988, 162. On purification after birth also: Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, 211. For rural cult places for Aphrodite: Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 372-73.

[1456] Nilsson 1967, 245-51. For examples of modest extra-urban sanctuaries, including caves, where small numbers of mouldmade female figurines were dedicated, see p. 557-59.

[1457] Farnell 1909, 421; Nilsson 1967, 244-45; Burkert 1985, 151, 173-74.

[1458] See also the discussion on mouldmade female terracottas, p. 410-11.

[1459] See Versnel 1993, 254-56; also Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 411-12 (in relation to Aphrodite).

Not all suburban spring sanctuaries, however, display the same strong connection with community cult as defined in the major suburban sanctuaries. In fact, 'spring sanctuary' is too broad a category to provide unambiguous or precise indications of a cult place's function and role in the associated community. This is illustrated by a comparison of Mesavrysis with two other examples of suburban sanctuaries that are situated near sources of water. The first example consists of the small bench sanctuary at Pachlitzani Agriada (B.40, Plates 49-51). The excavator plausibly identified this as a cult place for the birth goddess Eileithyia because of the all-female votive assemblage, which includes a terracotta figurine of a parturient woman. The votive deposit associated with the cult building was relatively modest, although the offering of a bronze female figurine indicates some local renown for the cult.[1460] Among the votives were also two mouldmade female plaques and a cylindrical female figure of types common in suburban community sanctuaries. Compared to Mesavrysis, where the votive assemblage consists of a relatively homogeneous group of such objects, the assemblage from Pachlitzani Agriada diverges more from the picture provided by the major community sanctuaries. Seen as a whole, the cult at Pachlitzani Agriada preserves much stronger and more direct links with the older cult tradition associated with bench sanctuaries. Such an adherence to more traditional cult forms accords well with the history of occupation of the Kavousi area. The bench sanctuary of Pachlitzani Agriada is located in a mountainous zone that became relatively densely populated with the foundation of various new settlements at the beginning of the LM IIIC-SM period. Although many of these settlements remained inhabited in the first centuries of the EIA, none of them seem to have developed polis institutions: inscriptions from the area are lacking and there are no urban hearth temples or major community sanctuaries. Instead, these relatively remote settlements were gradually abandoned in the course of the 7th century BC, a period crucial for the formation of the poleis. This may indicate that a socio-political centre had formed elsewhere and attracted a large portion of the population of the Kavousi area.[1461]

[1460] Bronze figurines representing females are scarce in EIA Crete compared to male and animal figurines; see p. 391.

The second comparison is with a modest open-air cult place near the Vitzelovrysis spring at Karphi (B.29). Whereas the settlement of Karphi had been abandoned by the PG period, inhabitants of EIA Papoura, which is only 10-15 minutes to the south, may have used the spring for domestic needs. Two mouldmade plaques (presumably of females) may express the familiar association of (young) women and water sources. Judging from the additional presence at Vitzelovrysis of terracotta animal and human figurines, however, the spring sanctuary seems to have drawn other customers as well. In the area below the main votive scatter are an ancient stone-built cistern and catchment basin. The traditional utilisation of the surrounding mountains for the grazing of goats and sheep suggests that the spring may have been frequented by shepherds to water their animals. Furthermore, there may have been a connection of the spring sanctuary with the adjacent cemetery of Ta Mnemata. Established in the LM IIIC-SM period by the settlers of Karphi, some of its tombs continued to receive burials in the EIA. It is possible that spring water was used in the funerary rites.

It is further interesting to note that other small sanctuaries, not connected with springs, also appear to have been associated with cemeteries. There are at least two examples of sanctuaries whose position at the edge of EIA cemeteries suggests that they played some role in the demarcation of the burial places and perhaps in the funerary rites themselves. At both Karakovilia at Vrokastro (B.37), and the Plaï tou Kastrou at Kavousi (B.39), small cult buildings were set at the transition from settlement to cemetery. Objects associated with the first consist of a terracotta stand or offering table, a terracotta male figurine (possibly a warrior) and animal figurines, while for the latter animal figurines have been reported. Rotassi (B.26), where bull and horse figures and figurines were found near the EIA cemetery, may provide another example of a cemetery sanctuary. The votives at these three sites are modest in number and in value, yet it is striking that no female representations, in the form of handmade or mouldmade figurines, or typically female objects such as spindle whorls or kernoi are present. In this respect, these small cult buildings differ markedly from other small suburban sanctuaries discussed previously.

[1461] See the discussion preceding cat. entries B.38-40.

8. Sanctuaries at the Ruins of Bronze Age Monuments

A small proportion of the Cretan EIA sanctuaries are distinguished by the fact that they occupy the sites of former Minoan palaces or other monumental BA structures.[1462] They consist of both (sub-) urban and extra-urban sanctuaries, in a variety of settings. Five examples are to be found inland, i.e. three at the ruined palaces of Knossos (B.18) and Phaistos (B.21 and B.22), sites whose surrounding settlements continued to be inhabited, and two more at the abandoned BA settlements of Ayia Triada (B.56) and Tylisos (B.53). Three additional examples are situated on the remains of the deserted BA towns of Amnisos (B.60), Kommos (B.57) and Palaikastro (B.69) on respectively the north, south and east coasts of the island. Of these eight sanctuaries, the site of a small votive deposit at the palace of Phaistos (B.21) and the sanctuary at Tylisos (B.53) are imperfectly known or published and their relationship to the surrounding BA structures remains unclear.[1463] The following discussion will therefore focus on the remaining six sanctuaries.

All sanctuaries listed above, with the exception of Kommos, were discovered during the early decades of the 20th century, when large-scale excavations in the island first became possible.[1464] Because these excavations were primarily directed at palaces and other monuments of the Minoan era, the presence of EIA and later sanctuaries was often not anticipated. As a result, their character was not always appreciated and their location principally explained by reference to that BA past. Most early excavators still believed in direct continuity from the BA into the EIA and regarded the later sanctuaries as the natural successors of the underlying Minoan structures. As such, they were considered to be visible manifestations of the survival of Minoan cult into the historical period. An illustrative example is the 'sanctuary of Rhea' in the southwest section of the Central Court at Knossos, which was discovered by Evans and interpreted by him as a sign of the continued sacred character of the Minoan palace. For Evans there was little doubt that the memory of the Minoan palace—as a 'Central Sanctuary of the Minoan Goddess'—had been kept alive throughout the centuries after its destruction and almost found natural expression in a cult for Rhea, mother of the gods.[1465] In a similar vein, the excavators at Tylisos, Amnisos and Palaikastro emphasised continuity of cult from the BA into the historical period at their sites.[1466] At Palaikastro, which was excavated from 1902-1905, the presence within the EIA sanctuary area of a MM III-LM I 'sacrificial pit', with bones and horns of oxen, fragments of four to five terracotta bulls' head rhyta and twenty Minoan lamps, was taken as 'a striking proof of continuity'.[1467] A dissident opinion was voiced only by the excavators of Phaistos, Pernier and Banti, who denied any meaning of the Minoan ruins for later inhabitants other than as a source of ashlar blocks.[1468]

[1462] For earlier versions of this section: Prent 1992, 2003. An article with a similar topic has been published by Nixon (1990), who also includes a number of EIA sanctuaries that were part of settlements founded at the end of the LM III period, such as Oaxos, Prinias and Gortyn. The latter sites have not, however, yielded monumental or palatial BA structures. In this work they are therefore grouped with other urban and suburban sanctuaries, without special relationship to BA remains (see section 7 above p. 476-507). Further reference will be made to Nixon's article in the following.

[1463] The situation at Tylisos may parallel that at Ayia Triada, where cult likewise began in the LM IIIC-SM period and was focused at the area of the BA paved court.

[1464] See Chapter Two, p. 50-51.

Part of the early excavators' reasons for assuming direct continuity from the BA into the EIA is to be sought in the incomplete knowledge of local pottery sequences. For many of the early 20th-century pioneers of Cretan archaeology G pottery styles still seemed to follow directly on the 'Mycenaean' or LM III style.[1469] Only with the increased understanding of EIA pottery sequences in the decades following their first discoveries, it gradually became clear that a firm archaeological basis for uninterrupted cult activity at these sanctuaries was wanting or at best uncertain. Eventually, a gap of several centuries separating the last BA activities from the inception of the EIA cult turned out to exist at all of the sites listed above. Although the association of these sanctuaries with BA remains continues to be regarded as intentional, an important shift has occurred in the way that this relationship is perceived. Nilsson accepted the idea that the BA remains had been a factor in the choice of location for these sanctuaries and fully acknowledged their potential value in identifying elements of the Minoan-Mycenaean religion in later, Greek religion. At the same time, however, he was critical of several of the excavators' claims of uninterrupted cult. In a first overview of the then available archaeological evidence for Amnisos, Phaistos, Ayia Triada and Palaikastro, he concluded that at none of these sites there was sufficient evidence that a Greek cult was carried on in exactly the same spot as a Minoan one.[1470] On closer inspection, many sanctuaries for which cult continuity had been suggested indeed fail to fulfil one or both of two essential archaeological requirements: the presence of an unbroken series of votives through the Dark Age and unambiguous indications that the underlying BA structure had indeed served as a cult place. Eventually, the Cretan EIA sanctuaries at BA remains came to be seen as an expression of the more general LG or 8th-century revival of interest in the past—although this interpretation was never fully elaborated in the literature.[1471]

[1465] Evans 1928, 7; see cat. entry B.18.

[1466] Chatzidakis 1934, 68-69; Marinatos 1938, 138; also Chaniotis 1992, 88.

[1467] For the ox-pit: Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904-05, 287. For the idea of cult continuity on the same spot: also Bosanquet 1908-09, 351; *id.* 1939-40, 64.

[1468] See especially Pernier & Banti 1951, 14.

[1469] As discussed in Chapter Two, p. 80-81.

The installation of cults at various kinds of BA sites in the course of the EIA has shown to be a widespread and complex phenomenon in the Greek world, as may be evident from the extensive body of scholarship that surrounds it. Discussion was reinitiated by Coldstream in 1976, with a review of the archaeological evidence for different types of Greek 'hero-worship' as they had been defined by Farnell (1921) on the basis of literary sources. Coldstream argued for direct inspiration of LG cult at BA tombs and other remains by Homeric epic, which by then would have been circulating throughout the Greek world. Quoting J.M. Cook, these cults would have been instituted 'by people who preserved no continuity of memory—and little enough of blood'.[1472] The subject of the 8th-century veneration of relics of a 'heroic' past has since attracted ample attention. Coldstream's article was followed by those of others, in which social and political perspectives took clear precedence. Attention has been on different aspects of the relationship of these cults with contemporary processes of early state formation and several scholars have questioned the ascription of these cults to epic heroes.[1473] Different underlying reasons for their installation have been explored: the need to lay claims on agricultural land,[1474] the articulation of territory in the context of interstate competition, and the definition of internal cohesion and community identity.[1475] Within these recent discussions great influence has been exerted by the work of De Polignac, who emphasises the role of extra-urban sanctuaries in the formation of the Greek poleis. Although De Polignac did not address the possible significance of BA remains in the location of such extra-urban sanctuaries, his model exposes the merits of the association with relics of the past in the context of ongoing spatial and cultic articulation of the newly developing poleis.[1476]

[1470] Nilsson 1950, 457, 461-66.

[1471] Popham 1978, 187 (on Knossos); Snodgrass 1971, 398-99 (Knossos, Phaistos, Palaikastro); Nixon 1990.

[1472] Coldstream 1976, 10 (with ref. to J.M. Cook 1953), 8, 15; also Coldstream 1977a, 329.

Many of these recent studies—like Coldstream's—centre around the ideas of rediscovery and revival, while concentrating on some of the better known regions of the Mainland, especially Attica and the Argolid. There has also been great emphasis on tomb cult[1477] and this may partially explain the lack of attention paid to Crete, as in the island tomb cult is remarkable by its absence.[1478] In addition, there is a growing awareness of the need to consider each sanctuary in its own archaeological and historical context. The recognition of Crete as being 'different' from the Mainland, in particular with respect to the tenacity of BA cultic and religious customs, has discouraged many scholars from including the island in their analyses. With respect to the foundation of EIA sanctuaries at BA remains, however, L. Nixon has recently argued that there is little reason to assign Crete an exceptional status. Even if the EIA 'rediscovery of the past' in the island took somewhat different forms, the general phenomenon is essentially the same as that taking place on the Mainland. The function of Cretan EIA sanctuaries should therefore be seen in the same light of territorial and community definition as elsewhere in the Greek world.[1479]

[1473] Whitley 1988. Antonaccio (1994, 90-91; *id.* 1993, 46-70) favours an interpretation of tomb-cult as ancestor worship, while I. Morris (1988, 754-55) associates it with the 'Silver race' described by Hesiod; also Snodgrass 1987, 161; *id.* 1998a.

[1474] By a class of free peasants: Snodgrass 1980, 38-40; *id.* 1982a, 89-105.

[1475] Antonaccio 1992, esp. 101-05; *id.* 1994, 80-104, esp. 80-82.

[1476] De Polignac 1984; *id.* 1995b; see also the discussion in the introduction to this chapter, p. 215-16. The latter question has been explored for the Argolid by Antonaccio (1994, 80-104) and for Crete by Nixon (1990).

[1477] A notable exception is Wright (1982) who discusses G cult at the remains of the Mycenaean palaces at Tiryns and Mycenae; also Antonaccio 1992 (on the Argive Heraion).

[1478] See Coldstream (1976, 13-14) who mentions one doubtful example from Praisos. Three possible instances of CL-HL votive deposits at BA tombs are known; for two of these, at Stylos Apokoronou and Episkopi Pediadas, see Alcock 1991, 463, 467 (with further refs.). A third example consists of a BA tholos at Kamilari, in the western Mesara. Whether the latter can to be interpreted as an instance of tomb or ancestor cult is, however, doubtful. The terracotta votives display clear iconographic links with the cult for Demeter; see Englezou 1988-89; Cucuzza 1997b, 72-73.

In the following, the Cretan EIA sanctuaries associated with monumental BA remains will be treated at some length to compensate for their earlier absence from the discussion. The present state of archaeological research will be examined so as to provide the Cretan sanctuaries with their own archaeological and historical context and to see to what extent explanations advanced for other parts of the Greek world may also apply to Crete. First, however, it must be noted that since theories of an 8th-century 'rediscovery of the past' were formulated, modern excavations and the restudy of old excavation material have created a more detailed picture of the initial phases of EIA cult. Contrary to earlier views, cult at the vestiges of BA remains does not constitute an exclusively 8th-century phenomenon, but may have had an earlier origin. In some areas of the Greek Mainland, for instance, tomb-cult may have been practised from *c.* 950 BC.[1480]

At most of the Cretan EIA sanctuaries to be discussed here, cult does indeed appear to have begun before the 8th century BC. At three of them, Ayia Triada, Tylisos and Kommos, this was as early as the LM IIIC-SM period. At the first two sites, large terracotta animal and other figures of this date were dedicated as part of an open-air cult in that period.[1481] At Kommos, a first small temple was probably built at the end of the SM period, around 1000 BC. PG votives are well-represented in the form of terracotta bull figures, bronze and terracotta animal figurines and bronze and iron weaponry.[1482]

At the remaining four sites, the earliest votive objects may be assigned to the PG period, often without further possibility of distinguishing between the 10th and 9th centuries BC. This applies to some of the cups of the votive deposit from the Central Court at Knossos and to a bronze tripod leg from Palaikastro. Amnisos has yielded two bronze figurines and fragments of two tripods that may date to the PG or to the EG period, as well as PG sherd material assigned more precisely to *c*. 900 BC. At Phaistos, some of the bronze shields from the sanctuary at the southwest corner of the palace may belong to the second half of the 9th century BC.[1483]

[1479] Nixon 1990, 64-65.
[1480] I. Morris 1988, 750.
[1481] See cat. entries A.2 and A.26.
[1482] See cat. entry B.57.

For those sites without visible signs of cult before the PG period, it is pertinent to ask to what extent the archaeological record may be expected to present a reliable picture. For the Mainland it has been suggested that during the transitional period from the LBA to the EIA cult was characterised by occasional gatherings and sacrificial meals, which would leave only few, ephemeral traces. If the dedication of votives was at all a regular part of these rituals, they may have consisted of perishable material or of simple figurines, which are notoriously difficult to date.[1484] Although it cannot be entirely ruled out, the possibility of a continued but 'invisible' cult at the sites of these sanctuaries seems unlikely in the light of the general Cretan evidence. Leftovers of ritual meals, such as those found during recent excavations at the sanctuaries of Jouktas, the Idaean and Psychro caves and Syme, can be dated to the LM IIIC-SM period on the basis of accompanying cups, other vessels and terracotta votive figures.[1485] Remains of early rituals in Crete appear not, in other words, to be limited to undatable bone material or indistinct figurines. Moreover, at both the palaces of Knossos and Phaistos votives of LM IIIC-SM date were identified during the early excavations—not, however, in the deposits belonging to the sanctuaries considered here, but at other locations. In the case of Knossos, LM IIIC-SM terracotta shallow bowls with carbonised olives, krateriskoi and a few figurines were found in the Spring Chamber in the southernmost section of the former palace, while in the palace area at Phaistos terracotta figurines and a large bull figure of that date were noted.[1486]

[1483] For the chronology of the Cretan shields, see section 4 in this Chapter, p. 369-70.

[1484] Snodgrass 1971, 394-95; De Polignac 1994, 10. Lorimer (1950, 440) noted that in Homeric epic more permanent votives are mentioned only once.

[1485] See cat. entries A.25, A.24, A.30 and A.31 respectively.

[1486] See cat. entries A.4 and A.5.

The fact that these earlier votive objects also came from spots associated with palatial structures, not very far from the EIA sanctuaries, raises the question as to whether there was a meaningful relationship between the earlier and later cult places, or whether these represent separate and unrelated phenomena. The possibility should be taken into account that the EIA sanctuaries, despite the shift in location, continued the cult of the LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries at the palatial remains with similar or only slightly varying practices. At the very least, their presence may indicate a continued memory of the palace areas as sacred. One way to address this issue is to examine whether the similarities between the LM IIIC-SM and EIA votive deposits are close enough to suggest worship of the same divinity. Another way is to search for archaeological indications that these monumental ruins had been held objects of respect from the period immediately following their abandonment. This requires a closer look at the contents of the votive deposits and a more detailed chronological overview of traces of human activity on the premises of the former palaces.

Knossos

At Knossos (Plate 1), the date of the final destruction of the last BA palace and the issue of its function during the last phase of its existence remain disputed. According to one party, the palace retained many of its old functions, including those of administration, well into the LM IIIB period, albeit under Mycenaean supervision. Others, however, believe that the palace was largely destroyed by the LM IIIA2-B period and primarily served as a cult area.[1487] Arguments in favour of the latter theory consist of the presence of a bench sanctuary, the Shrine of the Double Axes, in the southeast quarter of the palace and also of the stores of pots, many of which may have been of ritual use, that were found in other sections of the palace. Whether these finds indeed indicate that the palace was largely abandoned and had lost its more mundane, administrative and political functions, must remain undecided here.[1488] For the present purpose, it will suffice to note that a function of the earlier Minoan palace as place of religious rituals—whether accompanied by other palatial functions or not—appears to have been preserved down to the end of the BA. Most significantly, the palace area housed a bench sanctuary of a type that probably, as in other settlements of the LM III period, provided a primary focus for community cult.[1489]

[1487] Gesell 1987, 126. Also Popham 1964; Hood & Smyth 1981, 14; Dickinson 1994a, 305.

[1488] Apart from being residencies of the ruling families, modern studies further distinguish administrative and political functions, as well as economic and artistic activities: see for example the different contributions in Hägg & Marinatos

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Shrine of the Double Axes was abandoned at the end of the LM IIIB period (*c.* 1200 BC), in a time of more general change and disruption in the area of Knossos. From the LM IIIC-SM period onward, the centre of habitation shifted to the area west of the former palace, while there were accompanying changes and interruptions in the use of the old Knossian burial grounds, which may have been related to the arrival of new people from the Mainland.[1490] In that context it has been proposed that in comparison to the LM IIIB Shrine of the Double Axes the LM IIIC-SM Spring Chamber served a relatively restricted portion of the inhabitants of Knossos (Plate 2). Instead of serving as a primary focus of community worship, the use of the Spring Chamber as a cult place might be seen as the initiative of a small group of indigenous Knossians, whose presence in the area to the south of the former palace can be inferred from tomb evidence nearby. It is significant that the earlier Shrine of the Double Axes and the Spring Chamber have in common cult equipment and votives referring to a Goddess with Upraised Arms. This suggests not only a prolonged sanctity of the Knossian palace, but also a continuous association with a similar deity and cult. At the same time, the transition from the LM IIIB to the LM IIIC heralded an important change, in the sense that this cult may no longer have been a major focus of community attention.

With the PG period cult at the Spring Chamber came to a halt. The fact that cult activities then began at the southwest corner of the Central Court suggests that the palace ruins nevertheless continued to have a special meaning. It is significant in this connection that Evans was quite categorical in his assertion that the palace area

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(eds) 1987; Warren 1989, 67-111; Dickinson 1994a, *passim*; see also the introduction to Chapter Three, p. 106-08.

[1489] See also Prent 2004.

[1490] Hood & Smyth 1981, 11-12, 14; Warren 1982-83, 69; Cadogan 1992c, 132-33; also the introduction to Chapter Three, p. 110-11, 122-23.

had not been inhabited after the BA. While traces of G occupation were observed immediately around, the pottery of the PG and later votive deposit was described as 'a unique phenomenon' within the palace area.[1491] This may indicate that the area may have been consciously avoided for habitation. On a separate occasion, Evans described how the fragments of the imposing Minoan bull relief-fresco in the Northern Entrance Passage were found one metre higher than the LM IIIA stratum, on a level which he associated with G sherds found 20 m further to the north.[1492] Sections of the Minoan palace, including its decoration, will therefore still have been visible at the time of the EIA cult and they may well have served as a forceful reminder of the former glory of the palace.

Evans' identification of the EIA sanctuary at the southwest corner of the Central Court as dedicated to Rhea, the Mother of the Gods, was based on the mention of such a cult place somewhere in the environs of Knossos by Diodorus Siculus.[1493] There is, however, little in terms of votives from the Central Court that may prove or disprove such an identification. The modest objects from the votive deposit are restricted to some cups and figurines, which provide no specific iconographic clues. It is therefore difficult to say if the cult celebrated in the Central Court was akin to the one previously attached to the Spring Chamber. Votives such as those found at the Central Court might not have looked out of place in the LM IIIC-SM assemblage at the Spring Chamber, but there is no positive proof for the identity of the deity. Coldstream provides arguments against a relationship between the cults at the Spring Chamber and the Central Court. He proposes that the former cult found continuation in the sanctuary of Demeter, which was founded on the Gypsades hill to the south of the palace in the PGB period.[1494] This implies that the LM IIIC-SM cult at the Spring Chamber and the EIA cult at the Central Court, though each for their own period indicative of the special and revered meaning of the palatial ruins, should be seen as separate phenomena in as far as the type of cult is concerned. In addition, the PG period signals a change in that a cult associated with palatial ruins was then located near the Central Court, i.e. near the centre of the former palace, and in closer proximity to the main EIA habitation nucleus, where it was to stay in use until HL times.

[1491] Evans 1928, 7. For the lack of later disturbance in general: Evans 1899-1900, 68; *id.* 1928, 346 n. 1; see also Coldstream 2000, 288, 298.

[1492] Evans 1930, 171, n. 2, fig. 114; *id.* 1935, 18.

[1493] Evans 1928, 5-7 (referring to Diod. Sic. 5.66); see also cat. entry B.18.

[1494] See cat. entry B.19.

While there can be little doubt that the EIA worshippers in the Central Court are to be sought amongst the inhabitants of the adjacent settlement, the associated votives are too scant to provide much further information. However, the question as to which segment of the community might have displayed an active interest in a cult associated with BA ruins, is clarified in an indirect but compelling way by J.N. Coldstream's study of the principal EIA necropolis of Knossos, the North Cemetery. This cemetery was in continuous use from the SM period (11th century BC) onwards. The first 100 years of its existence show a remarkable variation in grave types and burial customs: there were rock-cut chamber tombs, cists and vertical shafts with small niches, while inhumation was practised concurrently with cremation. In the PG period, there was a growing trend towards uniformity: rock-cut chambers constitute the only grave type and cremation is the dominant rite, in some cases accompanied by funerary symposia as also known from the Mainland. Then, in the PGB period, some families adopt a different type of large chamber tomb. From their form and long dromoi, it is apparent that these chamber tombs were either thoroughly cleared-out LM III constructions or very close imitations. The first burials generally consist of lavishly decorated cremation urns. They are followed by large numbers of subsequent burials, which often stretch over a period of centuries and seem to indicate continuous use by well-established families.[1495]

Coldstream has interpreted the reuse or laying out of these chamber tombs of LBA type as a conscious attempt of leading Knossians to associate themselves more closely with the BA past. This suggestion is corroborated by his analysis of the pottery. Whereas contemporary, more modest cremations were placed in coarse pithoi or belly-shaped urns decorated in the older PG tradition, the luxurious straight-sided urns in the chamber tombs imitate a Minoan form and are decorated in the new PGB style (Plate 79)—a style partially inspired by BA motifs. These latter were not difficult to find. In at least ten of the large chamber tombs fragments of LM III clay larnakes were discovered: leftovers, apparently, of the first and interrupted use of the burial plot. Not only were these larnakes seen, and sometimes left in place, they also seem to have inspired some of the decoration of the straight-sided urns and of other pottery from their tombs, such as the bird-and-tree theme and the robed female figures.[1496]

[1495] Coldstream 1988; *id.* 1991; *id.* 1998.

The shifts in EIA burial rite and tomb-furnishings, as they have been described by Coldstream, provide an insight into the outlook of these early Knossians, which may serve as a parallel for their attitude towards the still visible remains of the BA palace. While in the SM phase of use of the cemetery there is a persistence of different pre-existing customs, the later 9th-century Knossians attempted a more conscious revival of BA customs, by completely clearing and taking over BA tombs which then remained in use for many generations. On this analogy, the cult in the Spring Chamber would simply have been the residue of a cult of the previous age, which may by then already have lost its relevance for many Knossians. The PG cult near the Central Court may have severed the links between the old cult associated with the GUA and the former palace. At the same time, the place of cult associated with the palatial remains was consolidated in the middle of the ruins, for many centuries to come. The example of the North Cemetery also shows that the inhabitants of EIA Knossos did not greet the discovery of BA tombs with undifferentiated awe or fear, but with purposeful curiosity. Such an attitude may be contrasted with that of people on the Mainland, who could have responded to the discovery of earlier graves with the institution of an ancestor or tomb cult. Coldstream quotes the striking example of a LG grave digger in Attica who, upon the accidental discovery of a Middle Helladic burial, tried to reassemble the broken bones and left an oinochoe with them—as if to make up for the disturbance.[1497] Instead, the leading Knossian families welcomed the opportunity for the reuse of these large, well-made tombs with their clear reference to the past.

[1496] Coldstream 1988; *id.* 1991, esp. 290-91, 296-97. There also is a miniature PGB or G imitation of a LM III larnax and a short-lived, G revival of the Minoan octopus motif.

[1497] Coldstream 1976, 11.

Phaistos and Ayia Triada

At Phaistos (Plate 25), less is known about cult activities prior to the PG period. This despite the fact that several LM IIIC cult objects were found in the area of the former Minoan palace during the early excavations. These objects include terracotta animal figurines, one of them an equid with two jugs on his back, Psi-figurines of Mycenaean type and a cylindrical model.[1498] Unfortunately the 1902 excavation report does not specify their exact find spot and it remains unclear whether these objects belonged to one larger deposit from a communal sanctuary or whether they formed the dispersed remains of domestic cult activity.

More information on LM IIIC-SM cult activities is available from nearby Ayia Triada (Plate 15), an important BA site some 3 km to the west of Phaistos and closely associated with the latter during most of the BA. By the LM IIIC-SM period, Ayia Triada was no longer inhabited and it is possible that at least part of the population moved to Phaistos.[1499] As at Knossos, at Ayia Triada a LM III bench sanctuary (Building H) had existed in the area to the south-east of the paved court, here called the 'Piazzale'. No cult figures of GUAs were found inside Building H, but the presence of several snake tubes, as well as the architectural form of the sanctuary, justify its association with such a cult.[1500] Like other LM III bench sanctuaries, Building H probably served as a community sanctuary, becoming obsolete with the abandonment of Ayia Triada in the LM IIIB period.[1501] In contrast to Knossos, there are no later votives from Ayia Triada which might preserve some kind of link with a cult for a GUA. Instead, there is a large group of LM IIIC-SM objects (Plate 16) that never occur in the context of bench sanctuaries, but were typically at home in open-air and cave sanctuaries of this period. They consist of terracotta figures of bovids and fantastic animals and terracotta Horns of Consecration, which were found concentrated along the southern edge of the 'Piazzale'.[1502]

When compared to the LM IIIB period, the LM IIIC-SM cult at

[1498] See cat. entry A.5.

[1499] La Rosa & D'Agata 1984, 161-72; La Rosa 1992a, 70-76; *id.* 1994, 76-77.

[1500] Gesell 1985, 41-42, 74-75; Banti 1941-43, 52, fig. 30; also Chapter Three, section 6, p. 201.

[1501] Banti 1941-43, 67; La Rosa 1992a, 71, 76.

[1502] For the LM IIIC-SM finds, see cat. entry A.26 and for a more general discussion of these types of votives, Chapter Three, section 4, p. 184-87.

Ayia Triada represents not only a shift in location and focus—from a small building to a large open area—but also in character and function. Luisa Banti, who first published the votive deposit from the Piazzale believed that the LM IIIC-SM cult was aimed at the promotion of the fertility of land and livestock. Part of the reason to choose the site of Ayia Triada for a cult place after its abandonment may therefore have been its proximity to the fertile valley to the north. Surely, territorial claims would have been helped by an association with the old settlement that must have controlled this area during the BA. The relationship of the LM IIIC-SM cult with the ruined buildings, however, remained unarticulated, as none of them seems to have been reused or incorporated in the cult activities. Whether the presence of these BA ruins was of primary importance in the choice of location of this cult place therefore remains unclear.

This situation seems to have changed radically after the LM IIIC-SM period, when, as pointed out by D'Agata in her restudy of the old excavation material, the focus and character of the cult at Ayia Triada changed once more. This time cult activities shifted to the area to the north of the 'Piazzale', where the walls of the monumental BA Stoa must still have been partially standing. No EIA votives were found inside the Stoa, but large numbers of anthropomorphic and animal figurines in both terracotta and bronze (Plate 62) were found along the exterior faces of its north and east walls. In the same area, a pit with animal bones and fragments of kernoi was found.[1503] Since the date of these votives ranges from the PGB to the EO period, cult at Ayia Triada may have been interrupted for a century and a half from the end of the LM IIIC-SM period. It is also noteworthy that the custom of dedicating terracotta Horns of Consecration and animal and fantastic figures was not resumed in the PGB period. The reason for this can hardly have been that votives of these types had gone out of vogue in this area, since at least the large bull figures had begun to be dedicated in the nearby coastal site of Kommos from PG times onward.[1504] D'Agata has made the convincing suggestion that these changes are interrelated: that they reflect the rise of the sanctuary at Kommos, initially at the expense of Ayia Triada, and that this may have been due to a rearrangement of the territory to which these two sites belonged.[1505]

[1503] D'Agata 1998, 19-22, 24, fig. I.I. For the recent discovery of other G remains to the north of the Piazzale: Blackman 1996-97, 103.

[1504] As discussed in section 4 of this chapter, p. 403, large terracotta animal figures comes to a halt in most areas of Crete in the EIA. The western Mesara, with Kommos and Gortyn as key sites, forms an exception.

This leads back to Phaistos, as this is the most likely candidate to have been responsible for such a territorial rearrangement. Although Phaistos was not the only LM IIIC-SM and EIA settlement in the western Mesara, it is no doubt significant that it had been one of the largest communities of the area since early in the BA.[1506] Moreover, already during the BA particularly close ties seem to have existed between Phaistos, Ayia Triada and the harbour town at Kommos. A BA road, part of which has been traced at Kommos, probably connected the latter with Phaistos, some two hours away. Ayia Triada, close enough to Phaistos to have been considered the latter's 'Summer palace' by the early Italian excavators, seems to have been part of the same administrative unit during most of the LBA.[1507] Considering the short distances between the three sites, this traditional relationship may well have been preserved after the BA.

At Phaistos, EIA activities took place at the bottom of two impressive, several metre high ashlar walls, which sustained the Central Court of the former Palace (Plate 26). Whether this location was chosen because of the exceptional monumentality of these ashlar walls, or simply because they formed the only part of the BA palace still visible, is not clear. The excavation reports mention a certain amount of overbuilding of the palatial structures, but without giving precise dates. Well-built G houses and a paved ramp are preserved immediately to the west of the palace, partially overlying the Minoan West Court. The first excavator, Pernier, also reported the removal in more central areas of the palace of modest dwellings with an orientation different from that of the underlying Minoan structures. A few G sherds are mentioned, but when the date of the houses is specified these are called 'Hellenic' or 'Greco-Roman'[1508]—terms that seem to indicate a date later than the EIA. In any case, the two high ashlar walls forming the impressive back drop for the EIA cult must have been largely standing as they are today.

[1505] See cat. entry B.56; esp. D'Agata 1997 (with full refs.); La Rosa & D'Agata 1984, 181.

[1506] For a LM IIIC-SM and EIA site in the mountains above modern Siva: section 6 of this chapter, p. 475.

[1507] See cat. entry 26.

[1508] Pernier 1935, *passim* (see the index); Pernier & Banti 1947, 64; *id.* 1951, *passim.* The latest overview of the settlement history of Phaistos is by La Rosa (1992b, 240), who speaks of 'possible occupation' of the palace area in G times.

Although the picture for Phaistos is more fragmentary, the pattern that emerges conforms broadly to that for Knossos. As at the latter, Phaistos remained an important centre of habitation in both the LM IIIC-SM period and the EIA and the general lay-out of the two settlements shows distinct similarities. EIA habitation extended from close to the Palace area over the hills that rise to the west. As at Knossos, the worshippers at the sanctuary at the Palace are without doubt to be sought amongst the population of these respective settlements. In contrast to Knossos, however, the votive deposit from Phaistos provides relatively clear clues as to the social position of the clientele: here, offerings consisted of precious bronze shields and bowls, objects which indicate the high social and economic status of the cult participants.

Directly comparable offerings are missing from the assemblages at Ayia Triada and Kommos. It is therefore obvious that neither of these extra-urban sanctuaries developed into the kind of meeting place where large quantities of valuable and conspicuous votives would accumulate through mechanisms of 'ritualised competition'.[1509] At Ayia Triada, large bronzes are lacking altogether, although the presence of considerable numbers of EIA bronze animal and human figurines does indicate the investment of a certain amount of wealth. The animal figurines (in bronze and in clay) suggest that agricultural-pastoral concerns, as in the LM IIIC-SM period, remained of importance. The presence of these types of votives ties in with the proposed connection of the cult at Ayia Triada with agricultural fertility and the site's proximity to the agricultural land to the north. In addition, however, there is a range of EIA votives that may indicate other than 'rural' concerns. D'Agata has listed bronze and terracotta anthropomorphic figurines and bronze and clay wheels, which may have belonged to model chariots or carts. D'Agata calls attention to similarities in the general composition of the EIA votive assemblage from Ayia Triada with that of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, a sanctuary especially known for the rites of passage for young

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[1509] For the mechanisms involved in the accumulation of precious votives at certain sanctuaries: section 4 of this chapter, p. 355-57. Examples of such extra-urban sanctuaries in Crete will be discussed in section 9, p. 565ff.

Spartan aristocrats.[1510] Lebessi more explicitly suggests rites of initiation and points out the parallel occurrence of certain types of terracotta human figurines at Ayia Triada and Syme. These include several pairs of males, one male figurine playing the double flute and a male votary carrying a cup.[1511] While it is difficult to reconstruct the exact nature of the rites at Ayia Triada or to identify the different social groups which no doubt made up the clientele of the sanctuary, it may at the very least be assumed that the cult at Ayia Triada played a role in the articulation of social roles. Some of the votive objects, such as the imitation shields and chariots, carry military-aristocratic connotations. Considering their inexpensiveness, these objects are not unambiguous proof of the involvement of the highest or wealthiest strata of society, but they may reflect cult participation of young or aspiring aristocratic men.[1512]

While similarly lacking large numbers of conspicuous bronzes, the involvement of elite groups at the coastal sanctuary of Kommos is nevertheless more pronounced than at Ayia Triada. This is indicated both by the prevalence of votives with stronger aristocratic associations and by the form of the rituals performed. The EIA votives at Kommos consist, apart from a bronze shield, of bronze and iron weaponry, large terracotta bull and horse figures and imported faience. These types of objects, together with the lack of large numbers of simple terracotta figurines, suggest more so than at Ayia Triada a relatively exclusive group of celebrants, probably a male elite. The abundant presence of animal bones and vessels for drinking and eating indicate that animal sacrifice and ritual dining formed an important part of the associated rituals.

Kommos

Kommos (Plates 63-65) deserves more attention not only because of its traditional ties with Phaistos, but also because the modern excavations have revealed details that can only be suspected at sites that were excavated earlier in the 20th century. The results from Kommos may also help to illuminate the reasons for the foundation of EIA cults at other BA coastal sites. Like Ayia Triada, the BA settlement of Kommos had been abandoned in the LM IIIB period. The few LM IIIC sherds which were found on the site may, according to the excavator, J. Shaw, indicate no more than sporadic visits in the following two centuries.[1513] It was further possible to ascertain that numerous BA structures and walls remained standing until well into the EIA. They attracted different kinds of reuse for both utilitarian and cult purposes, ranging from the quarrying of blocks to the rebuilding of structures and reuse without major modification. For instance, EIA visitors of the sanctuary seem to have found lodging in the galleries of LM III Building P, the roof of which must have been partially preserved. Some of the more modestly constructed BA houses on the slope and summit of the adjacent hill may also have been visible and reused, for in one of them a complete G pithos was found.[1514] The EIA sanctuary, however, was associated with the far more monumental ruins of ashlar Buildings P/T and the adjacent court at the bottom of the hill. The builders of the first cult building at the site, Temple A, actually incorporated part of one of the walls of Building T. Until late in the 8th century BC, at which time the surrounding area was raised and levelled, Temple A and its successor Temple B rested on a clearly visible 'island' formed by the collapsed blocks of Building T. Some of the large wheelmade terracotta bovine figures were placed on the exposed Minoan walls.[1515]

[1510] D'Agata 1998, 23-24.

[1511] Lebessi 1991c, 108-10, figs. 6-7. For the figurine with cup: D'Agata 1998, 19, fig. I.5.

[1512] See section 7 in this chapter, p. 488-89.

As at Knossos and Phaistos, EIA cult at Kommos was clearly aimed at the central, most monumental BA complex of the site, Building P/T. Although the exact function of the individual rooms within this complex is not in all cases clear, there can be little doubt that it constituted a public centre or palace during the LBA.[1516] The fact that it was singled out as the place for a sanctuary from the end of the LM IIIC-SM period suggests that the memory of the building's special character was preserved. There is, however, no clear evidence for a cult function of Building P/T during the BA . The excavator, J. Shaw, therefore concludes that its reuse in the EIA was probably due to a general 'aura of sanctity' conveyed by the BA walls.[1517] Some confirmation for the idea that monumental walls may have had divine connotations during the EIA may be found in the Homeric epics, for in the *Iliad* the city walls of Troy are said to have been built or founded by the gods.[1518] Obviously, the truly monumental character of the BA ashlar walls of Crete would have stood in sharp contrast to the modest architecture of the EIA. It should be added, however, that the instances of varied reuse of BA walls at Kommos, including destructive quarrying, argue against the prevalence of general, indiscriminate feelings of awe or respect towards ancient monuments.

[1513] J. Shaw 1992, 148, 152; also cat. entry B.57.
[1514] J. Shaw 1981, 238-39, pl. 61d; M.C. Shaw & Nixon 1996, 59.
[1515] E.g. J. Shaw 2000a, 9-10, 12-13; M.C. Shaw 2000, 164-65; cat. enry B.57.
[1516] Shaw & Shaw 1993, 161-182, 185-87.
[1517] J. Shaw 2000a, 11; *id.* 2000b, 698.

More practical reasons for the foundation of an EIA sanctuary at Kommos are revealed by the evidence for Phoenician visitors during the later use of Temple A and the first use of Temple B, i.e. from the late 10th century to *c.* 760 BC (Plates 64-65). Phoenician presence is spoken for by the fragments of transport amphorae, the faience figurines and vessels and most of all by the architectural form and furnishings of the second Temple (B). Erected around 800 BC, this open-sided temple contained a small so-called tripillar shrine consisting of three upright stones on a base—a form foreign to Crete but closely paralleled by Phoenician examples.[1519] This indicates substantial Phoenician interest and attendance, although there are no grounds to consider the sanctuary at Kommos a Phoenician foundation or even colony.[1520] No Phoenician material has been found in association with the construction and first phase of use of Temple A. Moreover, there is a characteristic, continuous series of votives of local origin and manufacture from the beginning of the cult in the late 11th down to the end of the 7th century BC. It is important to note, however, that not long after its foundation the sanctuary at Kommos apparently developed into a meeting place for inhabitants of the western Mesara and merchants from overseas. As discussed in a previous section, the inclusion of a hearth in Temple B suggests that these external contacts had a formal, regulated or 'official' character. The custom of indoor sacrifice and dining in hearth temples such as Temple B appears to have been the privilege of a male elite. This, together with the aristocratic associations of many of the votives from Kommos, shows the involvement of a male elite both in the cult and in the maintenance of foreign contacts.[1521]

[1518] *Il.* 7.445-52, 8.519.

[1519] See cat. entry B.57.

[1520] As proposed by Negbi (1992, 599-615).

Whereas the monumental ashlar structures at Kommos will surely have inspired a certain respect or even awe, the transference of cult activities from Ayia Triada to the ruins of a large BA centre with well-protected harbour points to more worldly, practical objectives: the establishment of a presence in an area that had been largely abandoned since the end of the BA, but which reassumed its importance when, in the PG period, overseas communication began to increase.[1522] This presence would have been justified by an explicit association with the old BA building that itself had been the public centre of an international harbour in the LBA. With its coastal location, the sanctuary of Kommos clearly marks a physical as well as a symbolic boundary. As discussed above, the site most probably belonged to the territory of Phaistos and served as a point of contact with foreigners from overseas. In its territorial and political functions, Kommos conforms to the requisites for an extra-urban 'border sanctuary' as formulated by De Polignac.[1523] At the same time, however, there are some differences with the typical border sanctuary. De Polignac assigns the latter a host of functions, which have in common that they bear on various aspects associated with the formation of the Greek polis. Apart from having political-territorial functions, cult would have been intimately connected with the agricultural and social base of the life of the community. Part of the rituals at border sanctuaries would have been aimed at securing the fertility of fields and flocks and at the forging of social cohesion between the different constituent parts of the associated community. In connection with the latter function, Artemis, according to De Polignac, is a deity frequently encountered at such border sanctuaries. This goddess supervised the transition of boundaries, including those of age, such as enacted in initiation rituals for the young members of society. From the EIA votives at Kommos, it appears that the functions of this sanctuary may have been restricted more unilaterally to those concerning political and territorial aspects. The votives attest to the involvement of a male elite more than to the participation of groups of worshippers of greatly varying social standing. One of the principal deities worshipped at Kommos may have been Apollo, a more 'formal' polis god, who was involved both with the regulation of relations with outsiders and the coming of age of young, male citizens.[1524]

[1521] See section 6 in this chapter, p. 474-75.

[1522] See the introduction to this chapter, p. 226-42.

[1523] Nixon 1990, 66-67. For De Polignac's model: see the introduction to this chapter, p. 215, and section 7, p. 499-502.

Amnisos

Returning to the north part of central Crete, there are indications that the leading members of the EIA community at Knossos also made good use of the past in strengthening or reclaiming ties with a former harbour town traditionally belonging to their territory. In this case attention focused on Amnisos (Plate 66), for which a close relationship with Knossos is attested by archaeological and literary sources for different periods in history. As at Kommos, a possible BA road has been traced connecting the harbour with the inland site.[1525] Most ancient literary sources refer to Amnisos as a harbour or in the context of cult activities. Noteworthy is the listing of Amnisos in what appears to be an Egyptian marine itinerary of the 14th century BC. From the Linear B tablets found at Knossos, Amnisos emerges as part of the palace's territory, at which mention is made of the stationing of chariots, perhaps for a coast guard. In Homer's *Odyssey*, Amnisos is described as the (windy) harbour belonging to Minos.[1526]

Like Kommos, Amnisos was abandoned at the end of the LBA. Permanent settling of the area around the EIA sanctuary at Amnisos for agricultural purposes may not have happened until the 7th century BC.[1527] Considering its traditional use as harbour, it may be assumed that the inception of EIA cult at Amnisos happened for similar reasons as at Kommos: to reestablish a presence in a border area that acquired new importance with the increasing overseas communications from the PG period on. Unlike at Kommos, however, important parts of the EIA sanctuary of Amnisos remain unexcavated. The available archaeological evidence does not at present bear out the conclusion that Amnisos' use as a harbour was resumed early in the EIA. The limited finds from Amnisos cannot be expected to provide the kind of detailed picture as do the storerooms and large numbers of imports at Kommos. The repeated occurrence of faience vessels and figurines at Amnisos is, however, noteworthy. These imports indicate contact with East Greece or the Near East during the second half of the 7th century BC. Throughout the EIA, an important proportion of votives consisted of bronzes: tripods and figurines in the earliest, PG phase, supplemented by bronze vessels and miscellaneous smaller metal items in the following centuries (Table 4, B.60). These votives suggest a certain social standing for the worshippers.

[1524] See section 6 in this chapter, p. 459-60.

[1525] Knoblauch & Niemeier 1992, 323-24.

[1526] Described as a 'submitted city' in the Egyptian text: Helck 1992, 13-17. Linear B: Bennet 1985; Hiller 1992, 46-49; Knoblauch & Niemeier 1992, 323. For the Homeric and later references: Chaniotis 1992, 52, 80-83; see also Schäfer 1992d, 349-55.

[1527] See cat. entry B.60.

All EIA votives mentioned above came from a sacrificial layer with ash and bones that had accumulated against a more than 44 m long ashlar wall at the foot of the Palaiochora hill. This provided a no less monumental stage for the EIA cult activities than the ruins chosen at Knossos, Phaistos and Kommos. Sacrificial remains, consisting of ash, bones and votives were heaped up against it in the course of several centuries.[1528] The fact that, as at Kommos, one of the houses of the surrounding BA settlement of Amnisos was reused (in this case in the 7th century BC) again indicates lasting visibility of larger parts of the site and a distinct preference for monumental constructions as the location for the EIA cult. Being only partially excavated, the original function of the BA structure at Amnisos can unfortunately not be established. Because of its proximity to the west cliff of the Palaiochora hill it has been suggested that this ashlar wall, which has two smaller podia set in front of it, was part of a platform rather than of a building complex. An interesting observation by the excavator, S. Marinatos, concerns the signs of clearance of part of the structure in later times. A small dump found in the vicinity contained MM pottery, bull figurines and part of a terracotta kernos. Marinatos ascribed the cleaning to the founders of the later cult.[1529] The presence of this deposit may either indicate that the ashlar structure had served cult purposes in the BA and was remembered as such, or it represents a discovery of the EIA giving rise to the assumption that the building was an old sanctuary.[1530] There is no further evidence for cult use in either the BA or the LM IIIC-SM period. Some LM IIIC pottery has been identified in the boxes with old excavation material at the Herakleion Museum, but these probably indicate a slightly longer occupation than at the other BA coastal sites or, on the analogy with Kommos, sporadic visits in the period prior to the inception of EIA cult.[1531]

[1528] As is well illustrated in the drawing and photograph of the section which was published by the excavator, S. Marinatos (1933, 95 fig. 2; 1938, opposite 130).

[1529] Although it is not entirely clear on what grounds: Marinatos 1934, 248; *id.* 1932, 79; *id.* 1933, 95-96.

Judging from HL inscriptions found at the sanctuary, cult at Amnisos was dedicated to Zeus Thenatas. According to Chaniotis, Thenai may have been a toponym in Crete which was attached to Zeus in the period of Minoan-Mycenaean religious syncretism. While there is no evidence for uninterrupted cult continuity at Amnisos, the type of cult shows clear links to the LBA.[1532]

To sum up the evidence for later cult at BA ruins at the central-Cretan sites discussed above, the first point to be emphasised is the convincing evidence at all of them for the long-lasting visibility of abandoned BA palaces and other monuments. These ruins may well have served as an active reminder of the glories of the past. The fact that palatial or closely related structures were singled out to become sites of worship, while other remains were either ignored or reused for utilitarian purposes only, further suggests that a relatively accurate memory of the central and public functions of these BA complexes was preserved. However, the cults associated with these ruins vary in appearance and expression and seem to have served different purposes at the different sites. This applies especially to the cult places established during the LM IIIC-SM period, i.e. those at the Spring Chamber at Knossos, at the 'Piazzale' at Ayia Triada and at Building P/T at Kommos.

At Knossos, the possibility exists that the palace was considered a hallowed place throughout the period from the LBA into the EIA, and that this was continually given visible expression. Moreover, the LM IIIC-SM votives from the Spring Chamber seem to preserve a link with a cult for a Goddess with Upraised Arms, which was akin to that celebrated in the Shrine of the Double Axes in the preceding LM IIIB period. Therefore, Knossos may be considered to present the clearest example of the continuity of a cult associated with a BA palace. However, the shift to the Spring Chamber, at a location near the southern fringe of the Palace area, away from both the Central Court and the LM IIIC-SM settlement nucleus, indicates a diminishing importance of this cult within the Knossian community. In this sense, the LM IIIC-SM cult is perhaps best qualified as an instance of residual continuity, a remnant of the past that was only relevant for a small portion of the local population.

[1530] For the first option: Kanta 1980, 42. For the second possibility: Kirsten 1940a, 33-35; *cf.* Snodgrass 1971, 396-97.

[1531] For further references: see cat. entry B.60.

[1532] Chaniotis 1992, 77-79, 90-100; Chaniotis & Schäfer 1992, 352-53.

At Ayia Triada, the LM IIIC-SM cult at the Piazzale similarly presents evidence for continued cult activity after the LBA. Here, however, there was a distinct change in the character and orientation of the cult compared to that associated with the local LM IIIB bench sanctuary. An underlying reason for the establishment of a new LM IIIC-SM sanctuary in the open space of the Piazzale may well have been territorial in nature—a mechanism repeated at Kommos later in the LM IIIC-SM period. Another significant difference with the situation at LM IIIC-SM Knossos is that the actual relationship of the LM IIIC-SM cult with the BA ruins at Ayia Triada remained unarticulated. This places the LM IIIC-SM cult at Ayia Triada in a different category from that in the Spring Chamber.

A more coherent situation emerges in the course of the PG period, when parallel patterns seem to develop for Knossos and Phaistos. At both sites, a sanctuary is then founded at a prominent position within the palatial ruins, i.e. at or near the southwest corner of the Central Court. In roughly the same period, cult activities begin in the abandoned harbour sites that traditionally belonged to these communities. This betrays a conscious appropriation of the BA past for, at least partially, practical purposes. The phenomenon is most clearly illustrated by the developing configuration in the western Mesara, where the traditional relationship between three important BA sites was given renewed expression by the installation of cults that contained a clear and consistent reference to this common past.[1533] First, a sanctuary seems to have been founded at Kommos, something that initially occurred at the expense of the older cult at Ayia Triada. The latter site shows a temporary drawback in cult activities and a subsequent reorientation of the cult in the PGB period. Probably in the same period, a sanctuary was established at the ruins of the BA Palace of Phaistos.

[1533] D'Agata 1998, 24.

It is significant in this context that neither at Knossos and Phaistos, nor at Amnisos and Kommos, the associated sanctuaries seem to have served as major foci of community cult, for large or varied groups of the local populations.[1534] At the Central Court in Knossos, the EIA votives are too few in number, while the deposit from Phaistos primarily consisted of costly bronze shields and bowls—types of offerings that indicate the high social and economic status of the cult participants. A similar elite involvement may be supposed for the other three sanctuaries, even if for Knossos this observation is admittedly based more on the funerary evidence from the associated EIA cemeteries than on the cultic evidence. In any case, the forging of a more general sense of community among different social groups within the community in reference to a common past seems to have been of minor importance for the installation of these cults at BA remains. Instead, these cults seem to have been the privilege of an elite from the PG period on and, as such, to have contributed to the articulation of the EIA Cretan aristocracy and associated sociopolitical institutions.

The observation that 'ruin cult' was a fairly restricted phenomenon, centring on palaces and other structures with an attested public function during the BA, raises further questions as to how these places were remembered. On the Mainland, the building of temples at the sites of Mycenaean palaces, as at the acropoleis of Athens, Mycenae and Tiryns, has been interpreted as a sign of the continued memory of the palaces both as seats of government and as primary cult places. Nilsson already called attention to a close association between leadership and divinity as expressed for the EIA by two passages in the Homeric poems. In the *Iliad* Erechtheus is said to have been honoured with sacrifices in the temple of Athena at the Acropolis, while in the *Odyssey* Athena is described to have gone to Athens and entered 'the strong house' of Erechtheus.[1535]

[1534] For a definition and discussion of the functions of 'major community sanctuaries': section 7 above, p. 476-77. In both cases there are indications that a more centrally located urban sanctuary existed on the hills to the west, on the top of the 'Acropolis' at Knossos and in the saddle between two higher hills at Phaistos; see cat. entries B.17 and B.20.

[1535] Nilsson 1950, 487-88 (with ref. to *Il.* 2.547; *Od.* 7.80).

Similar considerations may have drawn members of the emerging aristocracy in EIA Crete to the ruins of the BA palaces. As on the Mainland, these ruins may have combined associations as former residencies of royal ancestors and as ceremonial centres and sanctuaries. Specific traditions of the shared worship of former kings and deities at the sites of former palaces, comparable to that of Erechtheus, are, however, not preserved for Crete.[1536] The question of how the Minoan palaces were remembered in Crete is difficult to decide on the basis of archaeological evidence alone, but a few tentative remarks may be added. The widespread lack of evidence for tomb cult in EIA Crete and the relative scarcity of 'worldly heroic' themes in the islands figurative art,[1537] may indicate that EIA 'ruin cult' was also not exclusively aimed at the veneration of royal ancestors. This would suggest religious motivations of a more general kind, perhaps as a parallel to the renewed popularity of some of the old extra-urban sanctuaries in the island, such as the Idaean cave and Syme.[1538] Although variations in the conception and treatment of BA monuments will have occurred between the different regions in the island, the example of Palaikastro, in the far east of the island, is instructive in this respect. More so than the other Cretan EIA sanctuaries at BA remains it provides indications for a preservation of ancient cult traditions and for the possibility that it was primarily remembered as the abode of an ancient god.

Palaikastro

The sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus at Palaikastro, in the far east of Crete, constitutes a third example of an EIA cult place set amidst the ruins of a deserted BA coastal town (Plate 73). This site presents both similarities and differences with the central-Cretan sites discussed earlier. The BA settlement of Palaikastro was abandoned at approximately the same time as Kommos and Amnisos, towards the end of the LM IIIB period.[1539] As with the other EIA sanctuary sites, Palaikastro has yielded evidence for the lasting visibility of BA structures of both ashlar and rougher, megalithic construction, probably into CL-HL times and beyond. So far, however, no BA palatial or other monumental public structures have been identified at Palaikastro. The EIA sanctuary was situated halfway down the eastern slope of the settlement hill, in the area of BA House Chi, parts of which seem to have been reused in HL times. House Chi was of good ashlar construction, but cannot be assigned a public function. It should be added, however, that, as at Amnisos, the extent of the sanctuary area is not fully known. Plans in the early excavation reports clearly show that the line of the sanctuary's later temenos wall was not entirely traced. At the southeast limit of the excavation, where the famous inscription with Hymn for Dictaean Zeus was found, the early excavators noted several wall fragments whose character was not explored. Excavation has not proceeded far enough to the southeast to test the possible presence of other structures—of either BA or later date—in the small protected valley at the foot of the hill.[1540]

[1536] An exception is the tradition recorded by Diod. Sic. (4.79 1ff. 3; see also Stampolides 1990b, 397 n. 62) on the tomb of Minos, located in Sicily, to which a small sanctuary to Aphrodite was attached.

[1537] See the introduction to this chapter, p. 238-39.

[1538] To be discussed in section 9 of this chapter, p. 565-604.

[1539] See cat. entry B.69.

The situation at Palaikastro differs in some important respects from that encountered in the areas of Kommos and Amnisos in central Crete. The configuration of EIA settlements around the east-Cretan sanctuary is clearly different, as a result of variations in the general history of occupation in this part of the island. Despite the present lack of a BA palace at Palaikastro, it may be assumed that this site, which remained the largest settlement of eastern Crete until late in the LM IIIB period, constituted an independent population centre for most if not all of the BA.[1541] Relatively radical changes in settlement pattern marked the transition from the LBA into the EIA in the far east of Crete. By the onset of the LM IIIC-SM period, all known LBA settlements were abandoned and most of the population seems to have moved to the Siteia mountains further inland, where numerous new settlements were founded. There was no large settlement in the hinterland of Palaikastro that, as in the case of Knossos and Phaistos in central Crete, was continuously inhabited from the BA into the EIA and could have boasted traditional ties with this BA harbour town. As to the newly founded EIA settlements that may have had a special relationship with Palaikastro, different candidates have been proposed.

[1540] The area of the sanctuary was backfilled by the excavators in 1905, but some of the walls were recorded in the excavation daybooks or show on old photographs: Prent & Thorne 2000.

[1541] See e.g. Dickinson (1994a, 284, 305) and esp. Bennett (1987a; 1987b; 1988). At both Siteia and Zakros, habitation began to decrease already in the course of the LM III period; see Kanta 1980, 176-77, 195-97; Tsipopoulou 1995; *ead.* 1997, esp. 242-48.

The EIA settlement closest to Palaikastro was Itanos, some 8 km to the north and itself located on the sea. It is sometimes assumed that at some stage of its existence the sanctuary at Palaikastro was in the hands of Itanos.[1542] This, however, may be based on a misinterpretation of the so-called Toplou inscription.[1543] In this document, which is of late 2nd-century BC date, details of a long-standing territorial dispute between several east-Cretan cities are recorded. Hierapytna claimed possession of the sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus on the basis of her victory in 145-140 BC over Praisos, which apparently had had control until then. Itanos seems to have merely asked confirmation of her old borders. Eventually, arbitration by the Romans and the justices from Magnesia on the Meander was sought, and these eventually ruled in favour of Itanos.[1544] The conflict centred on an area called Heleia, which according to Hierapytna referred to sanctuary land and therefore fell under her (newly acquired) territory. As pointed out by Crowther, the unjustified Hierapytnian equation of Heleia with the sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus was followed by several modern scholars, who on this basis concluded that Itanos held older rights to the sanctuary.[1545] However, the decision of the foreign mediators to grant Heleia to Itanos was not based on the latter's claim to possession of sanctuary land. Instead, the Roman envoys observed that Heleia was cultivated on and clearly separated from the sanctuary lands by 'enclosures and various other landmarks and signs'. This indicated to them that it had long been part of the agricultural lands of Itanos, rather than belonging to the sanctuary, as maintained by Hierapytna. As recently argued by Crowther, the name Heleia probably applies to the marshy area just north of the EIA sanctuary and BA settlement of Palaikastro.[1546]

For the time prior to the HL period, it is of significance that the Toplou inscription implies control of the sanctuary by Praisos, in particular since this seems in accordance with the testimony of Strabo, who mentions the existence of a sanctuary for Dictaean Zeus in association with Praisos.[1547] The latter site, located in the mountainous area west of Palaikastro, formed one of the largest and most powerful CL-HL poleis of eastern Crete.[1548] Ancient authors considered it the seat of an autochthonous, 'truly Cretan' population, the Eteocretans. Homer mentions the Eteocretans as one of five tribes living on the island, however without localising them.[1549] Herodotus and Strabo are more specific in this respect, as they explicitly link the Eteocretans with Praisos.[1550] Following in the footsteps of these ancient authors, a close relationship between Praisos and Palaikastro was also proposed by Bosanquet, who excavated at both sites in the beginning of the 20th century. He considered the inhabitants of Praisos as the direct descendants of the BA people of Palaikastro and held them responsible for the installation and maintenance of the EIA and later cult at the sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus. In Bosanquet's scenario, the population of the LBA settlement at Palaikastro withdrew to the mountainous country of Praisos when, as a result of the collapse of central BA authority, the coastal areas became too exposed and dangerous. He suggested that 'when growing uncertainty drove the Eteocretan population inland, Praisos took the place of Palaikastro (Heleia) as the capital. But the cult clung to the deserted town-site, and again and again in defiance of boundaries and treaties the people of Praisos laid claim to the holy place of their forefathers.'[1551] Bosanquet further drew attention to the distinct similarities in cult practice and votive types between the principal sanctuary of Praisos, the Altar Hill, and that at Palaikastro. At both sites, EIA cult took place in the open air and centred on an ash-altar, while votive assemblages at each site were dominated by the presence of large quantities of bronze tripod-cauldrons and life-size and miniature bronze weaponry (Plates 53, 74).[1552]

[1542] Spyridakis 1970, 55; see also Perlman 1995, 165.

[1543] *IC* III.iv, 9ab; Pashley 1837a, 290.

[1544] See esp. Spyridakis 1970, 58-65.

[1545] Crowther 1988, 43. See Bosanquet 1908-09, 339; Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904-05, 298; A.B. Cook 1925, 930; Nilsson 1950, 464-65; Huxley 1967, 86-87; Spyridakis 1970, 55.

[1546] Crowther 1988, 43.

[1547] Strabo 10.4.6.

[1548] See cat. entries B.44-47.

[1549] *Od.* 19.172-77; see also the introduction to this chapter, p. 219-20.

[1550] Hdt. 7.167-172; Strabo 10.4.6, 12. As remarked by various modern scholars, the latter author confused Praisos with Priansos and therefore mistakenly placed the Eteocretans in the south part of the island instead of in the east; see e.g. Aly 1908, 47; Beloch 1911, 433-35; Nilsson 1950, 458-59.

[1551] Bosanquet 1908-09, 351.

[1552] Bosanquet 1939-40, 65-66; see also cat. entries B.45 and B.69.

Bosanquet's theory of a direct movement of population from Palaikastro to Praisos was initially weakened by the fact that the city and tombs of Praisos had yielded only G and later material, thus leaving a gap of some 400 years after the abandonment of Palaikastro. During recent survey of the city and environs of Praisos, however, an extensive refuge settlement of the LM IIIC-SM period was located in the mountains just above Praisos, at Kypia.[1553] This large site provides a link between Palaikastro and Praisos and, in a general way, lends support to Bosanquet's idea that the area of Praisos developed into a major population centre at the close of the BA. Whether this also implies that the cult at Palaikastro was initiated and controlled by the population of Praisos, as Bosanquet maintained, is another matter. There are several reasons not to project Praisian possession of the sanctuary at Palaikastro, which for the HL period is suggested by the Toplou inscription, back into the EIA.

An exclusive relationship between Praisos and Palaikastro is less of a given than it may be for Knossos and Amnisos or for Phaistos and Kommos, because of the much larger distance separating the first two sites. The walking distance of an estimated 5 to 6 hours contrasts with the 1 to 2 hours separating the other sites from the coast.[1554] Moreover, as discussed above, Palaikastro differs from the central-Cretan BA harbour towns, because of the lack of traditional ties with a large inland community. The abandonment of Palaikastro in the course of the LM IIIB period roughly coincided with that of other coastal sites in the region, such as Zakros to the south and Siteia to the northwest. The gradual concentration of all these people in the mountainous hinterland is bound to have been accompanied by a breaking up of old community ties, dispersal, mixing and regrouping in new local environments. As a result, claims to coastal lands left behind may have been distributed between different communities and hence open to contention. The extensive hill and mountain country between Praisos and Palaikastro has not been surveyed systematically and the sites of other LM IIIC-SM and EIA communities, perhaps smaller, but with equally valid claims to an origin at Palaikastro, may be identified in the future.[1555]

[1553] Whitley, Prent & Thorne 1999, 238-42.

[1554] The fact that no direct route between Palaikastro and Praisos is described by Pendlebury (1939, 9) may be significant. This author considers as central routes the one leading from Palaikastro to Siteia (4 hours, and from there continuing further westwards) and the one leading from Kato Zakros to Praisos (4 hours).

The similarities in EIA cult practice and votive types between the sanctuaries at the Altar Hill at Praisos and Palaikastro noted by Bosanquet are indeed considerable, but may provide less unequivocal proof of an exclusive relation between these sites than he proposed. First of all, it should be emphasised that Praisos is one of the few EIA sites in east Crete whose sanctuaries were thoroughly excavated. It is therefore not known how cult practices at other sites in the region would compare to those at Palaikastro. But most importantly, the composition of the EIA votive assemblage at Palaikastro suggests that the sanctuary served most of all as a neutral meeting ground for people from different surrounding communities. There is a preponderance of large bronzes, consisting of bronze tripod-cauldrons, shields, weaponry and miniature versions of the same. The presence of these types of objects, together with the almost complete lack of terracotta votives and the extra-urban location of the site, make Palaikastro almost a model example of an (inter-)regional sanctuary whose primary function was that of a meeting place for elite members of different communities.[1556] In this connection it may be relevant that the Hymn to Dictaean Zeus, found at the site, contains a passage in which the god's protection is asked 'for our cities'.[1557] Although information from this Hymn, which dates to the 6th century BC at the earliest,[1558] cannot simply be transferred to the EIA, a function as regional sanctuary for different communities in the far east of Crete, from the inception of the cult onward, is likely.

This is not to say that Praisos may not have won control of Palaikastro in the course of time. Surely, having authority over such an important regional sanctuary would have been a prestigious as well as a profitable affair. At Palaikastro, the first signs of a more structural interference in the sanctuary's affairs by an individual community seem to be indicated by building activities on the site from the 6th century BC.[1559] The existence of a series of cult buildings is indicated by the discovery of dispersed architectural fragments of various dates during the early excavations. The earliest of these fragments consist of the well-known terracotta chariot sima, which probably belongs to the second half of the 6th century BC.[1560] Of somewhat later date, i.e. the late 6th or early 5th century BC, are a number of terracotta antefixes in the form of gorgon heads, which came from the same mould as antefixes found at the Altar Hill at Praisos.[1561] This may indicate that the latter site, as part of by then more formal or exclusive ties, was also responsible for the commissioning of building activities at Palaikastro.[1562] Before the 6th century BC, however, cult activities at Palaikastro took place in the open air, around an ash-altar amidst the BA ruins, and would have required relatively little formal organisation.

[1555] Largely unexplored LM IIIC-SM and EIA sites have, for instance, been reported by Faure (1962, esp. 39), Platon (1954), Papadakis (1983, 86) and Kanta (1980, 177-88); Nowicki 1990.

[1556] As defined by Snodgrass (1980, 52-58, 62-64; 1986a, esp. 54-55) and Morgan (1990, esp. 3-4); see also the discussion in section 4 of this chapter, p. 355-56.

[1557] *IC* III, i.2 line 57; see also Van Effenterre 1948a, 126-27.

[1558] The inscription itself dates to the 3rd century AD but the recorded hymn probably goes back to the 4th and perhaps even the 6th century BC; see Bosanquet 1908-09, 339-56; G. Murray 1908-09, 357-65; Furley & Bremer 2001b, 4.

As to the reasons why Palaikastro was chosen as a meeting place for aristocrats from the region in the EIA, territorial and other practical considerations, such as access to a good harbour, appear to have been less relevant than at Kommos or Amnisos. There are no imports among the EIA votive assemblage from the sanctuary at Palaikastro that could indicate overseas contacts. This despite the fact that the Palaikastro bay is a natural landing place for ships coming from the direction of Karpathos and Rhodes and that during the LBA it was certainly used as harbour. In the HL period some trading was done here, but on a small scale, as apparent from the few warehouses below Kastri.[1563] Of the nearest known EIA settlements, neither Itanos nor Praisos may have been drawn to Palaikastro because of its qualities as coastal point of access. Itanos, which, as mentioned above, was situated on the coast had its own harbours. Praisos, if actively engaged in overseas trade during the EIA, would probably have turned to harbours at the north and south coast, with which it was connected through more easily traversable valleys than with the area of Palaikastro. In HL times, Praisos possessed treaties with Siteia to the north and Stalai to the south, ensuring the use of their harbour facilities.[1564] Neither do territorial claims to agricultural land seem to have been an important factor in the choice of Palaikastro. Judging by the scarcity of small EIA settlements or farming establishments, little intensive use seems to have been made of the agricultural resources in the coastal areas. Their usage may have been confined to that of grazing grounds. It is therefore not justified to see EIA Palaikastro as a territorial or 'border sanctuary' marking the agricultural boundaries of one of the east-Cretan polities.[1565] Instead, part of the reason for the location of the sanctuary here may have to be sought in the remote nature of the area in the EIA. With the population concentrated in the Siteia mountains to the west since the end of the BA, the coastal valley of Palaikastro appears to have been virtually deserted until the HL period.[1566] Such a remote setting, in an area which may have been dedicated primarily to shepherding, concurs with a function of 'neutral meeting place' and puts Palaikastro on a par with extra-urban sanctuaries such as the Idaean cave and Syme.[1567]

[1559] For the idea that building activities at extra-urban sanctuaries are indicative of the growing control of specific communities or cities, see section 9 in this chapter, esp. p. 573-74.

[1560] Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904-05, pl. XV; Hutchinson, Eccles & Benton 1939-40, pl. 17. This sima was originally dated to the end of the 7th century BC by Bosanquet (1939-40, 67-68). Although this date is still adhered to by Mertens-Horn (1992, 85-88), parallels in northwest Anatolia, Thasos and Italy, indicate the later date proposed here; see Prent & Thorne 2000.

[1561] Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904-05, 303-05, figs. 20-22.

[1562] Some caution is warranted, however, as the occurrence of identical antefixes at different sites may also be due to the activities of travelling artisans, using their own moulds. For Crete, this is suggested by the possibility that gorgon antefixes of the same type (and the same mould?) were found at the Acropolis of Gortyn; see Rizza & Scrinari 1968, 191-92 (nos. 305:a-o), pl. XLII.

[1563] Sackett, Popham & Warren 1965, 280-82; MacGillivray, Sackett *et al.* 1988, 278-82, fig. 11.

The location of the sanctuary of Palaikastro amidst the ruins of the largest and probably most powerful BA settlement of eastern Crete would have been meaningful in itself and it may well have been based on an accurate and respectful memory of the former 'grandeur' of this town. In this respect, the situation at Palaikastro corresponds to that at the central-Cretan sites discussed previously. But while at Palaikastro practical and economic reasons to reoccupy the area may have been of minor importance, the results of recent archaeological research suggest that there may have been more specific, cultic reasons for the choice of this site. Although there is, against Bosanquet's assertion,[1568] still no proof for uninterrupted cult activities from the BA into the EIA at the spot of the sanctuary, a striking example is offered of a continued association of the general area of Palaikastro with the worship of an important indigenous god.

[1564] As demonstrated by an early 3rd-century BC inscription: *IC* III.7, 142ff.; see Spyridakis 1970, 27-29.

[1565] Even though it clearly became such in later periods. *Contra* Nixon 1990, 66-67; Perlman 1995, 164-67.

[1566] Even in HL times signs of habitation are scarce. For earlier periods, there are two small LM IIIC-SM sites known near Palaikastro: Kastri (see n. 1563 above) and Ayios Spyridon in the small valley immediately to the south (personal observation). Known EIA settlements are much further away. Apart from Itanos, the nearest known (small) EIA sites are a site near Siteia (see Tsipopoulou 1989) and Tou Koukou to Kephali (B.49) and Ellenika (see Kanta 1980, 195), both near Epano Zakros some 12 km to the south. The lack of LM IIIC-SM and EIA settlements provides a stark contrast with the great density of small BA establishments in the east-Cretan countryside; see e.g. Wroncka 1959; Schlager 1987; *id.* 1991; Tzedakis *et al.* 1989; *eid.* 1990.

[1567] See cat. entries B.52 and B.66 and the discussion in section 9 of this chapter, 323-30.

The identification of the sanctuary at Palaikastro as that of Zeus Diktaios—'Zeus of Dikte'—has been generally accepted. It is to a large extent based on the inscription with Hymn found at the sanctuary, which invites the god to come to 'Dikte'. Scholars agree in regarding Dictaean Zeus as an indigenous Cretan god and, more specifically, as a manifestation of Zeus Kretagenes or Cretan-born Zeus, who is relatively well known from ancient literary sources. The associated mythology centres on the story of his birth, the earliest preserved version of which can be found in Hesiod's *Theogony*.[1569] This author tells how upon his birth the baby-god was hidden in a cave by his mother Rhea to protect him from his child-devouring father Kronos. Rhea presented her husband with a stone in swaddling clothes, which he greedily swallowed without realising the deceit. After having been brought up in secrecy, the young Zeus overcame his father and forced him to disgorge the other children of Rhea, whom he had swallowed earlier. Thus the older generation of Olympian gods was born.[1570]

Welcker was the first to realise that this Cretan-born Zeus was very different in character from the Greek Zeus, who was conceived of as a Sky god.[1571] Nilsson subsequently pointed out that for none of the Greek gods did the birth story constitute such an important and peculiar element of the associated mythology as for Zeus. Ancient literary sources indicate that in Crete the birth of the god was celebrated as an annual event, and that there were additional traditions about his death and burial place.[1572] It was especially the elements of death and (re-)birth in the mythology surrounding Cretan Zeus that led Nilsson to propose a Minoan ancestor. Drawing a parallel between the god's life cycle and 'the annual coming to life and decaying of the Life of Nature', he concluded that 'the newborn Zeus child is the representative of the vegetation which is born everywhere'.[1573]

[1568] E.g. Bosanquet 1908-09, 351; *id.* 1939-40, 64.

[1569] This, and other ancient sources, will be discussed more fully in the next section, p. 591-97.

[1570] See e.g. Nilsson 1950, 537; Burkert 1985, 127; West 1997, 293-95; Thorne 2000, 142.

[1571] Welcker 1860, 218-20. See also Nilsson 1950, 534; Burkert 1985, 125-26.

In the central regions of the island this Minoan god probably already began to syncretise with the Helladic Sky God Zeus in the LM III period. In five of the Linear B tablets of Knossos the epithet 'Diktaios', which is of non-Greek origin, is attached to the name of Zeus.[1574] Many elements of the god's BA legacy seem, however, to have been preserved into historical times, as is particularly apparent from the Palaikastro Hymn. In accordance with the portrayal of male gods in Minoan art, the Hymn addresses the god as a youthful figure or 'Kouros', who is qualified as the 'most mighty', 'greatest' or 'son of Kronos' without actually being called Zeus.[1575] Among the many kinds of blessings asked from this Kouros, those concerning the fertility of fields and flocks still take an important place. This, and the fact that the god is asked to come to Dikte 'for the year' or 'for the year's wend',[1576] firmly places him in a Minoan religious framework of annually dying and reborn vegetation deities.[1577]

While different variants of the birth story of Cretan Zeus have been preserved from CL-HL and later times, it is significant that one of the more important traditions localises the god's birth at Dikte, a name alternately used to describe a mountain and a cave.[1578] The location of 'Dikte' has long been disputed, both in antiquity and in modern times, but gradually a consensus has been reached which connects Dikte with eastern Crete.[1579] It seems to have been used as a toponym by Apollonius Rhodius, Diodorus Siculus and in the *Etymologicum Magnum*. The first author mentions 'Dikta's haven' as the place where the Argonauts, sailing between Crete and Karpathos, sought landfall and than rowed on past Cape Samonium. It is obvious that their point of entry would have been somewhere along the east coast of Crete.[1580] Moreover, Diodorus recounts that Zeus founded a city at or near Dikta, the remains of which were still visible during his day.[1581] In addition, the *Etymologicum Magnum* states that there was a statue of a beardless Zeus at Dikta. Recently, Crowther has combined all these testimonies and argues for a more specific identification of the Dikta mentioned in these ancient sources with the area of Palaikastro.[1582] Particularly important is his inclusion of previously unaccounted for epigraphic evidence from the large Minoan peak sanctuary just to the south of Palaikastro. This peak sanctuary, called Petsophas after the modern name of the mountain range on which it is situated, yielded four stone tables of offering with Linear-A inscriptions reading 'JA-DI-KI-TE-TE'. Apart from one comparable inscription from Mount Jouktas near Knossos, this word is not attested elsewhere. Crowther tentatively proposes to interpret it as the Minoan for 'Dikta'.[1583]

[1572] From HL times onwards Zeus tomb was said to be in different places, including Mount Jouktas, Ida and Dikte. For refs.: A.B. Cook 1914, 157 n. 4; *id.* 1925, 934, 940; see also Nilsson 1950, 543, 553; Burkert 1985, 127.

[1573] Nilsson 1950, 535, 553-58; see also Farnell 1986a, 37.

[1574] Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 60-61; Burkert 1985, 125-26. For a more detailed discussion of the formation history of Cretan Zeus see section 9, p. 591-604.

[1575] See also West (1965, 155), on the possibility that the name Zeus was consciously avoided in the Hymn.

[1576] For the different translations: G. Murray 1908-09, 38; West 1965, 150; Crowther 1988, 37 n. 3 (with further refs.).

[1577] See e.g. Harrison 1908-09, 329, 337 (but see also her later interpretation below); Nilsson 1950, 546-66. *Contra*: Verbruggen (1981), who downplays the idiosyncratic aspects of the Cretan god.

[1578] See e.g. Apollod. 1.1.6; Diod. Sic. 5.70; Athenaeus 9.375f.

[1579] Evans (1897) and Hogarth (1899-1900a, 95) were among those who believed that Dikte referred to the Lasithi mountains, with Psychro being the Dictaean Antron. This was based on a passage in Strabo (10.4.12), who confused the location of Praisos, the city which he associated with the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios, with Priansos, which is indeed close to the Lasithi mountains. The identification with the Lasithi mountains was already convincingly refuted by Aly (1908, 47), Beloch (1911, 433-35) and others (see Nilsson 1950, 458-59). For a fuller discussion of the various earlier identifications of Dikte: Crowther 1988; Thorne 2000.

[1580] *Argonautika* 4.1635-1693. Under certain atmospheric circumstances, usually in autumn, the islands of Kasos and Karpathos are clearly visible from Palaikastro; see also Crowther 1988, 38.

[1581] Diod. Sic. 5.70.6.

[1582] Crowther 1988, esp. 37. Before him Huxley (1967) had opted for a connection of Dikta with the BA harbour town of Zakros; see also Bosanquet 1908-09, 351; *id.* 1939-40, 62-63; Faure 1964, 97.

[1583] Crowther 1988, esp. 37-38; *id.* 2000; see also Sackett & MacGillivray 1989, 30-31. *Contra*: Owens 1993.

The proximity of Palaikastro and Petsophas, the latter clearly visible from the BA settlement and its summit at a walking distance of less than 30 minutes, in itself suggests a close relationship between the two sites.[1584] This is further corroborated by the recent discovery in the settlement of the so-called Palaikastro Kouros, a chryselephantine statuette of a young male figure with both arms bent and fists at the chest. The statuette belongs to the Neopalatial period and is exceptional in terms both of its size and refined workmanship. It is almost 0.50 m tall, made of ivory, with the upper part of the head and hair in black serpentine, rock crystal for the eyes and sheet gold for the sandals and sword sheath.[1585] Considering its precious nature, detailed execution and its iconography, the directors of the excavation rightly conclude that the Kouros must have represented a deity.[1586] The gesture of the bent arms finds parallels in the representation of a male figure on a seal stone from Chania and, most significantly, in the numerous terracotta figurines found at the peak sanctuary of Petsophas.[1587] There can be little doubt that the presence of representations of the same male deity indicate close cultic links between Palaikastro and Petsophas. The cult at the peak sanctuary goes back to at least the Protopalatial period and lasted into Neopalatial times, after which it was abandoned. The excavators therefore propose that the presence of the Kouros inside the settlement indicates that the focus of the associated cult shifted to the settlement in the course of the New Palace period.[1588]

The fragments of the Palaikastro Kouros were found in and near Building 5, a multi-room structure in which the statuette probably had been kept or displayed during much of the Neopalatial period.

[1584] See on the intervisibility and relationship between BA peak sanctuaries and population centres: Peatfield 1983, esp. 273-77; *id.* 1990, esp. 118 (fig. 1), 119-20.

[1585] MacGillivray, Sackett *et al.* 1988, 267, pl. 45:c-f; MacGillivray, Sackett *et al.* 1991, 141-44, figs. 18-19.

[1586] Sackett & MacGillivray 1989, 30. For these male figures as worshippers: e.g. Peatfield 1990, 121.

[1587] MacGillivray 2000b. For the seal stone Evans 1935, 467, figs. 391bis, 392; Chittenden 1947, pl. XVII:d. For the terracotta figurines, until now commonly considered as depicting worshippers: Bosanquet *et al.* 1902-03, pls. IX-X; Rutkowski 1991, pls. III-XV, XVIII, XX-XXII.

[1588] MacGillivray & Driessen 1990, 404. Petsophas was one of the few Minoan peak sanctuaries where cult continued after the Protopalatial periods; see esp. Peatfield 1990, 127.

This building is situated in a section of the settlement for which the excavators more generally consider religious functions. Part of the façade of Building 5 was rebuilt in ashlar during the LM I period. Several of the sandstone blocks employed carry mason marks of double axes, which may underline the special character of the building.[1589] The Kouros was broken and dispersed in the large-scale destruction that, accompanied by a huge fire, befell the settlement in the LM IB period. Because fragments of the statuette were found both inside and in front of Building 5, the excavators believe that it may have been deliberately smashed by human aggressors. While the broken statuette remained buried after the LM IB destruction, three front rooms of Building 5 were reoccupied and stayed in use until the settlement was finally abandoned in the LM IIIB period. There are too few finds from these rooms to prove cult use in these later periods. However, the area directly to the south, which consists of the part of Building 5 that was left in ruins, yielded fragments of some 12 LM III terracotta figurines. At least one of these displays the familiar gesture of bent arms with fists at the chest.[1590] The possibility therefore exists that the same male deity continued to be worshipped by the BA community at Palaikastro from the Protopalatial to the end of the LM IIIB period without major interruption. The fact that in the much later, 6th-4th century Hymn a god is still addressed as 'Kouros' and is asked to come to 'Dikte' surely justifies the modern excavators in placing emphasis on the links between the BA cult and that of the 'mighty Kouros' celebrated in the EIA and later sanctuary.[1591] While this is not proof for the direct continuity of cult practice—there still is a gap of at least 300 years from the final abandonment of Building 5 to the dedication of the first bronze tripod in the PG period—it strongly suggests the preservation of a (general) association of the area of Palaikastro with the worship of the Dictaean god.

[1589] MacGillivray, Sackett *et al.* 1991, 123-33, 147; MacGillivray, Sackett *et al.* 1992, 124-25. The religious or public functions of other buildings near Building 5 does not, however, seem based on very solid grounds. Building 1 is considered as 'special' primarily because of its good ashlar construction, but there were few associated finds: see MacGillivray, Sackett *et al.* 1988, 268; Sackett & MacGillivray 1989, 29; MacGillivray & Driessen 1990, 404.

[1590] Only few fragments have been published: MacGillivray, Sackett *et al.* 1991, 132-33, fig. 9.

[1591] Sackett & MacGillivray 1989, 31.

As to the question why the cult for this god was actively resumed in the PG period, an important part of the answer will have to be sought in the general socio-political developments of the era. The foundation of EIA sanctuaries that primarily served people belonging to privileged social groups fits in with the prevalent processes of socio-political articulation which begin to become visible at the level of local communities in this period. The widespread phenomenon of the formation of relatively small but numerous polities in the Aegean clearly enhanced the need for neutral meeting places, a function that seems to have been mainly fulfilled by the developing extra-urban sanctuaries.[1592] Seen from this perspective, the EIA sanctuary at Palaikastro had functions comparable to those of other (inter-)regional sanctuaries in Crete and elsewhere in the Aegean world. What may have given the sanctuary at Palaikastro a special and individual character, however, is its location in a largely uninhabited area in the far east of Crete. The site was not positioned in such a way as to develop into a meeting point for people from other regions in the island, in contrast to, for instance, the Idaean cave, which lies at a junction of different regions in the centre of the island.[1593] Nor does Palaikastro seem to have attracted visitors from overseas, as did Kommos and probably Amnisos. Therefore, instead of being instrumental in maintaining contact with people from other regions, the sanctuary may have helped to create or reinforce a common, regional identity typical for the far east of Crete. Considering moreover that cult at Palaikastro focused on a BA deity whose cult preserved several ancient characteristics, the possibility should be taken into account that this regional identity took the form of an autochthonous or 'Eteocretan' consciousness from early in the EIA onward.[1594]

Admittedly, the issue of what constitutes 'ethnic consciousness' or 'ethnic identity' is complex, especially when, as in the case of EIA eastern Crete, this has to be deduced primarily from archaeological evidence. While ethnic consciousness often is a driving force in the social and political relationships between people, it does not always find reflection in a group's material culture. In fact, as shown by several modern studies with an anthropological approach, the whole concept of ethnicity is so elusive as in some cases to be based solely on a feeling of 'being different'.[1595] As aptly summarised by J.M. Hall in his study of ethnicity in the ancient Greek world: 'the ethnic group is a *social construction* rather than an objective and inherently determined category.'[1596] This implies that there are no objective or universal criteria to recognise ethnic groups in the archaeological record. As a social construction, ethnicity may be anchored to anything from clearly perceptible physical or genetic characteristics to costume and dress, elements of material culture and common cultural factors as language and religion, but it does not need to be expressed in such a way.[1597]

[1592] See section 4 of this chapter, p. 355-56.

[1593] For the interregional functions of the latter: see section 9 of this chapter, p. 565-67.

[1594] This point seems foreshadowed by Spyridakis (1970, 52-53, quoting S. Marinatos 1940-41), who proposes that the sanctuary at Palaikastro may have been 'a religious academy of sorts'.

Written sources, comprising traditions preserved by non-Cretan authors and inscriptions from various sites in east Crete itself, are relatively explicit about the presence of an ethnically distinct group in this part of the island. A problem is, however, that most of these written sources date to CL-HL and later periods. Their relevance for the EIA therefore remains to be assessed.

CL and later Greek authors, as discussed above, localise the Eteocretans in eastern Crete and associate them with Praisos in particular.[1598] In the various foundation myths for the east-Cretan cities, which likewise date to HL and later times, ethnic affiliations also play a role. In one tradition, preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium, the founder of Itanos is called one of the Kouretes, an initiate or divine attendant of the Great Kouros invoked in the Palaikastro Hymn. Such a designation was probably intended as a claim to an autochthonous origin,[1599] and this accords well with the proposed Eteocretan character of the far eastern part of the island. Hierapytna, on the other hand, located just to the west of the 'Eteocretan heartland', was said to have been founded by a certain 'Kyrbas', a Rhodian of Dorian ancestry. Among the citizens of this HL city are further those who present themselves as members of two of the traditional Dorian tribes, the Dymanes and Pamphyloi.[1600]

[1595] J.M. Hall (1995b, 85) refers to the example of the Lue of Thailand, who were not perceptibly different from neighbouring groups. See also Whitley 1998, 27-31.

[1596] J.M. Hall 1995a, 9.

[1597] J.M. Hall 1997, 65, 184-85; *id.* 1995a, 9; *id.* 1995b, 85; Whitley 1998, 32.

[1598] See above ns. 1549-50.

[1599] Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v. Itanos*; see Spyridakis 1970, 6-7. This Itanos is also referred to as 'son of Phoinix', which has given rise to a discussion on the possible Phoenician origin of the city. The earlier discussion was aptly summarised by Spyridakis (*ibid.*, with ref. to Fick 1905; Haley 1928; Guarducci in *IC* III, p. 76).

For Praisos, traditionally considered as 'the capital of the Eteocretans', no foundation myths have been preserved. Whitley, however, points to a passage in the work of Herodotus, in which the ancient author claims to quote a local tradition on the history of Praisos. This tradition tells how in the past 'men of various nationalities, but especially Greeks' had settled in Crete, when the original population had dwindled in the aftermath of the failed Sicilian expedition of King Minos. According to Herodotus, the Praisians claimed that they, like the Kydonians (another population group considered autochthonous) had not joined the expedition—the implication being that their home areas escaped resettling by non-Cretans. As Whitley emphasises, the importance of this passage lies less in its possible historical validity than in its showing that the CL inhabitants of Praisos imagined themselves as being different from other Cretans. As apparent from anthropological studies, more than anything else it may be the belief of being 'different' that determines ethnic identity.[1601]

It is, however, not certain that stories such as the HL foundation myths and that preserved by Herodotus constituted a fixed and unchanging characteristic of a community's local traditions. The territorial dispute between Itanos and Hierapytna, as recorded in the Toplou inscription, is but one example of the many armed conflicts and wars between the Cretan cities of the HL period.[1602] Considering this context of inter-city strife, the possibility should be taken into account that an articulation of foundation myths took place in response to the political circumstances of those days. In the HL period the creation of local and regional identities may, in other words, have been far more pertinent than during earlier periods such as the EIA.

At Praisos, the ancient traditions about an Eteocretan presence seem to a certain extent to be confirmed by the discovery at the Altar Hill at Praisos, of five inscriptions, written in the Greek alphabet, but denoting a non-Greek language. This unknown language may well be a remnant of the old Minoan tongue, the nature of which is likewise unknown.[1603] It is noteworthy that the earliest of these inscriptions date to the A period, roughly halfway between the period of enhanced ethnic awareness by the citizens of competing HL cities and the first mention, by Homer, of Eteocretans speaking their own language. Assuming that these inscriptions are indeed recording 'Minoan', they provide a striking example of the survival of an indigenous language in a relatively undisturbed environment. Hall accepts these inscriptions as a sign 'that language at various times and in various settings be used actively to reinforce ethnic boundaries.' Considering that writing in Crete may not have been a skill mastered by many, he assigns the inscribing in stone of this language an important symbolic value.[1604] The question should, however, be addressed if this Eteocretan was still a 'living' language, which was spoken by a majority of Praisians in the historical period. The fact that the Eteocretan inscriptions at the Altar Hill were accompanied by others in Greek, rather suggests that this was not the case. It is possible that the Eteocretan inscriptions consist of sacred formulas or laws in a language that was no longer universally understood.[1605] At least for the Archaic period and later, it may not be justified to suppose that language served as an 'ethnic marker' which distinguished autochthonous Cretans in the east from Greek-speaking neighbours in other regions of the island.

[1600] Spyridakis 1970, 35-36, with ref. to Strabo 10.472 and Diod. Sic. 5.57.8. Spyridakis (*ibid.*, 20) calls Hierapytna 'thoroughly Doric'.

[1601] Hdt. 7.167-172; see Whitley 1998, 27, 32.

[1602] See e.g. Van Effenterre 1948a.

For the EIA, written information about the Eteocretans is restricted to Homer's mention of this group. This suggests some form of ethnic awareness among EIA Cretans, but without further clues as to their whereabouts or distinctive traits aside from their language. This leaves the possibility that differences in material culture were used as a visible expression of ethnic differences. In a recent article, J. Whitley has examined the archaeological evidence from EIA Praisos to see whether there are indications 'apart from inscriptions, that suggest that Praisians behaved in a different way from their neighbours'. However, on the basis of the prevailing pottery styles, types of mouldmade terracottas, and the spatial organisation of the settlement of Praisos and its territory, Whitley concludes that there is little positive evidence for the existence of a distinctively Eteocretan material culture.[1606] Differences in material culture between the eastern and central regions of EIA Crete exist, but they do not seem to coincide with any of the proposed broader ethnic or political divisions. For instance, with regard to burial customs, it has been noted that the inhabitants of eastern Crete in general adhered to the old tradition of inhumation and only occasionally adopted cremation. There is, however, no consistently used 'typical east-Cretan burial'. Instead, there is great variety within the region as well as at individual sites, including Praisos. In a comprehensive study of east-Cretan EIA tombs, Tsipopoulou lists tholoi and chamber tombs (tomb types also found in the central regions of the island), burial caves, enclosures and pithos burials.[1607]

[1603] See cat. entries B.44-47; also Whitley 1998, 27; Duhoux 1985.

[1604] J.M. Hall 1995b, 89-90; with ref. to Stoddart & Whitley 1988; see also Whitley 1997.

[1605] See also Whitley 1998, 38.

Despite differences between the material culture of the eastern and that of the other regions of Crete, there is at present little evidence for a conscious articulation of distinctively 'east-Cretan' or 'Eteocretan' traditions during the EIA. This is not to say that indigenous elements did not survive in the culture of eastern Crete. The Eteocretan inscriptions from Praisos and the nature of the cult as celebrated at the sanctuary of Palaikastro suggest that linguistic and religious traditions of the BA were indeed preserved to a greater degree or more faithfully than in other parts of the island. Such traditions may have been revived at any time and could serve as an anchor for a fuller and more purposeful elaboration of the notion of Eteocretan identity. In the CL-HL periods, this may have happened in a context of political and military conflict between first Hierapytna and Praisos and then Hierapytna and Itanos. These conflicts involved the opposition of much of the population of the far east of Crete with that of the most powerful city just outside the own region. As regards the EIA, the formation of an Eteocretan identity may have been a more passive as well as a more privileged affair. In this period, as discussed above, the sanctuary at Palaikastro may have played a crucial role by reinforcing the bonds and common traits between aristocratic members of different communities in the far east of the island, with little interference or influence from elsewhere. Because cult was so clearly restricted to an elite, any possible Eteocretan connotations will have to be explained primarily as a corollary of the more general tendency of EIA elite groups in the Aegean world to distinguish themselves through an association with the BA past. For the EIA, this places the forming of an Eteocretan identity in a framework of internal socio-political developments and not, as may have been the case in the CL-HL periods, of the creation of a broader regional identity encompassing much of the east-Cretan population. The CL-HL votive types from the sanctuary at Palaikastro, which consist of pottery and lamps, and the Hymn, which lists a broad range of concerns, from agricultural and pastoral to mercantile and civic, likewise indicate that cult had become less of an elite affair, or at the very least has lost its one-sided military-aristocratic emphasis.[1608]

[1606] Whitley 1998, esp. 36-38.

[1607] Tsipopoulou 1984, esp. 255. See also Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 171-73. For Praisos: Whitley, Prent & Thorne 1999, 251-52 (with further refs.).

Concluding remarks

The example of Palaikastro shows how memories of an area's association with a long-venerated indigenous deity could be preserved for several centuries before the visible resumption of an active cult, in this case during the EIA. As such, Palaikastro provides an indication of the potential strength of local or (sub-)regional traditions, which may serve as a parallel for other EIA sanctuaries founded at BA remains. The validity of this parallel, however, depends to a large extent on the local circumstances surrounding the installation of a cult. With respect to central Crete, there are differences in historical development compared to east Crete that seem important enough to have influenced the appreciation and reasons for reuse of monumental BA remains.

The desertion of coastal areas at the transition from the LM IIIB to LM IIIC period was a widespread phenomenon, which affected the different regions of Crete with little distinction. It has been argued on good grounds that the inhabitants of coastal settlements such as Palaikastro, Kommos and Amnisos moved to sites further inland.

[1608] For the later votives from Palaikastro, see especially: Hutchinson *et al.* 1939-40, 40-41, pl. 16.

While most of these people founded new settlements, in the centre of the island some may have joined long-established settlements that continued to exist, most notably the old palatial centres of Phaistos and Knossos. It is especially at these settlements and at sites closely connected with them—Ayia Triada, Kommos and Amnisos respectively—that examples of later sanctuaries at BA monuments are found. But while for regions such as the far east of Crete the assumption may be made more easily that later generations went back to the settlements of their forefathers and founded sanctuaries amidst the ruined BA buildings, in central Crete the situation is bound to have been more complex. As discussed in the previous chapter, changes in the material culture of sites such as Knossos may be linked to the arrival of new people, probably coming from the Mainland, during different stages of the LM IIIC-SM period.[1609] In such a context, the installation of cults at BA monuments may more often have been in the form of rediscovery and reinvention or co-option.

This leaves the following somewhat paradoxical situation. At Palaikastro there was a prolonged period of interruption in cult activities, but the memory of the cult appears to have been preserved, and in this sense the site provides a convincing example of religious continuity. In central Crete, cult was actively practised at several sites during the LM IIIC-SM period, but here the link to the BA past has to be characterised as either residual (as in the Spring Chamber at Knossos) or unarticulated (as in the case of Ayia Triada).[1610] In general, the reasons for the foundation of sanctuaries at BA remains in this early period seem to have been diverse and the form, locations and function of the chosen cult places to have varied accordingly. In the PG period, the location of sanctuaries at BA monuments became part of a more widespread and consistent appropriation of the past. This was the period of the growing articulation of aristocratic elite, for whom the ruins of the BA palaces gained new relevance and meaning and prompted a 'rediscovery' and reclaiming of ancient sites. In these contexts, there also was a greater chance of reinterpretation of the cult and of the image and the functions of the deity. This may have been the case at Kommos, where indications that the underlying BA building ever served as a cult place are missing. If the EIA sanctuary was indeed dedicated to Reshep/Paiawon or Apollo, this implies the acceptance of a foreign component into a local cult. For Amnisos, the first excavator already emphasised that the original function of the BA structure was unclear. The fortuitous discovery, in the EIA, of some BA cult objects may have led to an interpretation of the site as a sanctuary, in which case there would have been construction of fictional continuity where there had been none.

[1609] The matter is more fully discussed in the introduction to Chapter Three, p. 110-11, 122-23.

[1610] The situation at Tylisos (cat. entry B.53) may be comparable to that at Ayia Triada.

The more consistent interest, from the PG period on, in monuments of the BA past in Crete is part of a more general phenomenon in the Aegean world, with which it shows at once a number of similarities and differences. As elsewhere, the foundation of the Cretan sanctuaries at BA remains in some cases had clear political and territorial aspects (for instance at Ayia Triada, Kommos and Amnisos). None of these sites, however, seems to have constituted a typical 'border sanctuary', defined by De Polignac as situated at the transition from the chora to uncultivated areas. In Crete, there seems to have been a more unilateral emphasis on elite functions, which is apparent in the votive types as well as in the chosen deities: Zeus, as the highest divine authority, is attested at Palaikastro, Amnisos and possibly Ayia Triada, while Apollo, who was closely associated with the aristocratic and civic institutions of the Greek city-states, may have been venerated at Kommos.[1611] It remains of interest that in Crete, in contrast to several regions on the Mainland, the phenomenon of 'ruin cult' was not accompanied by tomb cult. Explanations have been sought in the lack of monumentality of BA tombs in Crete and in the fact that similar types of tombs continued to be used from the LBA and EIA , which therefore may not have been 'different' enough to evoke special feelings of wonder or awe.[1612] Moreover, as pointed out by Snodgrass, Crete's social structure was characterised by an exclusive type of citizenship. This means that there was no class of smaller landowners who would have laid claim to agricultural land in the chora of the polities by means of the installation of cult at tombs or other places.[1613] Nixon has made the interesting suggestion that such a reuse of the past in EIA Crete would have been aimed at the legitimatisation of the boundaries of fewer and larger territorial units, either large estates or the poleis as a whole.[1614] This suggestion accords with the observed strong aristocratic association of the EIA cults at BA monuments in Crete.

[1611] See also section 6 of this chapter, p. 460, 473-74.

[1612] Coldstream 1976, 13-14.

[1613] Snodgrass 1980, 38-40; *id.* 1982a, 17-19; see also the introduction to this chapter, p. 218.

In conclusion, however, it should be pointed out that these elite connotations may have begun to diminish in the 7th century BC. This is suggested by two, probably related, phenomena: at longer-established cult places such as Kommos and Ayia Triada, the value of ruins seems to have become less pronounced, while at the same time there appears to have been an extension of cult practices to less monumental BA remains at smaller sites.

As an illustration of the first phenomenon, it may be significant that cult at Ayia Triada petered out in the course of the 7th century BC.[1615] At Kommos, much of the BA wall debris was already hidden when a court was laid out in the late 8th century BC. During the following century the growing number of auxiliary structures, for storage and various industrial activities, obliterated the sight of them even more. Hence, as the BA ruins gradually disappeared beneath the accumulating sand, the memory of the BA past may have moved to the background.[1616] Evidence for the second phenomenon—the extension of cult activities to smaller and less monumental BA sites—comes from a number of places. Mouldmade female terracottas of 7th-century date have been discovered at megalithic BA buildings (alternatively interpreted as watch-towers or farmsteads) at Karoumes, south of Palaikastro, and at Vamies near Itanos.[1617] Occasionally, veneration may have been directed at tombs, as seems indicated by the recent report of LG and EO 'votive pottery' in one of the LM III tombs at Mochlos.[1618]

The listing of these examples is not meant to suggest that 7th-century Crete witnessed the emergence of a class of smaller landowners, laying claims to arable land. Nevertheless, the wearing away of elite connotations attached to the BA past must have had social implications. As with the wider application of Orientalizing styles

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[1614] Nixon 1990, 64.

[1615] D'Agata 1998, 24.

[1616] See cat. entry B.57.

[1617] For Vamies: cat. entry B.48. For Karoumes: Chryssoulaki *et al.* 1994.

[1618] Soles 2001, 230-31.

to non-elite objects such as pottery and terracotta votives,[1619] it implies a lessening of aristocratic monopolies and a changing socio-political configuration. In regions such as the far east of Crete, for instance, a more widespread or popular association with BA monuments may reflect the more general affiliation, by larger segments of the population, with the local past. This would have opened the way for a concomitant formation or enhancement of regional or ethnic identities, perhaps partially in response to increasing rivalries between the expanding city states.

9. Extra-Urban Cave and Open-Air Sanctuaries: Continuation of Cult and the Rise of Cult Places of Interregional Importance

While only six extra-urban sanctuaries were newly founded in the EIA,[1620] there are another fourteen from this period which have a much longer history of use.[1621] These consist of both cave and open-air sanctuaries, seven of which have yielded evidence for cult activities in the immediately preceding centuries, including the LM IIIC-SM period.[1622] For the other seven, proof of previous cult activities dates from earlier phases of the BA, without clear indications of uninterrupted cult in the transitional period from the LBA into the EIA. It is worth noting, however, that the sites that have produced archaeological evidence for continuous cult use all did so in the course of recent and systematic research. As many of the other extra-urban cult places have been incompletely investigated or published, it is conceivable that several of these would yield similar evidence with more thorough excavation and study.

It might seem logical to make a formal distinction between cave and open-air sanctuaries and to assume that the difference in form between the two is indicative of different functions. This assumption, however, is not supported by corresponding differences in cult equipment or votive types. Characteristic votive assemblages typical for either caves or open-air sanctuaries do not exist. Instead, the material encountered in each category shows a great and analogous diversity in composition. In her study of Cretan cave sanctuaries of 1974, Tyree has demonstrated that the caves in use from the PG to the O periods cannot be considered as a homogeneous group. These consist of Patsos (B.51), the Idaean cave (B.52), Tsoutsouros (B.59), Amnisos (B.61), Skoteino (B.62), Phaneromeni (B.63), Liliano (B.64), Psychro (B.65) and possibly Stravomyti (B.55). The form of these caves varies from rock shelters to deep caverns with or without rock formations, while associated votives range from simple pottery with or without figurines (as at Amnisos) to heterogeneous collections of more precious objects (as at the Idaean cave and Tsoutsouros). On the basis of the type of cult equipment and offerings, the eight EIA caves examined by Tyree fall into an equal number of different categories.[1623] The five EIA open-air sanctuaries with extra-urban location—Tylisos (B.53), Mount Jouktas (B.54), Ayia Triada (B.56), Mount Kophinas (B.58) and Syme (B.66)—constitute a smaller but hardly less heterogeneous group. Cult activities at all five sites took place on spacious stone-built terraces or paved areas, which had often been laid out in the BA, but these are set in very different environments. Tylisos and Ayia Triada are cult areas in abandoned BA settlements, Mount Jouktas and Kophinas had been important peak sanctuaries, while Syme qualifies as a BA sacred enclosure on a mountain slope. Moreover, the associated votive assemblages display the same broad range as the contemporary cave sanctuaries: from predominantly terracotta objects at Mount Jouktas to the rich and varied collection of offerings at Syme.

[1619] See the introduction to this chapter, p. 240-41.

[1620] Most of these sanctuaries have been discussed in section 8 of this chapter, p. 508-54. They consist of the Diktynneion (B.50), Kommos (B.57), Amnisos (B.60), Palaikastro (B.69) and possibly Sta Lenika (B.67) and Prophitis Elias near Praisos (B.68).

[1621] See also the introduction to Catalogue B (part 2), p. 311.

[1622] In Chapter Three ten LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries with an extra-urban location were discussed, of which only the cave at Arkalochori (A.28) was abandoned. This was probably involuntarily, as the roof of the cave had collapsed and blocked off the entrance. During the LM IIIC-SM period pottery was still left at the entrance, but by the PG period cult activities seem to have been given up altogether.

Further arguments against treating cave and open-air sanctuaries as two clearly differentiated categories of extra-urban sanctuary are offered by the existence of a number of mutual traits that cut across such a possible division. These traits, apart from the sites' previous use as ancient cult places, concern aspects of location. Nearly all the old extra-urban sanctuaries—in contrast to the majority of newly established ones—are situated inland.[1624] The natural setting of both cave and open-air sanctuaries can be characterised as mountainous, 'wild' countryside, generally unsuitable for the large-scale cultivation of agricultural crops. The distinction between cave and open-air sanctuaries seems further blurred by the fact that at several caves rituals were conducted outside. Examples are Patsos (B.51), the Idaean cave (B.52) and possibly the Amnisos and Psychro caves (B.61 and B.65 respectively). The first two provide the most compelling evidence, in the form of burnt sacrificial layers in front of the entrance. As in open-air sanctuaries of the same periods, cult activities appear to have involved the lighting of fires, animal sacrifice and the deposition of imperishable offerings. Stone-built and rock-cut altars occur repeatedly at both caves and open-air sanctuaries, as, for instance, at the Idaean cave, Tylisos (B.53), Mount Jouktas (B.54), the caves of Skoteino (B.62) and Psychro (B.65) and at Syme (B.66).[1625]

[1623] Tyree (1974, 117, 123, 134-38) accepted the caves of Marathospilio and Megala Choraphia as EIA cult places. They are not included in this study because of a lack of datable votives or pottery.

Considering cave and open-air sanctuaries in the same general category, more useful criteria for further subdivision present themselves in the types of associated votives. Such a subdivision leads to three groups in which caves and open-air sanctuaries are invariably found side by side. At the majority of old extra-urban cult sites EIA offerings are limited to pottery, clay figurines and the sporadic small bronze object. The seven examples belonging to this group include Mount Jouktas and Mount Kophinas and the caves of Amnisos, Skoteino, Phaneromeni, Liliano and (possibly) Stravomyti. At the other end of the scale is a group of three older extra-urban sanctuaries, the Idaean cave, Syme and the Tsoutsouros cave, which stand out because they are extraordinarily rich in bronze or other metal objects, jewellery and orientalia. The Patsos and Psychro caves, Ayia Triada and perhaps Tylisos take intermediate positions: there is a lack of large metal objects, jewellery and exotica, but larger quantities of bronze figurines than were found in the majority of old extra-urban sanctuaries.[1626] This subdivision into three groups by votive assemblage will, in combination with a more detailed study of the position of the respective sanctuaries in contemporary settlement configurations, provide the basis for the following analysis of function and purpose. An additional evaluation of individual votive types and, whenever possible, the nature of the associated rituals may provide further insights about the specific cult and deities associated with each of these cult places.

[1624] The only old extra-urban sanctuary with a coastal location is the cave of Tsoutsouros (B.59), while of the new ones two may have been located inland, i.e. Prophitis Elias near Praisos and Sta Lenika.

[1625] For those associated with caves see also Tyree 1974, 118, 134-38.

[1626] Too little is known about Tylisos to assign this site a place in any of these groups, but there may be correspondences with Ayia Triada.

Old extra-urban sanctuaries with modest votive assemblages

Judging from their modest votive assemblages, consisting primarily of less valuable terracotta objects, it seems justified to conclude that the majority of older extra-urban sanctuaries served as small, rural cult places during the EIA. This applies to Mount Jouktas (B.54, Plate 14), Stravomyti (B.55), Mount Kophinas (B.58), the caves of Amnisos (B.61), Skoteino (B.62), Phaneromeni (B.63) and Liliano (B.64).

For some of these sanctuaries the status of 'small rural sanctuary' implies something of a decline when compared with preceding periods. At Mount Jouktas, for instance, the virtual disappearance from the votive repertoire of LM IIIC-SM wheelmade animal and fantastic figures and Horns of Consecration was not compensated for by the dedication of other objects more elaborate or costly than pottery and small terracottas.[1627] This is in contrast to several other LM IIIC-SM extra-urban sanctuaries that had received such votives. These developed into EIA cult places of moderate wealth, such as Patsos, Ayia Triada, Psychro (which all received considerable numbers of small bronzes) or even of great wealth, such as the Idaean cave and Syme.

For most other small extra-urban sanctuaries their function as modest rural cult place merely continues a trend set in earlier times. Although gradual and subtle changes in cult practice cannot be excluded for any of these sanctuaries, the general impression is that, in many of them, cult continued along the same earlier lines until well into the EIA. According to Tyree, 8th-century types of offerings in caves with relatively modest votive assemblages largely correspond to types from earlier periods. She also concludes that the pottery shapes found most frequently in EIA caves—skyphoi, kalathoi and oinochoai—are functionally similar to the cups, bowls and jugs of the BA.[1628] The clearest example of unaltered votive patterns is presented by the cave of Amnisos, where a tradition of leaving behind pottery (and few other kinds of objects) goes back to MM times. Likewise, EIA votive types in the assemblages from Phaneromeni (with anthropomorphic figurines in bronze and clay, Plate 67) and Stravomyti (with almost exclusively pottery) seem to correspond with those from preceding periods, suggesting that cult continued to be practised in the same manner as it had previously. This may also be true for Skoteino and Liliano, although the evidence presently available is scanty at best.[1629]

[1627] The same observation may apply to Mount Kophinas.

This tenacity of old votive patterns is especially remarkable when compared to the smaller suburban sanctuaries that were newly established in this period.[1630] Several of the latter have yielded significant quantities of inexpensive and readily available mouldmade figurines or cylindrical anthropomorphic figures—types of votives which also played a distinct role in the more centrally located, major community cults. While such terracottas are not completely absent from the smaller rural cave and open-air sanctuaries, they never occur in large numbers. The inference is that the small rural cult places were not incorporated into the more standardised cult systems that were developing in tandem with the poleis. The introduction of new types of votive offering, such as mouldmade anthropomorphic terracottas, which was part of the process of articulation of localised cult systems, seems to have largely passed them by.

The modest and inarticulate nature of the votives in these small and traditional rural sanctuaries in many cases impedes a fuller understanding of the cult and identity of the deities venerated. The votives contain few explicit iconographic references and, more imperatively, the merits of comparison with votive deposits elsewhere are limited. Because these sanctuaries seem to have operated outside the realm of polis systems (and were even further removed from Panhellenic cycles), their votive assemblages were not subjected to the relative standardisation which occurred in many of the suburban sanctuaries. During the long and 'unorthodox' use of the small rural cult places, peculiarities may have developed that are not easily paralleled in other sanctuaries. Even if several of the small extra-urban sanctuaries were dedicated to the same deity, there is no necessity for votive assemblages to be similar. To give one example, the presence of figurines of pregnant women or embracing couples like those found at the Tsoutsouros cave makes an identification as cult place for Eileithyia plausible; yet the absence of such figurines at other sanctuaries, such as Amnisos, does not preclude a cult for the same goddess.[1631] The Amnisos and Tsoutsouros caves were EIA sanctuaries of different standing and operated in different spheres: the first may be labelled 'rural' and appears to have been untouched by developing polis systems, whereas the (inter-)regional functions of the second would have made votive practice susceptible to the influence of developing polis systems. To the extent that the relative standardisation of 8th- and especially 7th-century votives in major suburban sanctuaries also affected cult places like the Tsoutsouros cave, identification of the cult and deity is much aided.

[1628] Tyree 1974, 124-25, 143, 146.

[1629] See the respective cat. entries: A.29 and B.55, B.62, B.64.

[1630] See section 7 of the present chapter, p. 503-06.

What little is clear about the cult at the small rural sanctuaries is that these sanctuaries were not all home to the same kind of ritual. The occurrence in the caves of Stravomyti and Skoteino of knives, bones and/or ash points to the lighting of fires or animal sacrifice and contrasts with the lack of such remains in the Amnisos cave.[1632] Tyree cautiously proposes that cult in most modest EIA caves was linked to such basic needs as the fecundity of humans, animals and plants.[1633] It is indeed difficult to say anything more about cult in these caves or the other small rural sanctuaries. Typical worshippers that come to mind are shepherds, but there may have been others too who, in ways unmediated by the incipient polis religions, kept these old small-scale cults alive.

Extra-urban sanctuaries with (inter-)regional functions

Against the background of small-scale cult at the majority of older extra-urban cult places, the rise of such rich sanctuaries as the Idaean cave (B.52, Plate 13), the Tsoutsouros cave (B.59) and Syme (B.66, Plate 17) stands out sharply. Of these three, the Tsoutsouros cave forms a category on its own because of the singular composition of its votive assemblage and it will be discussed last. The sanctuaries at Ida and Syme, on the other hand, received a large number of comparable offerings. These include many objects in bronze, such as shields, Oriental(-izing) stands and cauldrons, tripod-cauldrons, small 'discs', arrow- and lance heads, animal figurines (including horses, sometimes with chariots), male figurines, fibulae and pins, as well as precious jewellery and orientalia. In addition, both sites have yielded small imitation shields and cauldrons in terracotta, clay animal figurines and drinking cups (see also Table 4, Plates 56-61, 72). The preponderance of large bronzes and the military-aristocratic connotations of some of these votive types clearly betray the dominant role of male aristocrats in the associated cult activities. In this respect, they correspond closely to the EIA extra-urban sanctuaries that were newly founded at the ruins of the BA towns at Kommos, Amnisos and Palaikastro. The location of all these sites at a considerable distance from contemporary settlement centres concurs with a function as meeting place for elite members of different communities.[1634] Yet it is evident that the Idaean cave and Syme remained unrivalled by any of the newly founded extra-urban elite sanctuaries in as far as the accumulation of wealth in the form of large bronzes is concerned. The difference is greatest with the coastal sanctuaries of Kommos and Amnisos.[1635] Despite the elite connotations of the votives at the latter two sites, it is evident that ritualised competition between aristocrats did not affect them in the same manner or with the same intensity as it did the two older extra-urban sanctuaries. Clearly, this difference reflects a hierarchy of interregional and sub-regional elite sanctuaries. As discussed in the previous section, a function as meeting place for the aristocracy may in the case of Kommos and Amnisos have been reserved to male aristocrats from a relatively few communities and non-Cretan merchants or other visitors. In this capacity, Kommos and Amnisos seem to have retained their traditional ties with specific settlement centres—ties going back to the times in which they served as BA harbours. This provides a plausible explanation for the difference in votive practices at Kommos and Amnisos on the one hand, and the Idaean cave and Syme on the other.[1636]

[1631] *Contra* N. Marinatos 1996, 136. See for arguments in favour of Amnisos' identification as cult place for Eileithyia, cat. entry B.61.

[1632] This throws some doubt on S. Marinatos' identification of the Stravomyti cave as cult place for Eileithyia; see cat. entry B.55.

[1633] Tyree 1974, 141.

[1634] See also the discussion in sections 4, p. 355-56, and 8, p. 534-35, of this chapter.

[1635] The sanctuary at Palaikastro (B.69) is in this respect more akin to the Idaean cave and Syme. As discussed in the previous section, Palaikastro may have served as a regional sanctuary for the east of Crete, without having the same close ties with a specific community as Kommos and Amnisos.

The question of how the Idaean cave and Syme came to overshadow the other old extra-urban sanctuaries of Patsos, Tylisos, Ayia Triada, Jouktas and Psychro is of more complex nature. In the preceding LM IIIC-SM period, these seven extra-urban sanctuaries together had formed a relatively homogeneous group with comparable cult assemblages. The distinctive presence of large wheelmade animal and fantastic figures and Horns of Consecration in each of them indicated that they all belonged to the more important sanctuaries of their period. The archaeological evidence from the LM IIIC-SM period gives little reason to suspect a hierarchy or functional differentiation between them. Rather, it seems that each of these extra-urban sanctuaries had regional functions, cult practices often being similar in nature.[1637] With the onset of the EIA large terracotta figures and Horns of Consecration decrease sharply in number or disappear altogether from the votive assemblages of this group.[1638] In most cases, these votive types seem supplanted by bronze animal figurines, of which relatively large numbers have been found at both Patsos, the Idaean cave, Ayia Triada, Psychro and Syme (Plate 68).[1639] Although much less costly than the large bronzes characteristic for EIA elite sanctuaries, such animal bronzes must have represented a certain amount of wealth. Their accumulation at the five sites just mentioned therefore suggests that these sanctuaries continued to exercise important analogous functions on the (sub-)regional level.[1640]

More can be learnt about the EIA process of differentiation between formerly comparable extra-urban sanctuaries by systematically taking into account various factors that may have affected this process. Because of the general increase in votives in the EIA and because of the diversification of votive types, differences in cult and associated deities are easier to detect than in the LM IIIC-SM period. It is therefore possible to examine in more detail the role played by the specifics of cult or deity in the rise of the Idaean cave and Syme to the higher status of interregional sanctuary. Of special relevance in this context are the questions as to whether cult practices at these sites continued from the BA without major changes in emphasis and in what ways the antiquity of cult at the location would have contributed to their enhanced attraction. It is clear that both the Idaean cave and Syme had been among the most important sanctuaries of Crete during earlier parts of the BA. Large numbers of pilgrims had flocked to the Idaean cave in the Neopalatial and Postpalatial periods, often leaving behind precious votive offerings.[1641] Syme experienced its first *akme* even earlier, during the Protopalatial period, when a monumental cult building was erected.[1642] Seen from this perspective, the LM IIIC-SM period would have represented but a temporary reversion to functions on a lesser regional or subregional level: a relatively short period in the career of these sanctuaries in which their ancient fame could easily have been preserved. This certainly sets the Idaean cave and Syme apart from the sanctuaries at Ayia Triada and Tylisos, whose histories as extra-urban cult place did not begin until the LM IIIC-SM period, and perhaps also from Patsos, where BA votives are present but not prolific. Such a variation in earlier history and reputation does not, however, provide a sufficient explanation for the ensuing differences with Mount Jouktas, Kophinas and Psychro—sanctuaries which had a BA history of cult use that was as old and rich as that of Ida and Syme. Prior to a further examination of the associated cults, attention will therefore be directed at a number of more pragmatic factors, which may have contributed no less to the differentiation between extra-urban sanctuaries during the EIA period. These factors concern the location and accessibility of the sanctuaries, their natural setting and, perhaps most importantly, their place within the broader EIA settlement configurations.

[1636] See especially section 8 in this chapter, p. 519-29.

[1637] See Chapter Three, section 6, p. 200-09.

[1638] See section 4 in this chapter, p. 403.

[1639] The demise of Jouktas and the scarcity of information on Tylisos and Kophinas have already been noted above.

[1640] These will be discussed below, p. 606-10.

Interregional sanctuaries outside Crete: Olympia and Delphi

According to De Polignac, the division between (inter-)regional and other extra-urban sanctuaries in Greece arose primarily from the way their respective relationships with the surrounding communities developed. Some of the extra-urban sanctuaries that had begun their lives as small meeting places at the centre of local or regional networks of settlements became nodes of ritualised competition in the 8th century BC, attracting aristocratic worshippers from different communities. In the course of time, many of these sanctuaries were appropriated by individual poleis, and were thus turned into symbols of the territorial independence and sovereignty of a specific community. In other cases, however, 'where no major city was strong enough to eclipse the other communities or cities, sanctuaries situated at equal distance from them all continued to be shared.'[1643] Such sanctuaries, of (inter-)regional type, are encountered most often in pastoral areas, where concepts of space and territory differ from those in farming areas. In the former, the need of free access to pastures, springs and paths would prevail over the establishment of fixed territories and frontiers that is inherent to the development of early agricultural states.[1644] The marginal location of interregional sanctuaries does not necessarily reflect a total lack of sanctuary organisation. Rather, control may have been exercised by communities nearby that were not among the leading poleis of their time, but remained non-threatening and more or less outside the mainstream of socio-political developments.[1645]

[1641] For instance bronze figurines; see Chapter Three, section 6, p. 202.

[1642] See esp. Lebessi, Muhly & Olivier 1995, 70; also cat. entry A.31.

The pattern observed by De Polignac is exemplified by the different phases of use of the sanctuary at Olympia, as these have been reconstructed by C. Morgan. From the inception of cult in the late 10th century BC, Olympia did indeed serve as a meeting place, initially for local chiefs from Messenia and Arcadia. Around 800 BC the sanctuary began to experience both an intensification and a widening of cult activities. Participation by inhabitants of the western Peloponnese regions increased; they continued established votive practices, including the offering of animal figurines, jewellery and the occasional bronze tripod. At the same time, the sanctuary acquired new functions by becoming an 'arena for ritualised competition', as indicated by the dedication of more and larger bronze tripod-cauldrons. From *c.* 725 BC onwards, the involvement of elite groups was further extended to those from regions beyond the western Peloponnese, a shift that paved the way for the growing involvement of Greek poleis and the eventual institutionalisation of the Olympic festival in the course of the 7th and 6th centuries BC. Of special interest is that Olympia continued to combine its interregional functions for elite groups with (sub-)regional or even local functions. Morgan relates the increased offering of jewellery, objects that seem to indicate cult participation by women from local communities, to the growth of the number of settlements in the surrounding region of Elis in the late 8th century BC. In addition, the earlier tradition of offering animal figurines in bronze and terracotta was preserved, suggesting that basic pastoral or agricultural concerns continued to determine part of the cult activities.[1646] Apparently, the sanctuary counted different social groups amongst its congregration.

[1643] De Polignac 1994, 6, 18; *id.* 1995b, 38; see also the introduction to this chapter, p. 216.

[1644] De Polignac 1995b, 38; see also Sartre 1979; Daverio Rocchi 1988; Morgan 1990, 223.

[1645] Morgan 1990, 20-21.

Morgan's study adds significantly to the model proposed by De Polignac, in that it shows in detail how Olympia's development was entwined with the history of settlement in the surrounding area as well as with socio-political changes taking place on a much larger scale. In so doing, Morgan explicitly emphasises the importance of the specific regional environment and of relationships with more powerful centres farther away. It is because of these aspects that important variations may occur between regions, and hence between the extra-urban sanctuaries serving them in the EIA. Even if an initial function as neutral meeting place characterised Greek sanctuaries that reached an interregional status, it is obvious that they may not all have followed the same path of development. Morgan convincingly demonstrates this by a comparison of Olympia with the sanctuary at Delphi. Delphi, like Olympia, was situated in a sparsely populated, mountainous area and by the late 8th century BC had become one of the most important sanctuaries of the Greek world. There are, however, distinct differences in history and in details of function with Olympia, which are best explained by such differences in regional environment and in involvement of powerful poleis as emphasised by Morgan. Delphi was founded later than Olympia, around 800 BC, and was located in the middle of a village. The earliest votives betray stronger aristocratic interests than those at Olympia, while there are fewer votives, such as terracotta animal figurines, that might indicate agricultural or pastoral concerns of local inhabitants.[1647] From its foundation, the sanctuary at Delphi was monopolised by members of elite groups and its position on an important route to the north appears to have initiated an early and active interest of communities further away, most notably that of Corinth. As a result, the functions of the sanctuary became increasingly political—something also reflected in the use of the oracle, as recorded consultations from the 8th century BC on pertain to community concerns such as colonisation, law codes and war. With the growth of Delphi's importance, tensions appear have risen over its control. As can be inferred from literary sources, the organisation of the sanctuary was taken over by an amphictyony in the early 6th century BC. The associated village was displaced and the local and sub-regional functions of the sanctuary further diminished, in the course of its expanding interregional, Panhellenic and even 'international' importance.[1648]

[1646] Morgan 1990, 30-34, 49-52, 57, 191-92; *ead.* 1993, 23-26.

Morgan's comparison of Olympia and Delphi shows that the genesis of interregional sanctuaries was more complex and less uniform than they may appear from De Polignac's model. While both sanctuaries served as meeting places from the time of their foundation on, significant variations in respect to mechanisms of control and to the different social groups that made up their clienteles had already emerged in the course of the EIA. It is possible that similar variations marked the development of interregional sanctuaries in EIA Crete. On the basis of HL written sources, for instance, Chaniotis suspects a basic distinction between sanctuaries in possession of their own lands, administrated by amphictyonies, and sanctuaries in no-man's land, which may have been controlled by a neighbouring city.[1649]

The Idaean cave and Syme: location, setting and sanctuary organisation

Returning to the Idaean cave and Syme, an evaluation of their position in the prevailing settlement configurations and their natural setting initially reveals some striking parallels with those of EIA interregional sanctuaries elsewhere in the Greek world. Like the latter, both the Idaean cave and Syme were set in remote, thinly populated areas. The larger and wealthier EIA communities of Crete were concentrated in the central parts of the island and even the less important settlement centres were all several hours away from both these sanctuaries. Regardless of the question as to whether the Idaean cave or Syme came under the control of one of the central-Cretan cities in later times, there can be little doubt that their attraction in the EIA—a crucial period in their rise to interregional status—would have been their (perceived) neutrality. From the perspective of the central-Cretan communities, which may have constituted an important presence in festivals at both sanctuaries, these would have been situated in no-man's land, at least in territory not directly controlled or claimed by any of those communities.[1650] The high altitude and the type of terrain favour a use of these areas as grazing grounds for sheep and goats. The Nida plain below the Idaean cave is to the present day a sought-after pasturage, which has several springs.[1651] Similarly, shepherds from the Viannos region traditionally frequent the upland plain of Omalos, not far to the west of the sanctuary of Syme, with their flocks.[1652] Inscriptions of the HL period recording disputes about grazing rights between various poleis further imply that it may have taken a long time before borders in the Cretan mountains became fixed.[1653]

[1647] EIA bronze figurines from Delphi are chiefly tripod attachments of anthropomorphic shape. They include warriors and helmeted horsemen; see esp. Morgan 1990, 140-41.

[1648] Morgan 1990, 106-47, 193; *ead.* 1993, 27-31.

[1649] Chaniotis 1988, esp. 30-31. For the ancient Greek concepts of '*chorai erimoi*' (deserted lands) and '*koinai chorai*' (common lands): Daverio Rocchi 1988, esp. 31-38.

Clearly, such a setting supports the idea that a key function of the Idaean cave and Syme throughout their cult histories was to provide a neutral meeting place for people from different communities. Without doubt it is also significant that the sanctuaries were positioned in marginal areas that formed a transition to the northwest and southeast regions of the island respectively. Persistent regional divisions mark much of the island's culture in the EIA and while communication definitely increased in the course of this period, networks may initially have been formed primarily at the (sub-)regional level. Hence, the meeting of people from these different regions may indeed have been a special occasion.[1654] It should be stressed, however, that neither the Idaean cave nor Syme are situated directly on or very close to major routes, as is sometimes supposed.[1655] Whereas the Idaean cave and Syme may have formed 'natural meeting places' for shepherds from different areas seeking meadows and fresh water, all other people wishing to visit these sites had to go considerably out of their way.[1656] Thoroughfares from central to west Crete avoid the Ida mountains by following valleys much further to the north and south. Likewise, connecting routes between the central and eastern regions of the island are concentrated along the north coast, while the less-used southern one passes below Syme at a walking distance of at least one hour.[1657] The journey to these sanctuaries would therefore have been a true pilgrimage, leading through 'wild countryside' not normally crossed.

[1650] See also remarks by Morgan (1993, 31), who speaks of the 'political control of a weak, or subservient, state or institution' of sanctuaries providing a neutral meeting ground. This kind of control forms a contrast with the coastal sanctuaries at Kommos and Amnisos, whose importance in the EIA probably derived directly from their ties with powerful neighbouring cities.

[1651] See the description in cat. entry A.24.

[1652] Spanakis 1964, 357.

[1653] *IC* III, iv, 1; see also Chaniotis 1988, 22 n. 7. For examples of such disputes outside Crete: Sartre 1979, 214-15; Daverio Rocchi 1988, 134-35.

To address the issue of sanctuary organisation and control in regard to the Idaean cave and Syme, a closer look is required at their possible relationship with nearby settlements and the origin and social status of the main body of cult participants. By taking into account access routes to the sanctuaries, evidence for building activities, different workshops involved in the production of associated votives, as well as the sanctuaries' later development as attested by written sources, certain differences between the Idaean cave and Syme will become apparent.

It is sometimes assumed that the Idaean cave belonged to Oaxos, because this is the nearest large settlement known to have been occupied in the EIA and subsequent periods.[1658] Oaxos is close to the Mylopotamos valley, which formed a main thoroughfare between central and northwest Crete; it also provided a point of access to the upland plain of the cave some 12 km to the south. The Mylopotamos route is, however, not the only one leading from more densely populated areas to the heart of the Ida mountains. Another route ascends from north-central Crete via Gazi, Tylisos and Sklavokampos to the area of modern Anogeia, whence the Nida plain is reached in four and a half hours. There is also a string of EIA settlement centres, including Tylisos, Krousonas and Prinias, located in the foothills forming the eastern border of the Ida mountains. The walk to the Idaean cave from Krousonas takes about four and a half hours. A southern route, passing the modern villages of Zaros and Vorizia, connects the cave with the large cities of the Mesara.[1659] This configuration and the approximately even distance from a larger number of EIA settlements underline the potential neutrality of the Idaean cave. It also suggests an origin of the majority of worshippers from central and west-central Crete.

[1654] See the introduction to this chapter, p. 224-26.

[1655] E.g. for the Idaean cave by Morgan (1990, 27) and De Polignac (1995b, 39).

[1656] As will be seen below, the fact that they were situated in wild countryside, not normally traversed by most people, added in important ways to the prestige of those who made the journey.

[1657] For the major pre-modern Cretan routes, see esp. Pendlebury 1939, 11-13, map 2. In addition, for routes to the Ida mountains: Sakellarakis 1983, 417-18; for those venturing out of the Lasithi mountains: Watrous 1982, 5-6, 32. A walking distance of 45-60 minutes from the sanctuary of Syme to the modern village of Kato Syme is given by Lebessi (1992a, 268); from this village it is another kilometre to the main east-west route.

While it is clear that at some point in time the attraction of the Idaean cave began to extend beyond the immediately neighbouring central and west-central regions of the island, it is difficult to decide when. For the CL-HL periods there are various indications that by that time the sanctuary had acquired a Pancretan function and even attracted pilgrims from outside the island.[1660] Zeus Idatas is, for instance, not only invoked in the oaths of Eleutherna, Gortyn, Lyttos and Priansos, but also in those of the east-Cretan cities of Olous and Hierapytna. Furthermore, a treaty between the west-Cretan cities of Kydonia and Apollonia had to be set up in the cave. There are also inscriptions that point to the involvement of central-Cretan cities in the organisation of cult activities at the Idaean cave. Contributions to a trieteric festival by the city of Gortyn are recorded in a 4th-century inscription. Of special interest also is a 5th-century inscription, which shows that Gortyn imposed a fixed contribution of sacrificial animals designated for the Idaean cave on the recently conquered polis of Rhizenia. Although this certainly indicates a dominant role for Gortyn, it does not, as pointed out by Chaniotis, prove that this polis had sole control. Similar inscriptions from other cities may simply be unknown. Chaniotis keeps the possibility open that the organisation of cult activities at the Idaean cave in CL times was in the hands of an amphictyony of which Gortyn was an important member. He sees this reflected in the testimony by the 1st-century BC author Diodorus Siculus that the Idaean cave possessed its own meadows and lands.[1661]

[1658] For instance by Capdeville (1990, 93), who infers control by Oaxos from the mention of this city in association with the Idaean cave in various myths, but this line of reasoning has been aptly refuted by Chaniotis (1988, 34).

[1659] Sakellarakis 1983, 417-18; Pendlebury 1939, 13.

[1660] For pilgrims from outside Crete, see below p. 593.

For the EIA, evidence for cult participation or organisational responsibility of individual communities is scarce. It largely depends on stylistic analysis of votive objects and the reconstruction of workshops—a method which in itself is not unproblematic.[1662] It is clear that the numerous large bronzes and orientalia reflect a dominant presence of aristocratic worshippers from perhaps as early as the 9th century BC.[1663] Only a general impression, however, of the origins of these devotees can be obtained, because of the complex mechanisms involved in the production and circulation of precious votives. While technical, morphological and stylistic characteristics of an object may point to a certain regional or even local school, these cannot always be taken as indicative of the origin of the last owner and dedicator. The possible involvement of artisans who produced and sold their produce at the sanctuaries and the custom of aristocratic gift-exchange make it difficult to tell from the votive object itself where the worshipper came from. For instance, the relatively wide distribution of stylistically related bronze objects may be partially explained by the activities of travelling artisans or interconnecting elite networks, which together covered much of the island.[1664]

[1661] Chaniotis 1988, 34-35 (with ref. to *IC* IV, 146; *IC* IV, 80; *IC* II, v, 35; Diod. Sic. 5.70.4). HL inscriptions from Oaxos also show that certain fines collected by this city were earmarked for the Idaean cave; see also A.B. Cook 1925, 934; Willetts 1955, 110-14; *id.* 1962, 242-43.

[1662] Both the study of the votives from the cave itself and the precious objects found in the EIA tombs of Eleutherna will prove to be of importance. On the problems involved in correlating workshops and dedicators: Morgan 1990, 23, 39-42; see also the discussion on the production of large bronze votives in section 4, p. 379-80.

[1663] For the dating of the Cretan shields, see section 4 in this chapter, p. 369-70.

[1664] The idea of interconnecting or overlapping elite networks seems preferable to that of one island-wide elite network or *koine*, because the pronounced regional differences in EIA Crete are also noticeable in elite votive behaviour. The best illustration of this phenomenon is probably the scarcity of horse iconography in the east of the island; see also section 4 in this chapter, p. 395.

Here, the evidence of stylistic analysis will only be taken as a broad and general indication of the provenance of the worshippers.

The issue of the workshops responsible for the manufacture of the numerous bronze tripod-cauldrons which were dedicated at the Idaean cave has not yet been addressed. For the bronze shields, which form another important category of elite votives at the cave (Plates 56, 58-59), the situation is somewhat better. Bronze shields are also known from EIA cemeteries and sanctuaries at Eleutherna, Phaistos, Kommos, Dreros and Praisos, as well as from the extra-urban sanctuaries of Syme and Palaikastro (Plate 74). This is, of course, not to say that all EIA settlements with bronze shields also sent pilgrims to the Idaean cave. Canciani has proposed nine different workshops responsible for the manufacture of these bronze shields and other decorated metalwork. The products of some of these workshops are, at present evidence, confined to the Idaean cave, but this may be due more to the great number of finds from that site than to the fact that workshops worked solely for this sanctuary. The output of other workshops is not regionally defined. According to Canciani, two shields from Palaikastro belong to the same workshop as a bronze bowl from Aphrati, while the products of another workshop ended up at the Idaean cave, Aphrati and Delphi.[1665] The presence of several of the more important central Cretan and west-central Cretan settlements on the list of find spots with shields strengthens the impression expressed above that a core body of worshippers at the Idaean cave came from these regions of the island. It should also be noted in this context that a bronze pendant and a plaque representing three frontal females, found during the early excavations, were probably made by Knossian artisans.[1666]

With regard to other types of precious votives from the Idaean cave, it may be suggested that the large amounts of gold and other precious jewellery, and perhaps the decorated metal bowls and some of the ivory objects as well, indicate a female component in the cult.[1667] It is not certain if the same processes of 'ritualised competition' and 'cumulative emulation', held responsible for the amassing of large bronzes such as tripods and weaponry, also governed the dedication of these objects.[1668] It is clear, however, that gold and other types of jewellery represent the most precious kind of female votives known for this period. These types of votives have been found in only four sanctuaries: the Idaean cave, the Tsoutsouros cave, Syme and a few at Psychro (see also Table 4).

[1665] Canciani 1970, 169-77.

[1666] Coldstream 1977a, 281.

[1667] A point put forward by Robertson (1996, esp. 252). See the earlier discussions on the EIA votives from the cave and on EIA jewellery in section 4 of this chapter, p. 375, 397-99.

The recent excavator of the Idaean cave, Sakellarakis, has drawn attention to the fact that terracottas are rare among the EIA votives. Although this may be partially caused by the nature of the cult,[1669] it may also mean that participation by non-elite members from the surrounding communities and people such as local shepherds was limited. Only a few terracotta figurines of bulls, horses and a goat have been mentioned in the preliminary reports.[1670] Bronze animal figurines, however, appear to have been found in some quantity.[1671] This is of interest because the dedication of such votives may have fallen outside the exclusive elite circuit reflected by the bronze tripods, shields and orientalia. It is probable that the dedication of bronze animal figurines represents a functional continuity with the offering of large clay animal figures and Horns of Consecration in the LM IIIC-SM period. The concerns expressed by animal figures and figurines have an agricultural or pastoral base and differ from the more overt military-aristocratic connotations attached to the shields and other weaponry. Nevertheless, both wheelmade clay figures and small bronze figurines were clearly more elaborate and costly than terracotta figurines. As the dedication of large terracotta figures in the LM IIIC-SM period has been interpreted as indicative of a regional function for surrounding communities, the continuation of similar functions may be proposed for the EIA. It may therefore be concluded that the Idaean cave, besides serving as an interregional meeting place for the aristocratic elite from different EIA communities, maintained older functions on the (sub-)regional level. Local functions for shepherds frequenting the surrounding mountains or for other non-elite groups from neighbouring communities seem less pronounced.

[1668] See section 4 of the present chapter, p. 397-99.

[1669] A rarity of G pottery (though not of terracotta figurines) has been noted for the Zeus sanctuaries of Olympia and Dodona; see Coldstream 1968, 24; *id.* 1977a, 332.

[1670] See cat. entry B.52.

[1671] See section 4 in this chapter, p. 394.

The sanctuary at Syme shares several features of general setting and location with the Idaean cave. As in the case of the latter, Syme's remoteness may have conveyed an impression of neutrality. Neither of the nearby EIA settlements, Ano Viannos at *c*. 7 km to the west and Malla at *c*. 8 km to the east,[1672] controlled access to Syme. The sanctuary was probably most easily reached from the narrow valley to the south, which joins the east-west route connecting south-central Crete with the eastern regions of the island. This suggests that the majority of worshippers would have come from central and east-central Crete, as seems also indicated by the composition of an important group of EIA votives—the bronze animal figurines. In a detailed analysis, Schürmann has recognised the hands of artisans responsible for the production of such figurines at Syme in examples from the Psychro cave and the open-air sanctuary at Ayia Triada. Although some of these figurines may have been cast on the spot by travelling artisans,[1673] Schürmann's findings imply a certain renown of the major festivals at Syme among communities from central and central-east Crete, and hence of the likelihood that people from these communities would have made the pilgrimage.[1674]

Compared to the Idaean cave, however, there are also a number of minor but possibly significant differences in the configuration of sites around Syme. At the latter sanctuary, the neighbouring EIA settlements are somewhat closer, but fewer in number and much smaller than those in the regions around the Idaean cave. The known surface finds and later written sources suggest that these sites could not have rivalled in either size or power the central-Cretan settlements encircling the Idaean mountains.[1675] With respect to cult organisation at the sanctuary, the excavators maintain that the EIA and later votives 'give no hint that Syme was dependent on a particular Cretan city-state.'[1676] They favour the idea that it constituted a semi-autonomous sanctuary with its own lands and goods and only 'loose and periodic connections with secular authority.' Lebessi believes that the mention by Ptolemy in the 2nd century AD of a sacred mountain in this area refers to the sanctuary of Syme.[1677] The excavators' idea seems further based on the evidence from HL graffiti and the analysis of bronze animal figurines as presented in recent studies.

[1672] None of these sites have been systematically investigated, but O-A surface finds have been noted by Pendlebury (1939, 343-44) and by Hood, Warren & Cadogan (1964, 83). *Contra* Schürmann (1996, 191 n. 488), who considers Aphrati as the nearest large EIA site.

[1673] Schürmann 1996, 192. For the evidence of metal working from Syme: Lebessi 1985a, 274; *ead.* 1991b, 313, pl. 201e.

[1674] See n. 1662.

[1675] See n. 1672.

[1676] Lebessi, Muhly & Olivier 1995, 76-77 (with ref. to Chaniotis 1988, 33-34).

HL graffiti on fragments of pottery and roof tiles from the sanctuary in several cases give the personal names of worshippers together with their place of origin. Place names include the central and east-central Cretan cities of Tylisos, Knossos, Lyttos, Arkades, Priansos and Hierapytna.[1678] Chaniotis seems to interpret the graffiti on tiles as evidence for the formal involvement of the above mentioned cities in HL building activities at the site and proposes control by an amphictyony.[1679] This interpretation would have been more convincing if the tiles had been stamped with the name of the cities instead of being inscribed by individuals. An additional argument for the excavators' idea of only 'loose control' of the sanctuary seems to derive from Schürmann's analysis of the bronze animal figurines. These figurines represent the output of several unconnected workshops or travelling artisans, who may have come to the sanctuary from different places. Despite the long period in which these figurines were dedicated at the sanctuary, from the late 10th into the 7th century BC, there is a lack of internal stylistic development in the group. As Schürmann points out, such development would be expected if there had been an established workshop that was able to continue its production over several generations under the patronage of a specific community.[1680]

However, some arguments may be presented against the idea of a permanent state of (semi-) autonomy for the sanctuary at Syme. Most importantly, there are a number of indications that suggest changes in the organisation of cult at Syme in the course of the EIA. These changes presume a take-over or an intensification of control, quite likely by one of the neighbouring communities. Especially significant in this context are the building activities that took place at the sanctuary from the late 8th or early 7th century BC onward. These involved the enlargement of an earlier altar and the laying out of two rubble-filled, at least 35 m long terraces around it; a third terrace was added in 675-650 BC and slightly enlarged around 600 BC (Plate 17).[1681] For EIA Mainland Greece, various scholars have noted that building activities were primarily directed at sanctuaries in the immediate environment of settlement centres. Construction outside the *chora* was rare at this time. Morgan calls the appearance of monuments and formalised festivals clear signs of the institutionalisation of cult activities at Greek sanctuaries, as they are almost invariably commissioned or controlled by state authorities. Sanctuaries outside state territories were usually the last to be subjected to such institutionalisation.[1682] In EIA Crete, building at sanctuaries was generally much more modest than on the Mainland. The most monumental enterprises were the erection of Temple A at Prinias and the cult building at the Acropolis of Gortyn, constructed in the 7th century BC in an urban and suburban context respectively. In the extra-urban sanctuaries of EIA Crete, building activities are only firmly attested at Kommos, a site which is most likely to have fallen under the control of the nearby community of Phaistos. The late 8th- or early 7th-century building activities at Syme may likewise be taken as indicating the involvement of a formal organisation, most likely one of the developing poleis in the region.

[1677] Lebessi 1985b, 221 (with ref. to Ptolemy 3.7.4).

[1678] Lebessi 1981a, 4, pl. 1a; *ead.* 1985b, 17 n. 4.

[1679] Chaniotis 1988, 33.

[1680] Schürmann 1996, 192.

The suggestion that cult activities at Syme were formalised under the *aegis* of a polis or some other institution from the late 8th or early 7th century BC on is supported by the contemporary appearance of new types of votives at the sanctuary. These consist foremost of a group of over 60 figurative bronze cut-out plaques, most of which depict male worshippers (Plates 69-70). The plaques are highly distinctive for the sanctuary[1683] and were first dedicated in the early 7th century BC, i.e. the period in which building activities began, or shortly afterwards. The importance of these plaques lies not only in their iconography, which offers essential information on the rituals conducted at the sanctuary,[1684] but also in their technical and stylistic homogeneity. In contrast to the small animal bronzes—whose dedication drops steeply after 650 BC[1685]—the stylistic and iconographic development of the bronze plaques can be followed throughout the period in which they were offered. This implies a more stable and continuous production by one or by connected workshops, perhaps, as suggested by Schürmann, a secondary workshop attached to a larger and more permanent one located in an associated settlement.[1686] In addition, it is remarkable that Syme is one of the few EIA extra-urban sanctuaries in Crete that began to receive mouldmade female terracottas in some quantity during the 7th century BC.[1687] Votives of this kind were more typically at home in the suburban sanctuaries belonging to individual poleis, where they represent a certain standardisation of votive behaviour and a formalisation of rites aimed at social integration.[1688] The appearance of these objects at Syme may be taken as a sign that the sanctuary, apart from hosting rituals for male aristocrats from different communities, fulfilled cult functions of a more local nature. This too implies special ties of the sanctuary with one (or more) communities nearby.

[1681] See cat. entry B.66.

[1682] Morgan 1990, 5-6, 16.

[1683] A few examples of such bronze cut-out plaques have been found at the Psychro cave and Aphrati; see Lebessi 1985b, 54 (no. C7), 55 (no. C10), pls. 40, 58.

[1684] See cat. entry B.66.

The changes that mark the transition to the 7th century BC at Syme may be interpreted in two different ways. One possibility is that they represent a sudden appropriation of the sanctuary by an individual community after a period of shared use and 'loose control'. Alternatively, the changes may reflect a mere formalisation of a long-existing and stable relationship with one and the same community, perhaps in an attempt to protect local interests in the wake of Syme's growing interregional appeal. To choose one or the other of these two options is difficult on the basis of the presently available archaeological evidence. A valid approach would be to see if local functions of the sanctuary, which for the 7th century BC are indicated by the mouldmade female terracottas, were already combined with those on a higher, (inter-)regional level in the earlier part of the EIA. For the Mainland, the comparison of Olympia and Delphi showed significant differences in the participation of local groups. At the former site, terracotta animal figurines (which constitute only half the number of bronze animal figurines) were made of local clay and Heilmeyer therefore proposes they were dedicated by local, west-Peloponnesian farmers.[1689] Future study of the clay animal figurines and pottery from Syme may provide similar clues. At present evidence, earlier votive objects that betray cult concerns of local communities around Syme seem scarce. As possible predecessors to the mouldmade female terracottas, the preliminary reports mention only one or two PG female figurines and one G cylindrical female figure. The bronze animal figurines, as indicated by Schürmann's analysis, reflect (sub-)regional rather than local functions. Therefore, a sudden take-over of the sanctuary around 700 BC at present evidence seems more likely than that of a gradual tightening of control, although by which community remains unclear.

[1685] Schürmann 1996, 215 table 1.

[1686] Lebessi 1985b, 200, 228, 238; Schürmann 1996, 191-92.

[1687] Such votives are conspicuously absent in the larger extra-urban sanctuaries of Patsos (B.51), the Idaean cave (B.52), Ayia Triada (B.56) as well as in Kommos (B.57), Amnisos (B.60) and Palaikastro (B.69). In the larger extra-urban sanctuaries, the possible presence of female worshippers is more often indicated by jewellery (at the Idaean cave) or handmade clay or bronze figurines (at Patsos and Ayia Triada. Mouldmade plaques of females have been reported from the extra-urban sanctuaries at Tsoutsouros (B.59, but in unknown numbers) and Psychro (B.65).

[1688] See the discussion in sections 4 and 7 of this chapter, p. 357-58 and p. 477-78.

The Idaean cave and Syme: elite participation and character of the cult

Considering the organisational changes at late 8th-/early 7th-century Syme, as well as the enhanced elite involvement in cult activities in the course of the EIA, the question arises as to what extent the principal rites conducted at the sanctuary also changed. More specifically, it may be asked through which aspects of the cult elite involvement was articulated, if this involvement affected concept and image of the associated deities and in what ways the antiquity of the cult may have contributed to the attraction of the sanctuary. The possible answers are not only relevant for an evaluation of the development of cult at Syme, but also for the general issue of cult continuity in Crete from the BA into the EIA, a phenomenon often considered to be epitomised by such long-lived sanctuaries as Syme.

Elite involvement in the cult at Syme is most clearly spoken for by the large bronzes and precious jewellery, of which considerable quantities were dedicated in the course of the EIA. Preliminary reports mention four bronze open-work stands, one of which is of Cypriot type, several other bronze cauldrons and stands, a bronze shield with lion's head protome, fragments of sheet gold, a golden bead and other jewellery. Most of these objects cannot be considered cult-specific and therefore provide little information on the character of the rituals or deity involved. Iconographically more explicit are the 7th-century bronze cut-out plaques, in which the excavator of Syme, Lebessi, has recognised distinct references to male maturation. Many of these plaques show young men in the act of hunting or subduing and carrying off agrimia (Plate 69). Others depict older huntsmen with elaborate beards, quivers and bows. One of the most revealing plaques represents an older man taking a youth by the forearm in a gesture that implies intimacy or courtship (Plate 70).[1690] Lebessi convincingly argues for a connection of these scenes with the 'peculiar custom in regard to love affairs' of the Cretans as described by Ephorus in the 4th century BC. Interpreted by modern scholars as maturation rites for male aristocrats, these 'love customs' entailed the staged abduction of a boy who was about to assume the status of adult, arm-bearing citizen by an older man who was to be his lover. Together with the companions of the chosen boy, the couple would withdraw to the countryside for a period of several months, devoting themselves to hunting and feasting. The emphasis on hunting on the plaques, together with the apparent homosexuality, accords well with Ephorus' account.[1691] The male figures on the plaques are lightly armed, conform the ephebic image as known from various later literary sources.[1692] Clearly, the remote and mountainous environment of the sanctuary at Syme would have offered an ideal setting for a retreat from normal community life.

[1689] Heilmeyer 1972, 2, 87, 92-93.

The fact that the 7th-century bronze plaques were found around the central altar on the broad terraces, in a black layer full of charred wood, animal bones and horns,[1693] suggests that by this time the associated maturation rites formed a principal part of cult activities at the sanctuary. For the preceding centuries, however, the iconography of the votives is less explicit and the picture less clear. Lebessi has identified some bronze figurines that suggest concerns comparable to those expressed in the 7th-century plaques. The most striking examples given by Lebessi consist of an 8th-century nude male couple (one depicted larger than the other to express the age difference, Plate 68b) and of a man with bow of the same date.[1694] To these may be added the bronze figurines of agrimia (Plate 68c). An association with male initiation rites may also be implied by a small series of bronze warrior figurines (ranging from the late 11th to the 8th century BC), an 8th-century bronze figurine of a male holding a chalice (Plate 68a) and a 7th-century BC *c.* 0.45 m high (but only fragmentarily preserved) bronze group of a man leading a bull by the horns. Lebessi sees a connection with the end rites described by Ephorus, in which the new citizen is presented with military gear, a drinking cup and an ox for sacrifice. In addition, there are figurines (from the late 10th to the early 7th century BC) of males engaged in activities that may be more loosely connected with initiation feasts, such as the wearing of masks, dancing, playing the double flute and lyre.[1695]

[1690] For the possible meanings of this gesture, see section 4 in this chapter, p. 412.

[1691] Lebessi 1985b, 236-37; *ead.* 1991a.

[1692] See also section 7 in this chapter, p. 483-84.

[1693] Lebessi 1985b, 221.

Since the earliest bronze warrior figurine found at Syme dates to the late 11th century BC, Lebessi concludes that male maturation rites were celebrated from this time onwards. Such figurines may refer to the right to bear arms, something which was indeed connected with the reaching of adulthood in EIA Crete. At the same time, it should be emphasised that such a military association is rather general and that iconographic elements pointing more specifically to rituals of the kind described by Ephorus only become apparent in votives of the 8th century BC. It is conceivable that these maturation rites did not reach their specific form until the 8th or 7th century BC. The construction date of the terraces and central altar around 700 BC and the introduction of the bronze plaques with their explicit iconography in the 7th century BC may well have represented decisive stages in the formation of such maturation rites.

As to the period before the 11th century BC, Lebessi is quite categorical in her assertion that it is not known if cult activities at Syme were connected with male initiation.[1696] This opposes a view held by two other scholars, Willetts and Koehl, that the ritual described by Ephorus represents an age-old Minoan custom. They see this confirmed by the evidence from Syme, where the basic form of the rites seems to have changed only little during the period from the LBA to the 7th century BC—with a continuing emphasis on the lighting of fires, animal sacrifice, ritual meals and the deposition of permanent offerings. Of particular relevance is the interpretation of the more than 300 bronze figurines of bovids found among the EIA votives (Plate 68a). The earlier popularity of bulls, bull leaping and bulls' horns in Minoan iconography led Willetts to conclude that the ox sacrifice in the later Cretan initiation ritual 'must surely derive from Minoan ritual'. He further compared the Cretan *agelai* of the historic period with the elite troops that, according to Evans, existed at the Knossian court.[1697]

[1694] Lebessi 1991a, 163, fig. 5.

[1695] Lebessi 1991a, 163-65. For the bull leader: Lebessi 1992c, fig. 4.

[1696] Lebessi 1991a, 165; Lebessi, Muhly & Olivier 1995, 77.

Willetts' suggestion of the perpetuation of Minoan initiation rituals into the historical period has been taken up by Koehl in a more recent article, which also incorporates the new evidence from the excavations at Syme. Koehl's argument centres on the interpretation of the figurative scene on the well-known Neopalatial stone chalice from Ayia Triada. He interprets the two male figures represented on the one side of the vessel as abductor and younger lover conform to Ephorus' description: the sword carried by the smaller youth would have been presented by the other male figure, while the ox-hides carried by the three young men on the reverse of the vase may refer to the required ox sacrifice. Koehl considers the fact that this scene is carved on a chalice, an elaborate kind of drinking vessel, highly significant. He points to the 8th-century bronze figurine of a male holding a similar type of chalice from Syme and the large numbers of such vessels found in the BA strata of the sanctuary. Like Willetts, Koehl adduces the myth of Ganymedes, the beautiful Trojan youth who was abducted by Zeus and then became his cup-bearer, as further evidence for the BA origin of the later initiation rituals. Since there is an alternative version in which Minos acts as the abductor, Koehl accepts Plato's suggestion that the myth had a Minoan origin—explicitly rejecting the idea that the ancient author merely attempted to find a mythological explanation for what Mainland Greeks of the CL period would have considered a 'peculiar custom in regard to love affairs'.[1698] Koehl's theory poses a problem, however, which is that no independent iconographic evidence is presented to substantiate the existence of a Minoan initiation complex with all the components presented by Ephorus. There is an element of circularity in Koehl's use of this 4th-century BC author as a direct source for the interpretation of the scene on the Minoan chalice from Ayia Triada and the subsequent conclusion that the noted correspondences indicate the continuity of the rites described by Ephorus from the BA into the EIA.[1699]

[1697] Willetts 1962, 116-17; see also Evans 1935, 397-99.

[1698] Koehl 1986 (with ref. to Plato's *Laws* 636d; Athenaeus 13.601f.).

With respect to the symbolism of the bovine figurines, several scholars maintain these had a special meaning in male initiation complexes. Bremmer, for instance, has sought a connection between initiation and the occurrence of heroic bull fights in myth. Examples include the story of Herakles, who caught a mighty bull in Crete, and of Theseus, who captured a bull at Marathon before he went to Crete and confronted the Minotaur.[1700] Interestingly enough, Lebessi herself has recently presented a new argument in favour of an interpretation of the numerous bronze bovines in connection with the male maturation rituals at Syme. She points to the 7th-century bronze group, which shows a male figure leading a bull by the horns. Only few fragments of the group have been preserved, but the reconstructed height of 0.45 m make clear that this would have been an impressive and conspicuous object. Lebessi proposes that the earlier and smaller bull figurines would have conveyed a message similar to that of the more explicit bull leader group and that they too were dedicated in the context of male maturation rites.[1701] If Lebessi's suggestion is accepted, the possibility should also be considered that the large terracotta bovine figures of the preceding LM IIIC-SM period were somehow associated with male initiation rites. Against the excavator's earlier assertion, this would bring the evidence for male initiation rites back to at least the 12th century BC. This is especially interesting in the light of the occurrence of similar votives in the other extra-urban sanctuaries of the LM IIIC-SM period, but the proposed interpretation is not unproblematic.

For one thing, the traditional importance of bull iconography in

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[1699] See esp. Koehl 1986, 110.

[1700] Bremmer 1980, 285; Sergent 1986, 18-19, ns. 18-19 (with full bibliography).

[1701] Lebessi 1992c, 12-14, fig. 4.

Crete and the animal's widespread status as ideal sacrificial animal[1702] alert one to the fact that it may well be too specific to see in these votives a direct illustration of the required sacrifice by aristocratic initiates as described by Ephorus. Lebessi's argument would have been stronger if the bronze bull leader's group had been earlier, i.e. contemporary with the small bronze bovine figurines. As it stands now, this group belongs to the period after 700 BC, when a number of important changes become apparent both in terms of the sanctuary's organisation and in terms of the articulation of cult and iconographic expression. As these changes may well have involved a shift in content of the cult, the meaning of the bull leader's group may not be simply transferred to the individual bovine figurines of earlier date.

It may also be significant, as Sergent points out, that Ephorus does not mention the sacrifice of a bull but of an ox, an animal that evokes very different associations.[1703] At Syme, the idea of a heroic fight is certainly not aimed at bulls, but instead focuses on the capturing of agrimia, as indicated by the 7th-century bronze plaques, the earlier bronze figurines of agrimia and the presence of agrimia horns and skulls in the sacrificial layer. Regarding the bovine offerings, some alternative readings are given by Sergent, with reference to the work of Yoshida. The latter scholar focuses on the broader agricultural connotations of bovids, as part of a theory that assumes the existence of a 'trifunctional ideology' underlying Indo-European thought patterns. Without going into the details of this theory, it should be noted that the three presents mentioned by Ephorus—weaponry, cup and ox—may accordingly be interpreted as instruments of war, cult and agriculture. Therefore, they would have symbolised physical and military strength, religious leadership, (agricultural) productivity and prosperity respectively. For Sergent, the ox sacrifice as described by Ephorus accentuates in the first place the initiate's status and personal capability to fulfil a sacrifice that was both highly esteemed and difficult to perform.[1704]

To summarise the evidence from Syme, various stages in the development of the cult may be discerned on the basis of the noted changes in votive types. The end of the LM IIIC-SM period (the late 11th century BC) is marked by the addition of warrior figurines to the votive repertoire. This reflects both a greater concern with military prowess by individual votaries and a growing relevance of cult at Syme for the articulation of a warrior aristocracy—a phenomenon closely tied to the socio-political developments of the EIA. In contrast, the clay bovine figures of the LM IIIC-SM period lack overt military connotations. Their dedication would have drawn attention to the votary's agricultural prosperity (as proposed by Yoshida) or his personal capabilities as sacrificer (as suggested by Sergent).[1705] In the PG period these large clay figures may have been superseded by the bronze bovine figurines with little change of meaning. This may imply that agricultural prosperity formed a continuous concern beside growing military and political ones. Bronze figurines of other domesticated animals were also dedicated in the EIA, with ram and goat predominating. The next significant change took place in the period from *c.* 700-650 BC. This entailed the disappearance of the bovine and other animal bronzes from the votive repertoire and the introduction of the bronze plaques with their pronounced emphasis on anthropomorphic representations and on the hunting of agrimia. By this time, there is indeed an assemblage of votive objects that contain clear allusions to male maturation rites of the kind described by Ephorus.

[1702] See e.g.: Burkert 1985, 37, 55.

[1703] Sergent 1986, 19.

[1704] Sergent 1986, 18, 20-26 (with ref. to Yoshida 1965; Dumézil 1930). For cattle as a symbol of prosperity, see also: De Polignac 1995b, 7, 42.

The noted changes in the iconography of EIA votives at Syme also help to gain an understanding of the character and function of the associated deities, Hermes and Aphrodite. The name of the latter is not epigraphically attested at the sanctuary until the HL period, but the 7th-century terracotta plaques of *anasyrma* type may be taken as an indication of the earlier worship of a goddess connected with female sexuality. More information is available on the cult for Hermes at Syme. There are a relatively early votive inscription of *c.* 600 BC[1706] and a number of 7th- to 5th-century bronze cut-out plaques which may depict the god in different guises. These plaques do not only suggest that Hermes played a crucial role in the male maturation rituals at Syme, but, together with other categories of

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[1705] Therefore, if the offering of bovine images is to be associated with male maturation rites, as now also maintained by Lebessi, this would only underline the changes in ideology pertaining to the expected social role of the initiate.

[1706] Lebessi 1973, 198; *ead.* 1981a, 4-5, 9 n. 5.

EIA votives from the sanctuary, allow a comparison of the god as worshipped at Syme with the typical Hermes as known from EIA and later Greek sources.

In later Greek times, the cult for Hermes rarely enjoyed a central position in polis religion, but usually took place in smaller rural or private cult places.[1707] The manifold functions of Hermes seem to have in common a basically rural and pastoral character. The god was closely associated with the protection and multiplication of flocks and he served as a patron of herdsmen as well as thieves.[1708] This conception of Hermes is also expressed in the Homeric and Hesiodic works.[1709] At Syme, the predominance of animal votives, in the form of large terracotta bovine figures in the LM IIIC-SM period, and in the form of bronze figurines of sheep, goat and cattle in the PG-O periods, accords well with these pastoral functions of Hermes. Likewise, the natural setting of Syme and its potential function as meeting place for shepherds from surrounding mountains conform to this general 'rural image'.

As a corollary to his pastoral and rural functions, the Greek Hermes was connected with both the transgression and demarcation of boundaries. He served as the protector and guide of those crossing boundaries or moving through unknown terrain, such as travellers, messengers and the deceased. Hermes, whose name actually denotes 'he of the stone heap' was physically associated with boundary stones and territorial markers.[1710] Reference to a 'hermaios lophos' is already made in the *Odyssey*.[1711] Lebessi proposes that one of the earliest bronze plaques from Syme, dating to *c.* 700 BC, may well depict the god emerging from a heap of rubble or stone cairn (Plate 71a).[1712] The connection with boundaries may also explain the element of phallic display in the god's cult, which was given expression most visibly in the later Herms. More generally, the ithyphallic element was considered to convey fecundity. Apart from

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[1707] Farnell 1909, 1; Nilsson 1967, 501-03.

[1708] Farnell 1909, 10; Nilsson 1967, 501-03; Herter 1976, 213, 225; Burkert 1985, 158; Athanassakis 1989, 33.

[1709] *Il.* 14.490; Hes. *Theogony,* 444; see Chittenden 1947, 92-93; Nilsson 1967, 505-06.

[1710] Farnell 1909, 18-20; Nilsson 1967, 503-04; Chittenden 1947, 95; Herter 1976, 196, 221, 224-25; Burkert 1985, 156; Athanassakis 1989, 34.

[1711] *Od.* 16.471; see also Chittenden 1947, 91.

[1712] Lebessi 1985b, 22 (A1), 233-34, pl. 1.

Hermes' function as multiplier of flocks, this is also reflected in his connection with human fertility and sexual prowess.[1713] It is therefore not uncommon to see the cult of Hermes coupled to that of Aphrodite[1714]—as also was the case at Syme. Here an emphasis on sexuality is exhibited by both the PG-O ithyphallic figurines in bronze and terracotta and the (rarer) female terracottas.

Hermes' involvement in male initiation and maturation rites is also not specific for Syme. In the HL period the god is generally associated with young athletes in the palaistrai and gymnasia, with a phallic, homoerotic element being clearly present. This link can be traced back to earlier times, as Costa has shown. In an Archaic inscription from Lyttos, for instance, Hermes is provided with the epithet 'Dromios', the Cretan term for the stadium.[1715] The recent evidence from Syme gives reason to consider Hermes' affinity with young 'aristocrats in training' as an even older characteristic of his cult. This connection with education and initiation may have been based primarily on the shared notion of marginality that defines both Hermes and adolescents on the threshold to adulthood. Grounds for further identification may have been found in the god's qualities as transgressor of boundaries, divine trickster and inventor of things elementary to civilisation, such as the making of fire and the custom of sacrificing to the gods.[1716] A similar unruliness, trickery and the breaking of social and cultural codes also characterise the conduct of *ephebes* as described in later Greek literary sources.[1717]

While many aspects of the Hermes cult as celebrated at EIA Syme are in harmony with a more general, Panhellenic conception of the god as known from Greek sources, it is far from certain that these correspondences were the result of contact and influence during the EIA. Several scholars consider Hermes an 'old god', who is probably mentioned on a Linear B tablet from the Mainland.[1718] It is therefore possible that his cult was already widespread in the BA and that this provided a common base for his later worship in different parts of the Greek world. The complexity of the issue is illustrated in a detailed analysis by Lebessi, who distinguishes a variety of mechanisms and traditions that helped to shape the image of Hermes at Syme at different moments in time. On some of the later bronze plaques from the sanctuary Hermes is indeed represented in accordance with the canonical Greek imagery of the god and contemporary influence from Mainland traditions seems likely. Lebessi points in particular to a late 6th-century bronze plaque, which shows a nude bearded male in striding position with a himation and winged feet (Plate 71d),[1719] and to a 5th-century plaque of the god as a young, nude athlete with kerykeion. Representations of the god on two early 7th-century plaques are, however, less canonical and, in Lebessi's words, 'burdened with additional details'.[1720] Although some of these details correspond to Panhellenic conceptions, the general impression is of multiformity and idiosyncrasy. On one of the two plaques the god holds a body-long staff in the right hand (the top not preserved) and a short stick with triple finial in his left (Plate 71b).[1721] The staff may be identified with the Greek 'sceptre' known from literary sources, while the shorter object in his left hand is more akin to a wand or 'rabdos' (made of a supple branch or twig).[1722] A wand is the characteristic attribute of Hermes in the Homeric epics and in the somewhat later Homeric Hymn.[1723] The depiction on this plaque shows a remarkable correspondence to the Homeric description as 'tripetilon', 'three-leafed' or 'three-branched'.[1724] However, on the bronze plaque with possible cairn, discussed above, the god holds a short plain staff with globular finial, a type for which there are no parallels in early Greek literature or representations. A sketchily indicated snake around the figure's left arm may be an attempt to indicate his divine nature by means of old, Minoan conventions.[1725] Apparently, there were no fixed conventions with regards to the attributes of the god in this period. This, together with the relatively early date of these plaques makes Lebessi wonder if Panhellenic influence is to be assumed at all.[1726]

[1713] Nilsson 1967, 501-10; Burkert 1985, 141, 156-59.

[1714] Burkert 1985, 220; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 457-58.

[1715] Costa 1982, esp. 279-80; see also Willetts 1962, 289; Herter 1976, 229-30; Burkert 1985, 158-59.

[1716] Burkert 1985, 156-57. On marginality as a central aspect of the god's nature, see Versnel's Fourth Sather Lecture.

[1717] See esp. Vidal Naquet 1986, 120.

[1718] Farnell 1909, 1; Nilsson 1967, 501-03, 508; Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 85-88; Heubeck 1970, 812; Burkert 1985, 43.

[1719] Lebessi 1981a, 10-12, fig. 4; *ead.* 1985b, 44 (A58), 228-29, 233-34, pls. 32, 34. See also Burkert 1985, 157.

[1720] Lebessi 1985b, (A60), 155, 233-34, pl. 52.

[1721] Lebessi 1985b, 22 (A1), 156-57, 233, pl. 1.

[1722] For the terminology see: De Waele 1927, 25-27, 37-38.

[1723] *Il.* 24.343-45; *Od.* 5.47; *Hom. Hymn to Hermes* 528-32; see also De Waele 1927, 33-35; Chittenden 1947, 100; Nilsson 1967, 509-10.

[1724] De Waele 1927, 47-48, 77; Chittenden 1947, 100.

[1725] Lebessi 1981a, 20; *ead.* 1985b, 234.

In general, unambiguous examples of Panhellenic influence on the iconography of Hermes at EIA Syme seem scarce. Instead, several features of Hermes and his cult at Syme may be explained equally well—and sometimes better—as legacies or modifications of BA traditions. For instance, the depiction of Hermes as a youthful figure accords both with his epithet of 'kouros' in the *Iliad*[1727] and with the usual BA way of representing male divinities. Another example of a BA legacy consists of the god's association with cairns. According to Lebessi, in Crete this association is less likely to have been acquired during the EIA than in a period of influence from Mycenaean religion during the LBA.[1728] In this context, the possibility should also be considered that the Mycenaean Hermes assimilated with a Minoan precursor, who was characterised by similar iconography or functions. In 1947, J. Chittenden already argued that the origin of Hermes is to be sought in a Minoan Potnios Theron who, by virtue of his power over wild animals, developed into a protector of flocks and travellers crossing the wild countryside. She recognised this Potnios Theron in representations on Minoan seal stones, where this god seems repeatedly associated with lions, wild goats, other (fantastic) animals and daemons or 'genii', as well as with palm trees, sacred stones or pillars and libation jugs.[1729] Traces of an original function of Hermes as Potnios Theron may still be discernible in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, in which the god is given control over 'lions with flashing eyes and boars with gleaming tusks, and dogs, and all herds, and sheep nurtured by the broad earth' by Apollo.[1730] The theory of a fusion of a Mycenaean Hermes with a Minoan Potnios Theron, as proposed by Chittenden, was not universally accepted,[1731] but the new evidence from Syme has led Lebessi to reconsider its value. She draws attention to peculiarities in the iconography of Hermes at Syme, in the sacrificial practices and other features of the cult.

[1726] Lebessi 1985b, 234.

[1727] *Il.* 24.347-48; see Lebessi 1985b, 158, 234.

[1728] Lebessi 1985b, 172-73, 236.

[1729] Chittenden 1947, esp. 93, 98. For such seal stones, see also: Nilsson 1950, 357-60, fig. 168.

[1730] *Hom. Hymn to Hermes* 569-71 (translation by Athanassakis 1976, 47); Chittenden 1947, 102, 105; Athanassakis 1989, 35.

[1731] It was accepted by Guthrie (1950, 87-88, 92-94) and Willetts (1962, 287-88), but rejected by Herter (1976, 225). Nilsson (1950, 515-16) considered him 'an essentially Greek god', who appropriated some Minoan-Mycenaean elements.

It may be clear from the 7th-century bronze cut-out plaques that Hermes at Syme was connected with the hunting of wild animals, especially agrimia. The late 6th-century bronze plaque of Hermes as a bearded male with himation and winged feet may actually depict the god as huntsman.[1732] Votives from Syme predating the 7th century BC contain few explicit references to hunting. Considering that this activity is often closely associated with the lifestyle of male aristocrats, it might be argued that the emphasis on hunting on the 7th-century bronze plaques represents a typically aristocratic and period-specific interpretation of the rural aspects of Hermes' cult—an interpretation that centres on the more leisurely aspects of a 'free mountain life' and that contrasts with the agricultural-pastoral concerns expressed in large groups of earlier votives. Lebessi, however, persuasively argues that hunting represents an aspect inherent to the cult, which goes back far into the BA. Following Chittenden, she refers in particular to Minoan representations of a male figure who appears lightly armed and accompanied by dogs or lions on BA seal stones.[1733] To these examples may be added a recently found LM IB sealing from Palaikastro, which depicts a youthful male figure with three dogs pursuing an agrimi.[1734] In this context, the popularity of the agrimi in 7th-century Syme as the preferred sacrificial animal may be significant. Although this popularity may simply have been due to the fact that it was the largest and most magnificent wild animal that could be hunted, the fact that the agrimi already had religious connotations in the BA may also be taken as support of Lebessi's idea of a BA legacy.[1735]

[1732] On the strength of parallel postures on other plaques showing hunters, Lebessi believes he would have held a bow in the missing hands; see Lebessi 1981a, 10-12, fig. 4; *ead.* 1985b, 44 (A58), 112-16, pls. 32, 34.

[1733] Lebessi 1981a, 19-20; *ead.* 1985b, 116, 180-81, 235-36; see also Nilsson 1950, 354-55, 382.

[1734] In her discussion of this object, J. Weingarten (in MacGillivray, Sackett *et al.* 1989, 438-39) calls the depicted male figure a Potnios Theron. Touching the antlers of the agrimi with his right hand, he holds in his left hand an object that may be identified as a 'Greek thunderbolt in its Archaic lotiform version' or as a double sheaf of arrows.

[1735] Lebessi 1985b, 180.

Other peculiarities of the sacrificial practices at EIA Syme also support the idea that important elements of the cult complex related by Chittenden to a Minoan Potnios Theron were preserved at EIA Syme. In accordance with the already mentioned BA representations, libation may have formed a core part of the ritual activities. The raised, stone-built altar on the LG-O terraces contains a rectangular hole in its centre, presumably to receive liquids.[1736] One of the 8th-century bronze male figurines holds a chalice, intended for libation. The chalice retains the shape of Minoan precursors in stone, examples of which have been found in abundance in the BA sacrificial layers at Syme.[1737] It is of note that, although the slaughtering and (ritual) consumption of animals on a considerable scale happened at Syme, burnt animal sacrifice is not attested. This stands in contrast to the sacrificial practices by members of the elite in contemporary hearth temples such as the one at Kommos.[1738] Instead, one of the bronze plaques shows a bound agrimi lying on its back on an offering table. Similar sacrificial scenes are represented on Minoan and Mycenaean seal stones and on the well-known sarcophagus from Ayia Triada.[1739] In addition, Syme has yielded physical evidence, in the form of animal skulls and horns, for the offering of animal heads. This too provides a link with earlier religious customs in the island, as is apparent from the importance of the bucranium in Minoan iconography.[1740] Last, in respect to the Potnios Theron's connection with stones, it may be significant that the walls of the Neopalatial Sacred Enclosure incorporate a large, vertical outcrop which protrudes from the middle of the west wall, right opposite the entrance. The Enclosure and outcrop were still visible in the EIA and the latter may well have been considered a baetyl.

No less significant in the context of an appraisal of possible BA survivals in the cult at Syme is the god's association with vegetation. Lebessi has plausibly identified a youthful figure in a tree on one of the 7th-century bronze plaques as a representation of Hermes (Plate 71c). Since small branches also decorate the head of the bearded

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[1736] Lebessi 1985b, 162; Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 327.

[1737] Esp. Kanta 1991, 485.

[1738] See section 6 in this chapter, p. 471-73.

[1739] Lebessi 1981a, 8-9, figs. 2-3; *ead.* 1985b, 230, pl. 43 (A15). See also Nilsson 1950, 229-31, fig. 113.

[1740] Lebessi & Muhly 1990, 327.

Hermes on the late 6th-century bronze plaque (Plate 71d) and because the god's epithet at Syme was 'Kedritas' (of the cedar tree) in HL times, this association appears to have been a continuous and established feature of the cult. It may also explain the vegetal, twig-like form of the wand carried by Hermes on one of the 7th-century bronze plaques (Plate 71b).[1741] The concept of a male god associated with trees is encountered more often in Crete in historic times, for instance in depictions of Zeus Velchanos on coins from Phaistos.[1742] It is generally thought to be a survival of Minoan religion, in which vegetation and nature deities were prominent. A second, more fragmentary 7th-century bronze plaque from Syme shows a hand grasping the branches of a tree decorated with ribbons—something which evokes the tree-shaking practices known from cult scenes on Minoan seal stones.[1743] As with the particular form of animal sacrifice at EIA Syme, this also suggests an adherence to old ritual practices.

Parallels for the association of Hermes with hunting and vegetation are known from other parts of the Greek world. Both Chittenden and Lebessi mention several A and CL vases from the Greek Mainland and the islands with related representations.[1744] These aspects are, however, not pronounced in either the Homeric works or later Greek religion.[1745] The conception of Hermes as a hunting and vegetation deity may therefore reflect functions and associations of BA origin, which were not incorporated in the Homeric-Hesiodic poems, but survived as a substratum in different regions of the Greek world.[1746] The interrelation of the vegetation aspects to the functions of a Potnios Theron is probably best explained by assuming that the basic realm of the god was that of 'wild, undomesticated nature'. His powers would, like those of his female counterpart the Potnia Theron, have extended over both animals, fantastic creatures, humans and the floral world.[1747] Plants, in the form of palm trees, are also present in the earlier iconography associated with the Minoan Potnios Theron. The cult at Syme therefore appears to have combined Minoan and Mycenaean elements, but was only gradually exposed to Panhellenic conventions. The relatively late appearance of more canonical images of the god, not before the late 6th or even 5th century BC, and the continuation of old sacrificial practices indicate that this was a slow and partial process, with BA notions and concepts surviving well into the EIA.

[1741] Lebessi 1985b, 30-31 (A21), 164, 167, 232-33, pls. 15, 54, 59, 63

[1742] A.B. Cook 1914, 528-31; *id.* 1925, 946; Nilsson 1950, 550-53; Willetts 1962, 250-51; Capdeville 1995, 155-77.

[1743] Lebessi 1985b, 31 (A22), 164-65, 232-33, pls. 15, 54.

[1744] Chittenden 1947, 100-01; Lebessi 1981a, 6; *ead.* 1985b, 112, 144-45, 228-29.

[1745] See also Athanassakis 1989, 34. Herter (1976, 224, 232) concludes that in early written sources, such as Hesiod's *Theogony* and the *Hom. Hymn to Hermes,* the god's effect on the fertility of vegetation is less pronounced than on that of animals.

[1746] Lebessi 1985b, 164-65, 234-35.

The incomplete nature of this process is particularly striking because Syme, as a sanctuary serving male aristocrats from different communities, might be expected to have been more prone to Panhellenic and other 'foreign' influence than the majority of EIA cult places in the island. There are types votives of non-Cretan origin. The dedication, for instance, of bronze horse figurines and chariot models implies influence from Mainland traditions and is more common at this sanctuary than in ones in regions further to the east.[1748] Neither are oriental imports, in the form of prestige objects such as open-work cauldron stands with figurative representations, lacking at Syme. These objects may have affected the form and iconography of other dedications at the sanctuary, but without, it seems, having a profound influence on the character of the deity or his cult. Examples of superficial influence consist of the use of Egyptian prototypes for some of the scenes on the 7th-century bronze plaques.[1749] Also, the source of inspiration for the winged feet of the Hermes figure on the late 6th-century bronze plaque—a legacy of the more common use of wings at the back and feet to denote supernatural beings in EIA Crete—is to be sought in Near Eastern iconography.[1750]

However, it seems that indigenous or traditional elements of the cult at Syme were emphasised more strongly than connections with the outside world. This implies that the antiquity of the cult may have become one of its attractions. The noted aristocratic involvement in such a traditional cult ties in with a more general tendency of Aegean elite groups during the EIA to appropriate and affiliate themselves with a mythical past. In Crete, this took the form of a renewed cultic interest for the ruined Minoan palaces and related monuments, as well as, in some cases, the appropriation of BA tombs and BA antiques.[1751] At old sanctuaries such as the one at Syme, an affiliation with the past would have been helped by the continued visibility of monumental BA constructions, for instance the Sacred Enclosure, and by the constant turning up of well-preserved BA cult objects, such as stone vessels and tables of offering.[1752] To the extent that Hermes was worshipped as a god connected with hunting and vegetation, Syme provides a further example of the active association of male elite groups in EIA Crete with a 'wild' and undomesticated natural world. The location of the sanctuary in a far away place, which required a true pilgrimage to be reached, must have added to this symbolism.

[1747] See the discussion on the Potnia Theron in section 4 of this chapter, p. 373-77, 414.

[1748] See section 4 in this chapter, p. 395.

[1749] Lebessi 1985b, 121, 229.

[1750] See the discussion of the Potnios Theron in section 4 of this chapter, p. 414-15. Lebessi 1985b, 113, 229.

At the Idaean cave, as at Syme, a comparable process of articulation of an elite in the context of a cult for a long-venerated indigenous deity may be detected. There are a number of striking parallels between these two sanctuaries with respect to the development of the cult and the shifts in dedicatory practices. At the Idaean cave the focus of worship was Zeus Kretagenes, Cretan-born Zeus, a deity who appears to have had a formation history equally long and complex as that of Hermes at Syme.[1753] The identification of his cult at Ida is confirmed by a R inscription and seems reflected by the character of the EIA votives.[1754] More so than for Hermes at Syme, there are literary sources which provide additional information about this god and his cult as celebrated at the Idaean cave.

In historical times, Cretan-born Zeus was widely known in the Greek and Roman world, albeit under varying names and epithets. The associated myth, the earliest Greek source for which is the *Theogony* by Hesiod, tells the story of the god's birth and his being hidden in a cave by his mother Rhea to protect him from his child-devouring father Kronos.[1755] Many different later versions of the myth have been preserved, which vary in added details. One such added detail concerns the beings who are said to have reared and protected the infant god. They include bees, a goat, a sow and semi-divine attendants such as the nymph Amalthea and the beings known as the Kouretes. However, the core elements of the story—the deceit of Kronos by presenting him with a stone, the swallowing and disgorging of infants, the rearing of the divine child in isolation—seem to have been well-established.[1756]

[1751] See the previous section, p. 517-18. At Syme, Minoan stone offering tables were depicted on 7th-century bronze plaques and were actually reused in O and HL times: Lebessi 1985b, 126-27; Kanta 1991, 483, 485.

[1752] See cat. entry B.66; also above, n. 1751.

[1753] Standard works on Cretan Zeus are by A.B. Cook (1914, 117-86) and Nilsson (1950, 534-56).

[1754] See cat. entries A.24 and B.52.

As in the case of Hermes, an origin as BA vegetation or nature deity may also be assumed for Cretan Zeus. The Indo-European name 'Zeus' probably became attached in the LBA, during a period of syncretism with Mycenaean religion. Zeus may have been the principal deity of the Mycenaean pantheon, as there was a month name called after him.[1757] It is not immediately clear along which lines syncretism of these Minoan and Mycenaean gods would have taken place. Nilsson tentatively proposed that corresponding practices in domestic cult on the Mainland and in Crete would have provided the necessary common grounds. One such custom was the feeding of house snakes. Moreover, on the Mainland the Dioskouroi, 'sons of Zeus', were considered the protectors of the house. The Cretan conception of Zeus as a child may, according to Nilsson, have provided a point of contact.[1758] A simpler and more straightforward scenario was presented by A.B. Cook, who argued that the association of the Minoan god with mountains may have been decisive. Such an association could be reflected in the mountainous location of the Idaean cave.[1759] In a recent article, MacGillivray proposes that the Minoan precursor to Cretan Zeus was identified with the stellar constellation Orion, the annual advent of which also marked the beginning of the harvest in Hesiod's time. This god would have been represented in Minoan iconography as a youth, nude but for a Minoan belt with dagger or knife. Examples of such representations are the recently discovered chryselephantine statuette from the

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[1755] See e.g. Nilsson 1950, 537; Burkert 1985, 127; West 1997, 293-95; Thorne 2000, 142; also the discussion in section 8 of this chapter, p. 540.

[1756] Hes. *Theogony*, 453-506. See for refs. to the other ancient authors: Nilsson 1950, 537-43; Sakellarakis 1987b, 240 ns. 8-11.

[1757] Burkert 1985, 43; also Gerard Rousseau 1968, 60-61.

[1758] Nilsson 1950, 541-42.

[1759] A.B. Cook 1925, 932.

LM IB settlement at Palaikastro, the numerous clay figurines from the Minoan peak sanctuary of Petsophas nearby and a sealstone from Chania.[1760] If MacGillivray's theory is correct, the assimilation of the Cretan deity with the Mainland Sky God may have been based on shared celestial qualities.

Since antiquity there has been considerable debate as to where in Crete the supposed birth place of Zeus would have been located. It is clear on the basis of literary sources that, from at least the CL period onwards, the fame of the Idaean cave as a sanctuary dedicated to Cretan Zeus extended beyond the island. In one of Pindar's odes, Zeus is said to inhabit the Idaean cave, while in Euripides' play *The Cretans* 'mystai of Idaean Zeus' appear.[1761] In Plato's *Laws* the conversation between the Athenian, the Laconian and Cretan is conducted during a walk from Knossos to the 'cave and sanctuary' of Zeus.[1762] Later pilgrims to the Idaean cave who came from outside the island included Pythagoras.[1763] Somewhat surprisingly, Ida is not mentioned in the preserved version of the god's birth myth by Hesiod.[1764] This silence contrasts with the wealth of EIA votives at the Idaean cave and the iconographic allusions of some of these to a cult for Cretan Zeus. Instead, Hesiod mentions a cave on Mount Aigaion near Lyttos.[1765] Perhaps this testimony refers to the Psychro cave.[1766] As a place of pilgrimage, however, Psychro appears to have had a considerably less wide appeal than the Idaean cave.[1767] Recently, the opinion has been advanced that Hesiod, in an attempt to find a location that was acceptable to a broad Panhellenic audience, chose Aigaion for the very reason that it was far away and relatively unknown.[1768] Whether this is true or not, it is evident that the Cretan tradition of Zeus' birth and rearing was widespread in the island and beyond. Therefore, as emphasised by various scholars, there may have been different sanctuaries where the associated festival was celebrated.[1769] This is demonstrated by the existence of another important tradition, which connects the birth of Zeus with the place or region of Dikte[1770] and the mention by Strabo of a sanctuary dedicated to Zeus Diktaios in the area of Praisos.[1771] Not until the HL and later period did some ancient authors feel inclined to synthesise these different traditions and to attach the myth to one particular site. When this happened, the fame of the Idaean cave as a cult place appears to have been of decisive influence. The author Diodorus Siculus proposed that Zeus was born on Mount Dikte, after which he was transferred to Mount Ida to be reared by the Kouretes.[1772] By that time, there seems to have been confusion with respect to the whereabouts of Dikte, even though a cult for Zeus Diktaios was still being practised at Palaikastro.[1773]

[1760] MacGillivray 2000b; for the seal stone Evans 1935, 467, figs. 391bis, 392; Chittenden 1947, pl. XVII:d.

[1761] Sakellarakis 1987b, 240 n. 4 (with ref. to Pind. *Ol.* 5, 39-45); Burkert 1985, 280 (with ref. to Eur. *Fr.* 472). The poetic character of the latter text makes it an unreliable source for the form of the rituals, but the mention of the Idaean epithet is significant.

[1762] Plato *Laws* 625b-c; see also Chaniotis 1992, 97 n. 343 (with further refs.).

[1763] According to the 3rd-century AD author Porphyrius (*Vit. Pyth.* 17); see Burkert 1985, 280 n. 25; Sakellarakis 1987b, 254 n. 95.

[1764] As emphasised by A.B. Cook (1925, 932).

[1765] *Theogony* 481-84.

[1766] E.g. A.B. Cook 1925, 925; Boardman 1961, 2-3; Watrous 1996, 18-19. Some disagree with the proposed identification: Marinatos 1962, 88-89; see also the discussion by Boardman (1961, 2-3).

[1767] See the section on Psychro, p. 608-10.

The literary sources pertaining to the Idaean cave and to Cretan Zeus in general combine to reconstruct some of the god's major characteristics and functions. The interpretation of these sources has, however, given rise to the formulation of two theories, which differ in their focus on notions of vegetation/fertility and initiation respectively. Nilsson adhered to ideas formulated by Frazer in *The Golden Bough* (1890) and applied the well-attested Mediterranean and Near Eastern scheme of an annually 'dying and rising god' who 'sympathetically influences and even controls vegetative life'.[1774] Jane Harrison, on the other hand, opted for a Durkheimian perspective and emphasised the social aspects of the myth and ritual.[1775] In an article written shortly after the discovery of the Hymn to Zeus Diktaios at Palaikastro in 1904, she remarked that the earlier interpretation of this god as a vegetation or New Year deity was not sufficient to explain the whole associated ritual and mythological complex. She pointed in particular to the role of the Kouretes, the young male attendants or 'daimones', who in HL and later versions of the birth myth of Cretan Zeus dance and clash their weapons to drown the cries of the infant god. In other myths, the Kouretes (who are closely akin to the Daktyloi in Crete and to the Korybantes and Kabeiroi elsewhere) assume broader functions as 'culture-heroes' and bring about the invention 'of all the arts of life, house-building, bee-keeping, shield-making, and the like.'[1776] To Harrison, the birth story of Cretan Zeus and related myths (such as those of the Dionysos-Zagreus infant) contained many elements that are characteristic for initiation complexes, including the death or disappearance of the child, the interlude marked by threat and torture, followed by his rebirth or reappearance.[1777] Without denying Cretan Zeus a connection with vegetation and fertility, Harrison therefore interpreted the Kouretes foremost as the mythical counterparts of human *ephebes*. More in particular, she ascribed the Kouretes—'Young men who have been initiated themselves'—a role as initiators of those coming of age after them. They would be the ones to steal and conceal the boys from their family and to instruct them in 'tribal duties and tribal dances'. As apparent from the Palaikastro Hymn, in which the god himself is addressed as 'Megistos Kouros', these groups of young men, 'armed and ripe for marriage (...) worship their own image, their prime of youths, their greatest Kouros.' [1778]

[1768] Robertson 1996, 246-47; esp. Thorne 2000, 145.

[1769] See e.g. Nilsson 1950, 535; Boardman 1961, 2.

[1770] Most notably Apollod. 1.1.6 (who mentions the Dictaean cave), Diod. Sic. 5.70 and Athenaeus 9.375f (Mount Dikte).

[1771] Strabo 10.4.6, 12.

[1772] Diod. Sic. 5.70; see esp. Thorne 2000, 148-52.

[1773] Apparently, this site enjoyed little fame outside its own region; see the preceding section, p. 532-50.

[1774] As formulated by Versnel (1990, 29-30). This author discusses the two theories as part of a larger treatise on the long-vexed question of the relationship between ritual and myth.

[1775] Harrison 1927, xiv-xv, 28; see esp. Versnel 1990, 31-34.

Harrison's explanatory framework of 'tribal initiation' was criticised by Nilsson, who remained faithful to an interpretation of the Great Kouros as annually arriving daemon associated with the fertility of fields and flocks.[1779] Unlike Harrison, he did not see the

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[1776] Harrison 1908-09, 311 (with ref. to Diod. Sic. 5.64-65), 323; *ead.* 1927, 16, 26-27; also Jeanmaire 1939, 438; Nilsson 1950, 544-45.

[1777] The episode of direct threat or torturing of the infant/initiand is not emphasised in the birth myth of Zeus, but is very apparent in that of the Zagreus child, who is said to have been torn to pieces by the Titans before he was reborn. As discussed by Harrison (1908-09, 313-14, 322-23; *ead.* 1927, 15-16), the absence of such gruesome details in the birth myth of Cretan Zeus may be due to HL and later expurgations.

[1778] Harrison 1908-09, 308-12, 328; *ead.* 1927, 19-20.

[1779] Nilsson 1950, 548-49.

Palaikastro Hymn as a commemoration of the birth of the god. His criticisms focused especially on the fact that the god was addressed as a youth and not as an infant, as well as on the absence of explicit references to an armed dance by young men. In the Hymn, the singers are presented as a normal chorus standing around the altar, who offer their song to the accompaniment of lyre and flute.[1780] Although Nilsson was willing to identify the 'daemons' who in the Hymn constitute the following of the god as Kouretes, he saw no reason to consider these beings as armed dancers or initiators. He added to his objections that dances are not only performed as part of initiation rites, but often serve as magic acts to expel 'ghostly enemies' in the context of fertility rites. This could even apply to armed dances, such as the one carried out by the Kouretes in the birth myth of Zeus.[1781] Moreover, the Palaikastro Hymn does not centre on initiatory themes, but betrays a broad concern with prosperity and well-being: the god is asked to give his blessing for full jars, fleecy flocks, fields of fruit, bee-hives as well as for the cities, the sea-borne ships, the young citizens and 'goodly Law.'[1782] It should be noted that the understanding of this section of the Hymn depends to a large extent on the interpretation of the phrase 'leap into' which is used to describe the way in which the god bestows his blessings. Whereas Harrison had argued for a meaning of 'leap on behalf of' (full jars, *etc.*), in reference to the jumps in dancing, Nilsson preferred a literal translation of 'leap into', in the sense of 'begetting'.[1783]

Although Nilsson may be justified in his refusal to see in the Palaikastro Hymn a direct illustration of the birth myth of Cretan Zeus, there is perhaps less of an opposition between his and Harrison's interpretative framework than presented. At least part of Nilsson's objections to an initiatory function seem founded on the misconception that such rites were only practised by 'primitive' tribal societies, which in Crete would have disappeared long before the rise of the Minoan palaces.[1784] Modern scholars tend to regard the aspects of initiation as less contradictory to the vegetation or New Year complex. Burkert, for instance, sees a clear parallel between the renewal expressed in initiation rites and in New Year festivals.[1785] Versnel, in a detailed critique and historiography of the two interpretative frameworks, argues that initiation and New Year celebrations 'have a firmly related ritual and social function and follow, in essence, identical basic patterns.' This structural relationship is due to the fact that both complexes deal with 'primal crises', i.e. major transitions from old to new situations as recurrently experienced by human societies. 'That one complex shows associations with a process of nature, the other with a social passage is not immediately relevant.'[1786] Part of the opposition that has risen between Nilsson and Harrison may also be resolved by accepting the possibility that through time, under changing socio-political circumstances, different aspects of mythical-ritual complexes may have received more or less emphasis or were elaborated at the (temporary) expense of others.[1787]

[1780] *Contra* G. Murray (1908-09, 359) who speaks of 'marching'.

[1781] Nilsson 1950, 546-48 (with ref. to Frazer 1890, 234). Nilsson saw his interpretation of the Kouretes as fertility daemons confirmed by three R inscriptions from Crete in which they are described as 'the guardians of kine'; Nilsson 1950, 545 (with ref. to *IC* II, xxv, 3; xxxi, 7, 8).

[1782] In the translation by G. Murray (1908-09, 359); see also Nilsson 1950, 549.

[1783] Harrison 1927, 10; Nilsson 1950, 549-50.

Such diachronic changes have already been discussed with respect to the development of the cult at Syme from the LM IIIC-SM period into the EIA. Similar stages in the evolution of the cult and the primary functions of the god may be defined at the Idaean cave. The current excavator of the cave, Sakellarakis, believes that the cult experienced a decisive change in the LM III period, when an older Minoan vegetation divinity, who annually died and was reborn, was syncretised with the Helladic Sky-father Zeus.[1788] This, however, does not mean that the cult of Cretan-born Zeus then reached a final form. As at Syme, the dedication of terracotta bovine and other large animal figures in the LM IIIC-SM period may betray concerns of agricultural-pastoral nature. At the beginning of the EIA these large objects sharply decrease in number, but the subsequent dedication of small bronze animal figurines may be taken as an indication that agricultural-pastoral concerns remained of importance. However, in the course of the EIA, the offering of such figurines clearly came secondary to that of more conspicuous votives with overt (military-) aristocratic associations, notably the large bronze shields and tripod-cauldrons. It is likely that, as at Syme, this change in dedicatory behaviour represents the articulation of rites that were of special relevance to the emerging elite.

[1784] Nilsson 1950, 548-49.

[1785] Burkert 1966, 25; as quoted by Versnel (1990, 63, n. 155).

[1786] Versnel 1990, 62-66.

[1787] See also Thorne 2000, 142.

[1788] Sakellarakis 1987b, 247.

Few scholars nowadays doubt the importance of rites connected with aristocratic initiation in the EIA cult at the Idaean cave. Burkert distinguishes as clear initiation motifs the birth and death of a child, the fact that the cult took place in a cave and the performance of 'war dances', presumably by young men impersonating Kouretes.[1789] The enactment of such dances from as early as the 9th century BC onwards is implied by the large numbers of bronze shields—the representations on several of them perhaps indicating that they were made especially for ritual use and dedication at the Idaean cave[1790]—and by the representation on the well-known bronze tympanon, which depicts two winged daemons with each two tympana on either side of the god (Plate 57).[1791] Yet, it should be emphasised that initiation rituals conducted at the Idaean cave may not have been aimed exclusively at adolescents.[1792] Clear-cut iconographic references to initiation rituals for adolescents are far less apparent in the EIA votive assemblage from the Idaean cave than in those from Syme. The tympanon, for instance, depicts both the god and his attendants as bearded adults and not as young men.[1793] In general, it remains questionable if such large and precious bronze objects as the tympanon and shields were the offerings of young men on the brink of adulthood. In view of the great value of such shields, these are more likely to have been dedications of established warriors.[1794] Rituals at EIA Ida may, besides maturation rites for adolescents, have included other kinds of initiation, perhaps of a more exclusive and personal kind, uniting people in secret cult societies.[1795] The possibility of such secret or mystery cults—'accessible only through some special, individual initiation'[1796]– being part of the ritual activities at the Idaean cave has been considered by several scholars, including Harrison.[1797] She pointed out, however, that it would be difficult to trace the differences between rites of adolescence and those associated with mystical societies. The same initiation motifs would have been used, and the ritual would follow analogous patterns, centring around the notion of 'new birth'.[1798]

[1789] Burkert 1985, 48, 262, 280; Robertson 1996, 248. In the Palaikastro Hymn (line 14) the god's attendants are also called 'shielded'.

[1790] See the discussion in section 4 of the present chapter, p. 372-76.

[1791] Boardman 1970, 17; Blome 1982, 65; Burkert 1985, 262; *id.* 1992, 16.

[1792] For a more cautious approach: Jeanmaire 1939, 443-44.

[1793] As also noted by Blome (1982, 65).

[1794] Burkert (1985, 173, 261-62) considers it possible that young warriors partaking in the rituals at the Idaean cave formed cult associations. Although it is unclear how formal the organisation of such cult groups would have been in the EIA, Burkert's suggestion bears in it the implication that some of the bronze shields may have been collective dedications.

For CL and later times, a mystic character of the cult at Ida is suggested by the testimonies of ancient Greek authors such as Euripides, who put the Idaean mystai upon the scene.[1799] Nilsson was cautious to underline that these ancient authors should not be trusted in their rendition of the details of the rituals, but are nevertheless useful because they reveal a generally recognised, basic mystic character of the cult of Cretan Zeus and the Kouretes.[1800] These ancient sources also indicate that initiands were not restricted to adolescents. Pythagoras, for instance, seems to have undergone initiation at the cave as an adult.[1801] The famous Epimenides, who lived around 600 BC and supposedly became a seer and priest after initiation in the Idaean cave, was called a 'new Kourete'.[1802] The latter kind of initiation, i.e. that entailing ordination into a professional cult group, may be reflected in descriptions of the Kouretes in some myths as seers and magicians.[1803]

While Harrison thought that initiation rites associated with the Kouretes as a secret cult association were a relatively late phenomenon,[1804] others have proposed with good reason that mysteries formed a much older characteristic of cult at the Idaean cave. Rituals associated with mystery cults are often described as *orgia;*[1805] for Crete Strabo specifically mentioned the orgiastic character of the cult for Zeus and the Kouretes.[1806] The shields and tympanon from the Idaean cave may show an emphasis on orgiastic dancing from at least the EIA onwards.[1807] Nilsson considered the possibility that the representation of the god and his dancing daemons on the tympanon reflected older, BA concepts of a Potnios Theron. In that case, the mystic and orgiastic character of the cult, as celebrated at the cave, could also be a legacy of Minoan religion.[1808] More generally, Burkert has commented on the potentially high age of some of mystery cults in the ancient Greek world, in particularly of those showing a connection with the Anatolian Mother Goddess.[1809] This connection is also apparent in the cult for Zeus at the Idaean cave, as attested by later authors such as Euripides and Strabo.[1810]

[1795] For the different kinds of initiation rites: Van Gennep 1909; Harrison 1927, 20; Burkert 1985, 261.

[1796] As defined by Burkert (1985, 276).

[1797] Burkert (1985, 280), for instance, speaks of a 'mystery warrior band'; see also Harrison 1927, 52; Blome 1982, 65-66; Robertson 1996, 251.

[1798] Harrison 1927, 55.

[1799] Eur. *Cretans, Fr* 472; Strabo 10.468.

[1800] Nilsson 1950, 578; *contra* Harrison 1927, 50-52.

[1801] Burkert 1985, 280 n. 25 (with ref. to Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 17).

[1802] Plut. *Solon* 12.4-5; see Harrison 1927, 52-53; Nilsson 1950, 582. Dodds 1951, 141-42; West 1965, 156 n. 31; Burkert 1972, 150-52.

[1803] Harrison 1927, 26-27 (with ref. to Eur. *Hipp.* 141 and Apollod. 3.2.2).

[1804] Harrison 1927, 54.

For Nilsson the mystery sides of Cretan Zeus and the Kouretes clearly fitted into the greater conceptual framework of the cult, which centred on 'the belief in the reborn and dying god, who is by origin the spirit of vegetation'. As an old religious idea, this would have acquired 'a deep emotional value, when the god appears as the divine prototype of the inexorable fate of man, whose birth and decay form so salient a feature of the mysteries.'[1811] Following this explanation, aristocratic participation in the EIA cult at the Idaean cave would not only have been guided by a wish to distinguish oneself for social or political reasons, but also by a strong personal concern for a blessed afterlife or immortality. The same interest may be expressed in the repeated use of images of a nature goddess or Potnia Theron in EIA funerary contexts, such as has been noted especially for the area around Knossos.[1812]

[1805] Burkert 1985, 276.

[1806] Strabo 10.3.7, 11.

[1807] See esp. Blome 1982, 65.

[1808] Nilsson 1950, 578-83; accepted by Blome (1982, 65-66). The only reason that Nilsson was cautious in assigning the Potnios Theron on the tympanon a BA origin, was because he thought the tympanon might be an import with no relation to Cretan religious concepts. Nowadays, scholars agree that the tympanon was made by immigrant or travelling artisans, but on commission and therefore reflecting—at least partially—local cult concepts; see section 4 in this chapter, p. 372.

[1809] Burkert 1985, 278.

[1810] Strabo 10.3.7. In Euripides' *Cretans* the swinging of torches for the Mother of the Mountains and the Kouretes is mentioned; see Burkert 1985, 280.

[1811] Nilsson 1950, 576-77. This idea is of course much better known from later Orphic religion. Nilsson explicitly considers Crete as one of the homes of the mystical movements spreading through Greece in the Archaic period. See also Burkert (1985, 277) on the promise of a blessed afterlife as a central element of most mysteries and on the reputation of Crete as home of diviners and purifying priests (*id.* 1983b, 115-16; and the introduction to this chapter, p. 236.

A last issue to be considered is that of the Eastern connections of the cult complex of Cretan Zeus. In the earliest preserved account of the Aegean version of the birth story of Zeus, Hesiod's *Theogony*, this constitutes part of a longer myth of divine succession, which leads from the castration and overthrowing of Ouranos by Kronos to a final take-over of the power of the latter by Zeus. It is generally agreed that the myth of divine succession as recounted by Hesiod in the 8th century BC not merely parallels Near Eastern succession myths in the general sequence of events, but corresponds so closely in details such as the castration of Ouranos and the swallowing of children by Kronos as to make independent invention by the Greek poet unlikely. The most probable source is the myth of Kumarbi, which was developed by the Hurrians in the BA and adopted and preserved by the Hittites. This, however, would leave a time gap of five to six centuries separating the Hurrian and Hittite sources from Hesiod's work. Such a time span offers plenty of room for different scenarios concerning the myth's time and route of transmission westwards.[1813] Recently, West has considered two possible trajectories, one leading directly from Hurrians to Greeks in the Near East, the other assuming northwest Semitic intermediaries; either way, the succession myth would then have reached Cyprus. West attaches great value to the Greek etymology of the name Aphrodite (from 'aphros', foam), as this betrays familiarity with the episode of the goddess' birth from the sea foam that had formed as the result of the castration of Ouranos. The use of the Greek name Aphrodite represents an instance of Hellenization of the succession myth and this, according to West, is most likely to have taken place in the period of more permanent Mycenaean presence in Cyprus in the 12th-11th centuries BC. From Cyprus, the succession myth may have travelled to Crete, perhaps via Phoenician intermediaries.[1814]

[1812] See the discussion in section 5 of this chapter, p. 433-36.

[1813] For a succinct overview of the related scholarship: Burkert 1992, 5, 7 and n. 30; Thorne 2000, 152 and n. 54. For the correspondences between the Near Eastern and Hesiodic myths: esp. West 1997, 293-95, 323, 589.

[1814] West 1997, 626-27. On the Hurrian and Hittites also: Thorne 2000, 152 (with further refs.)

For an evaluation of West's model of a transmission of this myth in the EIA, it is of importance that the tympanon and the shields from the Idaean cave are made in a pronounced Assyrianised style and that they are generally considered the products of travelling or immigrant artisans. On the tympanon, the god is represented as a Potnios Theron according to Near Eastern conventions, standing on a bull and wielding a lion above his head.[1815] Moreover, the date of the tympanon and the oldest of the shields may be as early as the second half of the 9th century BC, a period of attested Cretan-Phoenician contact. Judging by the large numbers of imports, especially orientalia, as well as locally made objects in an orientalizing style, the Idaean cave may surely be considered an environment which was open to Oriental influence. It is in such an environment that not only foreign images and iconographic elements may have been taken over, but also cult practices, stories and myths.[1816] Such foreign elements may have been considered to add to the special, mystery character of the cult.

Tempting though it may be to accept West's model of an EIA transmission of the succession myth in the context of the cult at the Idaean cave, it should be added that the evidence for its adoption is wholly circumstantial: none of the published votives provides a specific iconographic reference to details of this myth. West's model further leaves other questions unresolved, particularly with regards to the transmission of the myth to areas outside Central Crete. As pointed out most recently by Thorne, it is hard to conceive how the myth would have spread in a relatively short period from 9th-century Crete to such relatively remote areas as Arcadia, Achaea and Messenia, where various local and regional versions of the myth are attested from the 8th century BC onwards. It can hardly be coincidental that these regions, including Crete, are known as 'areas of conservative linguistic tradition'. Therefore, the fact that different traditions localise the birth place of Zeus at Ida, Aigaion, Dikte as well as in various places in Arcadia, may indicate the diffusion of the related myth in the BA and an ensuing fragmentation into local and regional variants in the period of the Dark Ages.[1817]

[1815] Nilsson 1950, 579; for comparable Near Eastern representations, see also Lorimer 1936-37.

[1816] For this possibility, see esp. Burkert 1992, 6-7; see also the introduction to this chapter, p. 232-36.

[1817] Thorne 2000, esp. 141, 153-54.

In conclusion, it is difficult to resolve the issue of the adoption of the Near Eastern succession myth on the basis of the votive evidence from the Idaean cave. Both the possibility of transmission in the LBA or in the EIA remain. It is even conceivable that an earlier adoption of the myth in the BA would have provided the necessary common grounds for a further development of parallels in a later period of contact with Near Eastern craftsmen or religious specialists.[1818] Despite these uncertainties, the development of the cult at the Idaean cave can be summarised in broad terms. It is probable that a fusion of an indigenous male god and the Helladic Zeus took place several centuries before the dedication of the tympanon and shields in the later 9th century BC, probably in the LBA. The EIA votives from the cave display a mix of elements from Minoan and Mycenaean traditions. One of the shields may depict lightning, perhaps in reference to Zeus' qualities as Sky-Father.[1819] Most apparent, however, are the god's functions as Potnios Theron, which may have a Minoan origin. The tympanon shows the god in control of the strongest of animals, a lion and a bull, and also contains a (short hand) reference to vegetation in the frieze of budding plants along the outer border. Quite possibly, the Kouretes also belong to the oldest layer of the cult, as they are not mentioned in either the Near Eastern or the Hesiodic myth and even in later literary tradition remain firmly connected with Crete. In the socio-political context of the Cretan EIA, however, their role would surely have been redefined to fit the developing ideal of the aristocratic warrior. The identification by N. Robertson of several elements in the Idaean cult that are more plausibly connected with the worship of Meter/Rhea than with that of Zeus adds an interesting detail to the process of Minoan-Mycenaean syncretism. It may well reflect the preservation of the old scheme of the Minoan goddess and her youthful *paredros*.[1820]

In this evolution of cult at the Idaean cave, some remarkable parallels may be noted with Syme. In both cases, there was a development from a male and female deity with Minoan antecedents. Although these old divinities already began to emerge as different characters during the EIA, aspects of their character and function remained comparable. At both sanctuaries, growing elite involvement in the EIA cult helped to bring out different aspects from a common, Minoan-Mycenaean heritage. While one cult place, Syme, increasingly specialised in initiation rites for aristocratic adolescents, the other may have placed equal or even greater emphasis on mystery aspects of the greatest of the gods.

[1818] As suggested by Thorne (2000, 154).

[1819] See also Blome 1982, 67.

[1820] See the discussion on p. 374-76.

The Tsoutsouros cave

It remains to discuss in this section the third older extra-urban sanctuary that rose to prominence in the EIA, the Tsoutsouros cave (B.59). This sanctuary has been only partially excavated and few of the finds have been published in detail. Many aspects of cult at this sanctuary, including the time of its beginning, therefore remain unclear. Nor is much known about the settlement history of the surrounding area. In HL times, the cave and the associated settlement of Inatos belonged to Priansos, a city located in the eastern Mesara, some 8 km to the north. Priansos was also inhabited during the EIA, but in the case of Inatos evidence for such early habitation has not been reported.[1821] The gorge and mountainous area separating Tsoutsouros from Priansos have not been systematically explored. EIA settlements closer to Tsoutsouros, whose inhabitants might have frequented the cave, are therefore unknown. Discussion of the functions of the cult and of factors which may have contributed to the intensification of cult activity at this sanctuary in the EIA will therefore of necessity be brief.

EIA votives from the Tsoutsouros cave consist of expensive gold jewellery, bronze bowls, ivory figurines and female heads, faience scarabs and figurines, some bronze anthropomorphic figurines, as well as groups of inexpensive objects, such as terracotta human and animal figurines and mouldmade plaques. The types of votives and the predominance of female representations among the ivories and terracottas accord with the worship of a female deity and with a predominance of female worshippers. The deity has been identified as Eileithyia on the basis of later, HL inscriptions from both Inatos itself and from nearby Priansos, which mention an Eileithyia 'Binatia' ('of Inatos'). For the EIA, the identification of a cult for a deity concerned with human conception and birth is confirmed by the large numbers of figurines of pregnant, parturient and kourotrophic women, of embracing couples and ithyphallic males.[1822]

[1821] For further references, see cat. entry B.59.

The dedication of gold jewellery and other small precious objects surely reflects the participation in the cult at Tsoutsouros of women who belonged to leading, aristocratic families. From which settlements or parts of Crete they came to visit the cave cannot, however, be reconstructed. It is uncertain whether the same mechanisms of 'ritual competition', which seem to have governed the dedication of large bronzes by aristocratic males, apply to the votive behaviour of these women. While an accumulation of large and conspicuous bronzes may be taken as an indication that the sanctuary at issue had become an (inter-)regional meeting place for elite members of different communities, it may not be justified to assign a similar function to the Tsoutsouros cave on the basis of the more personal jewellery and other trinkets, however precious these may have been. A male aristocratic component is not apparent in the EIA votive assemblage from the cave, as large bronzes such as weaponry and tripod-cauldrons are notably missing.

Male worshippers of more humble standing, on the other hand, may well have participated in the cult, as indicated by the presence among the votives of terracotta ithyphallic figurines. Among the EIA finds were also a number of terracotta boat models, which have been interpreted as the offerings of local sailors.[1823]

The latter objects may seem incongruous with a cult focusing on human conception and child birth. Chaniotis, however, has pointed to the function of a closely related goddess, Artemis, as protector of harbours, sailing and sailors.[1824] From where the latter's concern with the sea came is debated. Some consider it a natural extension of Artemis' more frequently attested connection with water in the form of springs and streams, while others consider the possibility of syncretism with a Near Eastern goddess. In this context, the Near-Eastern daemonesses Lamia and Lamashtu may be tentatively mentioned. As discussed by Burkert, Lamia was already mentioned as a 'popular horror figure' by Stesichorus in the Archaic period and can still be found in modern Greek folklore. The similar Lamashtu

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[1822] See also cat. entry B.59.

[1822] See also cat. entry B.59.

[1823] Tyree 1974, 142.

[1824] Chaniotis 1992, 85-86, n. 243; see also Farnell 1896b, 430-31; Wernicke 1896, 1341, 1349-50.

was said to steal children, even from their mothers' bodies. In the Near East, pregnant women and women giving birth used amulets in the form of ships and donkeys, which were supposed to carry the daemoness away.[1825] Perhaps the possibility should not be excluded that symbolic and cultic reasons also underlay Eileithyia's association with boats at Tsoutsouros.[1826]

Extra-urban sanctuaries with (sub-)regional functions

A distinctive lack of large bronzes and other prestige objects at the extra-urban sanctuaries of Patsos (B.51), Ayia Triada (B.56), Psychro (B.65) and perhaps Tylisos (B.53) indicates that these, unlike the Idaean cave and Syme, did not gain an (inter-)regional status in the EIA. Rites related to processes of ritualised competition between aristocrats apparently played little role at these sites. Instead of developing into meeting places for the elite members of widespread communities, they may, as in the LM IIIC-SM period, have continued to draw their clientele from their own smaller areas or subregions. Despite this difference, the three or four subregional sanctuaries under consideration here share a number of features with the Idaean cave and Syme, which suggest certain similarities in function.[1827]

Patsos

The differences and similarities in function between (inter-)regional and subregional sanctuaries may be briefly illustrated by a comparison of Patsos with Syme. The god to whom these two cult places were dedicated eventually became the Panhellenic Hermes, as indicated by later inscriptions.[1828] Their natural setting and location show distinct parallels. Both sanctuaries are situated in rugged, uncultivated country, in close proximity to springs. They may therefore have served as 'natural meeting places' for shepherds from the surrounding areas. At the same time, they are relatively inaccessible from contemporary settlement centres, as tracts of 2 to 3 km of steep and rough terrain separate both Patsos and Syme from main lines of communication.[1829] For Patsos, the nearest known EIA settlement is Sybrita, 6 km to the northeast—a distance which roughly corresponds to that between Syme and its closest neighbours Viannos and Malla.

[1825] Burkert 1992, 82-83 (with ref. to Stesichorus 220). For examples from modern Greece: Stewart 1991, 152, 172, 180-81, 183, 251.

[1826] According to Burkert (1992, 83), at least one amulet tablet with Lamashtu-like representation was found in a 7th-century context in Italy.

[1827] The similarities in votive assemblage and ritual practice go back to at least the LM IIIC-SM period; see the discussion in the introduction to this section, p. 554-57.

[1828] See also Chapter Three, cat entry A.23. In a Roman inscription found near Patsos, Hermes is given the epithet 'Kranaios', which may refer to the rugged terrain; see Nilsson 1950, 67; Willetts 1962, 289.

Similarities between EIA Patsos and Syme also exist in the presence of comparable types of figurines in the associated votive assemblages. These consist in the first place of bronze animal figurines (at Patsos bovids, agrimia, rams, a pig and a bird; at Syme bovids, agrimia, rams, goats, horses, a lion and a dog). Second, there are male and female figurines with an emphasis on sexuality/fertility (at Patsos terracotta figurines of embracing male-female couples, bronze ithyphallic figurines (Plate 55b) and one bronze female with hand at the pubic area; at Syme ithyphallic male figurines in bronze (Plate 58b) and terracotta female plaques). The agricultural-pastoral concerns, as expressed by the first group of votives, and the emphasis on human sexuality/fertility, are both in accordance with the basic character and functions of Hermes as defined in the previous section. That the aspect of hunting remains unpronounced is not surprising when one considers that at Syme this aspect only became articulated through a growing elite participation in the cult.

The dedication of animal figurines in bronze at both Syme and Patsos suggests the continuing importance of agricultural-pastoral concerns, which in the LM IIIC-SM period had been expressed by the dedication of large terracotta animal figures. A focus on human sexuality/fertility as reflected in the anthropomorphic figurines, on the other hand, was not apparent in the preceding period and may represent a phenomenon characteristic for the EIA. A more general increase in anthropomorphic figurines, though not necessarily with an emphasis on sexuality/fertility, is also noticeable for other extra-urban sanctuaries with subregional functions, such as Psychro and Ayia Triada. At the latter site, the dedication of anthropomorphic figurines has, on the analogy of Syme, been related to the practice of initiation rites. The votive assemblage from Ayia Triada differs, however, from the one at Patsos, in that it contains figurines with specific iconographic parallels to figurines from Syme. Examples consist of terracotta figurines of a male holding a libation cup, another playing the double flute, and several of male couples. In addition, Ayia Triada has yielded votives with slightly stronger aristocratic connotations, such as bronze horse figurines and possible miniature chariots in terracotta and bronze. At Patsos, such objects are lacking and the anthropomorphic figurines remain within the bounds of the general concern with fertility, without indications that they may have been dedicated in the context of formalised initiation rites.

[1829] In the case of Patsos, the nearest pass leads from the NW part of the island via Monastiraki to the S coast; see cat. entry B.51.

The differences in function between the EIA extra-urban sanctuaries of Patsos and Syme can, to a large extent, be explained by the absence of articulated elite involvement in the cult. As to the reasons why Patsos, despite correspondences in situation and the character of the venerated deity and despite the earlier similarities in function in the LM IIIC-SM period, did not develop into a meeting place for aristocrats in the EIA, a few tentative remarks may be made. One contributing factor may have to be sought in the possible differences in settlement configuration around extra-urban sanctuaries such as Patsos, Ayia Triada, the Idaean cave and Syme—a point that may be illuminated by future research of the areas around these sites. A factor, however, which at present evidence stands out most clearly is the less spectacular cult history of Patsos in the BA. As discussed in connection with the EIA sanctuaries that were newly founded at BA remains, the EIA elite had a strong tendency to associate themselves with monuments of the past.[1830] A corresponding interest in ancient cults of old fame has been noted with respect to the sanctuaries at Syme and the Idaean cave.

Psychro

An exceptional settlement configuration characterises the location of the Psychro cave (B.65), which is situated on the southern fringe of the Lasithi plateau. As at the sanctuaries of Patsos and Ayia Triada, there was no extreme accumulation of wealth in the form of large bronzes at the Psychro cave during the EIA. This points to (sub-)regional functions rather than interregional ones.[1831] The situation and location of the cave suggest that worshippers in most periods would have been drawn mainly from the plateau itself and from areas just outside the surrounding ring of mountains. To the south, the Lasithi mountains form a wide and relatively impenetrable zone with few passes. To the northwest and north, however, are several routes of access to the plateau. In the first direction there is a well-travelled pass which leads via Kato Metochi to Lyttos and the Pediada plain in about four hours. To the north, there are major routes to the lowlands via Gonies and Avdou (in two and a half hours) and via Krasi to Mallia (in about three and a half hours).[1832] Both of these latter pass the hill of Papoura, which succeeded Karphi as being the largest settlement of the Lasithi plateau in the EIA. This site is likely to have played a decisive role in the development of the cult at he Psychro cave. Considering the size of the Papoura settlement, its strategic position on major routes of access and its close proximity to the Psychro cave, it is likely that the organisation of cult at Psychro during the EIA belonged with the inhabitants of this settlement. In this connection it is of note that the Psychro-Papoura constellation is perhaps the closest parallel to De Polignac's 'bipolar model' that can be found in EIA Crete. The settlement and sanctuary lie on opposite sides of the plateau and are clearly intervisible. Moreover, the cave is positioned near the transition from arable flatlands to mountain pastures. It is important to emphasise, however, that the foundation of the cave sanctuary cannot be related to processes of early state formation affecting the community at the Papoura during the EIA. Cult at the Psychro cave goes back to the MBA and continued uninterruptedly from then onwards. Cult at this old extra-urban sanctuary may, however, have been boosted or changed in the EIA because it acquired new functions for the developing polis based at the Papoura. It is therefore worthwhile to briefly examine the EIA votives from the cave.

[1830] See section 8 in this chapter, p. 508-54.

[1831] This despite the discovery of the possible fragments of one bronze shield;

The most conspicuous group of EIA votives consists of bronze anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, which span the time from the PG to the O periods. They include figurines of female, male and of indeterminate gender, as well as bulls, rams, goat, two birds, a horse and some indeterminate quadrupeds. These votive types are

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contra Watrous (1996, 102-05) who calls Psychro an 'inter-city sanctuary' during the G-A periods and puts it on a par with the Idaean cave and Syme.

[1832] Pendlebury 1939, 10-11.

in accordance with those encountered in other EIA extra-urban sanctuaries with subregional functions. The choice for offerings of these types follows to a large extent that of preceding times—as apparent from the presence of metal tools, (miniature) knives, daggers, lance and arrowheads, and the personal ornaments found in the cave.[1833] A shift in votive practice is, however, noticeable in the 7th century BC, when bronze anthropomorphic figurines cease to be dedicated and the proportion of pottery offerings and terracotta figurines begins to grow. The 7th-century terracottas also include mouldmade plaques, such as are commonly found in the suburban sanctuaries of this period. They represent males and females, sometimes nude, of familiar and stereotypical form. On the basis of the presence of these votives in the 7th century BC, it may be proposed that by that period the Psychro cave had assumed some of the functions of a suburban sanctuary for the inhabitants of the Papoura. The 7th century BC also was a period in which population expanded or dispersed over the plateau, as is apparent from the foundation of a number of smaller settlements along its edge.[1834] In addition to having suburban functions, Psychro may therefore have served as a focus of cult activities uniting the inhabitants of different settlements in the Lasithi plateau, which probably formed one socio-political unit. At the same time, the Psychro cave may have retained subregional functions and continued to attract worshippers from outside the Lasithi plateau. Contrary to Watrous' opinion, however, no extension towards wider regional functions is noticeable in the course of the EIA. The latter relates the surge in G/O votive activity in the cave with the rise to power of Lyttos, implying that the cave primarily attracted worshippers from outside the Lasithi in this period.[1835] Rather, there may have been a firmer grip by the local community of Papoura. In fact, the close association of the Psychro cave with the inhabitants of the Lasithi plateau, including the large settlement at Papoura, may have inhibited a development of Psychro into a larger (inter-)regional sanctuary.

[1833] See Tyree 1974, 141.

[1834] For further references, see cat. entry B.65.

[1835] Watrous 1982, 21; *id.* 1996, 19, 102-04. Watrous' apparent suggestion that the handful of objects from Knossos, Corinth and Egypt imply worshippers from far away is not necessarily correct.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

In presenting the archaeological evidence for the more than 90 sanctuaries now known to have been in use in Crete during the period from 1200 to 600 BC (Maps 2 and 3), this study has attempted to fulfil a number of aims. On the broadest level, it is meant to help remedy the more general lack of archaeological and historical synthesis for periods subsequent to the Minoan, by discussing the various types of sanctuaries and their associated cults in the wider context of the social, historical and cultural developments taking place during this period.

Within this broad aim, one consideration has been of particular importance. While ancient Crete is known as an island whose culture displays a remarkable degree of continuity with Bronze Age traditions—especially in the realm of religion—the Aegean, in the period of 1200–600 BC, is marked by profound socio-political and cultural change. Current archaeological research, aimed specifically at LM III and EIA Crete, is increasingly succeeding in providing a dynamic picture of the changes that transformed the palatial societies of the LBA into the Cretan poleis of the historical period. It is clear that from the 14th century BC the island experienced both political fragmentation and growing influence from the Mainland, with immigration from those quarters, first of Mycenaeans and then of Doric-Greek speaking people, being a potentially important factor at different points in time. During the EIA new socio-political structures began to crystallise and the effects of the intensification of overseas contact, both within the Aegean and with the Near East, became more pronounced. These observations, while in no way denying the continuing influence of Bronze Age traditions in Crete, do make questions as to the specific ways in which these traditions were preserved and transmitted more acute. An additional aim of this study has therefore been to assess in more detail the different processes and mechanisms involved in the preservation and promulgation of Bronze Age features and customs in the realm of sanctuaries and cult. The premise is that the appreciation and observance of older religious traditions will have varied, both through time and in different regional and social environments, with impact ranging from non-articulated residual influence in one period or milieu, to conscious preservation or to active rediscovery and appropriation after a period of disinterest and neglect in others. No less importantly, the role of BA traditions must be seen in relationship to the manifold changes in the use of sanctuaries, their form, appearance and function, and in the cults associated with them.

There are several reasons why such questions have only recently begun to be addressed for Crete. These, as explored in Chapter Two, are to be found no less in the history of archaeological scholarship in the island than in the idiosyncratic course of the island's development during both the Bronze and Early Iron Age.

For early Cretan scholars, the spectacular discovery of the Minoan palace civilisation, around 1900, led swiftly to an overshadowing of interest in other, materially less imposing periods and to a tendency to explain later developments in the island primarily in reference to that Minoan past. This tendency was encouraged by the fact that some classicists, in a fierce academic dispute, denied both the Minoan and the Mycenaean civilisations any relevance in connection with the emergence of Classical Greece. For Crete, the issue was most critical, as the prehistoric inhabitants of the island had not been Greek-speaking and played only a minor role in the Homeric epics—then generally considered as reflecting the earliest phase of Greek history. Minoan scholars, with Arthur Evans in the lead, sought to justify the object of their studies by appealing to the new, 'modern and scientific' theory of evolutionism. This underlined the crucial importance of considering the 'origins' and early stages of cultural development in order to understand the full unfolding of a civilisation. In a striking fusion with culture-historical viewpoints, orthodox Hellenist concepts about the uniqueness or 'genius' of the Classical Greeks were not challenged but adopted to assert the no less unique contribution of the Minoan civilisation and its people or 'race'. Tying in with then current political sentiments, according to which Greece was part of the Western world, Crete—at that time still in the process of gaining independence from Ottoman rule—

was presented as the forerunner of Classical Greece and therefore, by extension, as the origin or 'cradle' of Europe. In this way, the relationship between the brilliant civilisations of the Bronze Age and the Classical period was pictured as one of direct continuity, in which elements of the earlier civilisation were organically incorporated into that of Classical times. This contributed to a pronounced emphasis on the unity and homogeneity of the Minoan civilisation and on its lasting influence or 'continuity', through cultural and racial absorption, into later times.

Succeeding scholars offered modifications of such views, placing varying emphasis on the Mycenaean, 'Hellenizing' and 'Orientalizing' aspects of Cretan culture in the period from 1200 to 600 BC. These modifications, however, were not advanced as part of a broader debate, as conducted in the first decades of the 20th century, and therefore received less attention. Interest in the history and culture of the island after the Bronze Age, only sparsely illuminated by ancient literary sources and poor in the typical expressions of Classical art, remained sporadic. This left concepts about the survival of Minoan features and traditions, as associated with older, more encompassing theories, largely undifferentiated and undisturbed.

It was not until the 1970s that the publication of a series of archaeological syntheses directed interest more decisively to the period covered by the end of the Bronze Age and 'Greek Dark Ages'. Monographs by Desborough (1964, 1972), Snodgrass (1971) and Coldstream (1977), asserted the significance of this period despite the lack of literary sources and monumental art. For Greece in general the 'Dark Ages' came to be seen as a truly formative period, the study of which could contribute to a better understanding of Classical society and civilisation. Since then, the study of 'Early Iron Age Greece' has developed into a field and specialisation of its own, with a distinct emphasis on social issues.

For Crete, the appearance of these syntheses once more brought into focus the idiosyncratic nature of its development and the need for independent study. Whereas the later history of the island is broadly comparable to that of other regions in the Aegean, it also displays distinct peculiarities. In addition to the relative strength of Bronze Age traditions, these concern certain aspects of Cretan socio-political organisation and the continuity of contact with the Near East, which has led to the characterisation of Crete as 'senior Orientalizing culture of the Aegean'.[1] The island has always stood out because of the wealth of material from *c.* 1200–700 BC, which has the added benefit of being fairly evenly distributed between settlements, cemeteries and sanctuaries. Apart from tracing patterns of continuity, this material allows insight into processes of early sociopolitical and cultural change, in which different impulses from both the Hellenic realm and the Near East may be recognised. As to the Cretan sanctuaries and associated cults presented here, the intention has been to make a balanced assessment both of continuity in cult practice and of change, acknowledging the individual character of EIA Crete as well as its interconnections with other regions in the Aegean and the rest of the eastern Mediterranean world.

The LM IIIC-SM period (c. 1200 to 970 BC)

The LM IIIC-SM period in Crete is characterised by distinct changes in the internal organisation of the island and its relations with the outside world. The beginning of the period shows signs of the effects of the widespread turmoil, destruction and movement of people that affected much of the Mediterranean, particularly the eastern parts. Modern scholarship emphasises that these events did not occur overnight, but that indications of problems can be found as early as *c.* 1250 BC, in the form of earlier fire destructions on the Greek mainland and the interruption of Mycenaean overseas trade. This implies an extended period of progressive dissolution of Late Bronze Age palatial systems and exchange networks, culminating in the burning of the last Bronze Age palaces on the Mycenaean mainland and in Anatolia.

In Crete, the changes of the time are indicated less by the sudden destruction of sites than by a widespread pattern of desertion of coastal areas in the later 13th and early 12th centuries BC. Most striking is the abandonment of previously flourishing harbour towns, such as Chania, Kommos, Amnisos, Mallia, Gournia and Palaikastro. The concomitant island-wide foundation of new, sometimes large settlements, the majority of them situated inland and at naturally defensible locations, indicates both a return to a traditional agricultural regime and a greater concern for safety—phenomena that can both be related to the final loss of any form of central or palatial authority that had remained in the preceding LM IIIA2-B, or Final Palatial, period.[2] In general, judging by the undifferentiated nature of the domestic architecture and tombs, socio-political organisation in the LM IIIC-SM period appears to have been more egalitarian than hierarchical, evolving around the household or extended family.

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[1] Snodgrass 1971, 340.

The noted disruptions will have led not only to strained intercommunity relations and the need to redefine internal borders, but may also have left certain regions of the island open to new settlers. Migration from the Mainland to Crete, while difficult to prove archaeologically, is confirmed linguistically by the fact that in the historical period the island emerged as largely (Doric-) Greek speaking. Mycenaean traits in the LM IIIC pottery, architecture and burial customs of some central Cretan sites, especially Knossos and Phaistos—former palatial centres with an earlier history of Mycenaean presence—may indicate a further influx of people from the Mainland in this period. As this was a time of lessening overseas communication, renewed Mycenaean influence in the LM IIIC-SM period is better explained by migration than by contact or trade. The presence of relatively accessible yet continually inhabited settlements sets central Crete apart from other regions in the island. The co-existence of new settlements on defensible and sometimes remote peaks suggests certain divisions and cultural differences within the Cretan population, possibly with ethnic connotations.

More generally, the LM IIIC-SM period should be understood as one of the formation of new regional divisions and new local affiliations, dynamic processes in which sanctuaries and cults may be seen to play a distinct role. Catalogue A in Chapter Three documents 32 (probable) cult places that were in use during the LM IIIC-SM period—22 of these located within and 10 outside contemporary settlements (Map 2).[3] The development of new cult forms in some of these sanctuaries and the adherence or return to old forms in others attest in various ways to the changing conditions and prevalent religious concerns of the time.

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[2] As discussed in the introduction to Chapter Three, p. 105-08, lack of certainty about the date of the final destruction of the palace at Knossos also hampers an evaluation of the degree of economic and socio-political change taking place during the later 13th century BC.

[3] As described in the introduction to Part One of Catalogue A (p. 126-27), 28 of these 32 sites have provided convincing evidence for cult activities. For the archaeological recognition of sanctuaries see Chapter One, section 2, p. 12-26.

The widespread move to new settlements in the LM IIIC-SM period necessitated the construction of new communal and domestic sanctuaries. These make up the bulk of the evidence for cult practice in this period: 19 of the 22 LM IIIC-SM urban sanctuaries are located in newly established settlements. They include various kinds of domestic shrines as well as independent communal cult places, providing a relatively wide range of cult expressions, of which the following occur in repeated instances:

1. A prominent and recurring type of LM IIIC-SM urban sanctuary consists of the well-documented freestanding bench sanctuary, with its standard inventory of terracotta 'Goddess with Upraised Arm' (GUA) figures, snake tubes, kalathoi and plaques. Examples can be found at Karphi (A.6, Plates 4-7), Chalasmenos (A.17) and Vronda (A.21, Plates 10-11).

Previous scholarship has demonstrated the Minoan ancestry of this type of sanctuary and associated cult. Formal elements, such as the defining presence of a bench for the display of cult objects and votives, as well as the cult itself—centring on goddess figures displaying the old Minoan epiphany gesture—have Cretan antecedents, which can be traced back to MM or even EM times. On the other hand, it has also been pointed out that these bench sanctuaries owe their distinctive freestanding form and their function as independent community sanctuaries, attained in the LM IIIA2-B period, to the disappearance of the Minoan palaces and related centrally organised forms of religion. As such, the freestanding bench sanctuary also entails a departure from and development of earlier practices. Moreover, its rise to prominence in a period of attested Mycenaean presence in the island may imply a fusion of Minoan with Mycenaean cult forms, especially in the central-Cretan settlements such as Knossos and Ayia Triada. Linear B tablets from LBA Knossos, for instance, which also possessed a bench sanctuary, list Minoan and Mycenaean deities together.

Yet, even if in some places LM IIIA2-B bench sanctuaries had joined people of Minoan and Mycenaean belief in one cult, strong or overt Mycenaean connotations of the assemblage may be doubted. Bench sanctuaries, GUA figures and snake tubes lack predecessors on the Mainland, which makes their development primarily a Cretan—albeit perhaps no longer an exclusively 'Minoan'—phenomenon. By the LM IIIC-SM period this may also be the way bench sanctuaries were viewed in Crete itself: as traditional community sanctuaries of essentially local origin. In this respect it is suggestive that the bench sanctuaries of LM IIIC-SM date are found especially in newly founded settlements of inland and defensible type. The foundation of these sites has long been ascribed to indigenous Cretans, who withdrew from coastal and other exposed areas, and who adhered more strongly than others to traditional cultural forms. The freestanding bench sanctuaries associated with these settlements follow in a direct line on those of the LM IIIA2-B period. The central location of these shrines in the newly founded hill top communities suggests both the importance of the cult and some form of communal planning.

The latter observation draws further attention to the degree of cult organisation in these communities. That this was generally low in the LM IIIC-SM period is indicated by the fact that, apart from these freestanding bench sanctuaries, few sanctuaries comprised buildings of special design. Even the bench sanctuaries remain modest structures, constructed in field stone, which clearly repeat forms and concepts developed earlier. It is chiefly their freestanding position and their juxtaposition to large open spaces that distinguishes them from the surrounding houses. A low expenditure of wealth or energy devoted to cultic matters is also indicated by the generally modest nature of the votives dedicated. Although small bronze figurines, tools or personal ornaments are occasionally found in LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries (e.g. Plate 12), the great majority of cult objects and votives were made of clay. Among these, however, the images of GUAs, sometimes as tall as 0.50-0.80 m (e.g. Plate 6), stand out. The multiple dedication of GUA figures in LM IIIC-SM bench sanctuaries (with an attested maximum of 30 for Building G at Vronda) indicates a blurring of the distinction between cult image and votive. While this highlights the absence of a central body responsible for the installation or upkeep of a central cult image, it also suggests that the dedication of the GUA figures played a role in processes of social articulation, granting a certain honour to the dedicator. Such attempts to gain or maintain social esteem happened, however, in the absence of clear evidence for hereditary forms of leadership. The accumulation of large terracotta figures in some sanctuaries may indicate the need of (aspiring) leaders, in societies with rather transient forms of political control, to renew their commitment regularly, both to the community and the deity, perhaps in competition with other contenders.

2. In contrast, LM IIIC-SM bench sanctuaries (or the related GUA figures) have, thus far, not been found in the continuously inhabited central-Cretan sites, which may have experienced an influx of new people from the Mainland. Evidence for LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries of any kind at these sites is generally scarce,[4] but at Phaistos (A.5) and Tylisos (A.2) it comes in the form of terracotta bovine and other animal figures. Objects of this kind had no relation to the urban cult associated with GUA figures, but in LM IIIC they became a popular type of votive in the wider region of central Crete, especially in cave and open-air sanctuaries (Plate 16a). At the latter sites they usually occur together with fantastic terracotta figures (Plates 16b-c) and Horns of Consecration (Plate 16d), an assemblage that, compared to the GUA figures and snake tubes, exhibits less straightforward Cretan antecedents. Instead, there is an intricate mixing of technical, stylistic and iconographic elements of Minoan, Mycenaean and perhaps Cypriot origin.[5]

Only at Knossos, where the Spring Chamber (A.4, Plates 1-3) yielded a LM IIIC-SM cylindrical model with a small figurine with upraised arms, is an iconographic and conceptual link with the older cult for a GUA visibly preserved. However, the suburban location of this sanctuary and the scarcity of objects with an exclusive cult function—especially of large GUA figures and snake tubes—suggest that here this older cult was not of primary importance to the community as a whole, but may have lingered in less articulated form among a smaller part of the Knossian population.

A broad difference emerges, therefore, between the community cult practised in the older settlements in central Crete and that of newly-established defensible settlements, with the latter presenting the most pronounced signs of direct continuation of LBA cult forms. This observation tallies with ideas about cultural and possible ethnic differences between the various Cretan regions and communities. It counterbalances perceptions about a general adherence to traditional cult forms in LM IIIC-SM Crete by drawing attention to the variation in cult practice and to its dynamic social dimensions. In such a context, the possibility exists that the observed divergence in community cult stemmed from the awareness and articulation of cultural and ethnic differences to which, in any case, it will have actively contributed. The prominence of the freestanding bench sanctuary in the newly founded defensible settlements suggests a defining function, distinguishing the inhabitants of remoter upland settlements from those residing in the lowlands, especially of central Crete.[6]

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[4] This is something that may be caused by the vagaries of archaeological exploration or it represents an even lower level of cult organisation than in defensible settlements such as Karphi, Chalasmenos and Vronda.

[5] These conclusions are largely based on D'Agata's study of the votive material from Ayia Triada (A.26); see section 4 in Chapter Three, esp. p. 184-87.

This is not to say that relations within the island can be explained simply in terms of an opposition between two religious or ethnic groups. As has been emphasised, the situation at the subregional or local level must have been far more variegated and complex. This is illustrated not only by the intricate intermingling of traditions in the creation of the LM IIIC-SM terracotta animal and fantastic figures and Horns of Consecration—which led to basically new compositions—but also by the variety of cult expression in the newly founded defensible settlements themselves, suggesting there was more involved than a continuation of older cult practice. While some of these cult expressions may have been restricted to private devotion in domestic settings, others seem to have had wider attraction and may mark the beginning of the articulation of new communal cult forms, arising beside, or in competition with, that of the freestanding bench sanctuaries. Although the associated sanctuaries, due to their general lack of more fixed or standardised cult equipment and votives,[7] are less easy to recognise and classify, the following have been tentatively grouped together.

3. A small group of urban sanctuaries in the new LM IIIC-SM settlements is characterised by the fact that they were part of dwellings, but were provided with a separate, exterior access. Examples

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[6] Attention should also be drawn to coastal settlements established in this period. Vrokastro (A.15), for instance, on the north-eastern coast of the island, has yielded LM IIIC-SM terracotta animal figures and Horns of Consecration similar to those known from the central-Cretan sites. Earlier scholars proposed that Vrokastro was established by people from overseas (see Chapter Three, p. 123 n. 83), a possibility not yet reconsidered by recent scholars restudying this site.

[7] A problem discussed in general terms in Chapter One, section 2, p. 24-25.

of such sanctuaries have been identified at Karphi (A.9 and A.10, Plate 4) and at Kephala Vasilikis (A.16).

The spatial arrangement of these 'semi-public' sanctuaries suggests that the associated cult, while controlled by the resident family, was also open to members of the wider community. This sheds more light on the way cult was organised in the LM IIIC-SM period in the absence of palatial or other forms of central control. Community cult is most likely to have been administered by the heads of leading families, who thereby claimed and reinforced a special position in society. In larger settlements, such as Karphi, the coexistence of 'semi-public' sanctuaries with the independent Temple suggests a situation in which various individuals could aspire to a more prominent role. In smaller settlements, such as Kephala Vasilikis (which lacks a freestanding bench sanctuary), such competition for status and support between different families may have been less of a factor, leaving cult organisation more firmly in the control of a single recognised community leader.

Court 16-17 at Karphi (A.9) and Room E4 at Kephala Vasilikis (A.16) both constitute bench sanctuaries with cult centring on GUA figures, as in their freestanding counterparts. In these cases, the resident families affiliated themselves more closely with a well-defined cult traditionally belonging to the community. In doing so, the bench sanctuary was returned to the kind of dependent position it had held prior to the LM IIIA2-B period.

In the case of the third example, Court 26-27 at Karphi (A.10), links with earlier cult forms are more difficult to assess. The two most prominent objects consist of elaborate rhyta of unprecedented form (Plates 9a-b), which may imply a shift of focus or a departure from old cult forms.

4. In addition, there is evidence from a number of new LM IIIC-SM settlements for rituals involving communal and/or sacrificial dining. Rituals of this kind cannot be associated with one particular type of sanctuary, but were conducted in a variety of settings.

In Vronda, dining took place in Building A/B (A.20, Plate 10), the large, central building that probably constituted the dwelling of the local leader. Elsewhere, ritual or sacrificial dining was conducted in the open air, at prominent and elevated places, as at the summit of the settlement hill of Thronos Kephala (A.1), perhaps Prinias (A.3) and other larger defensible settlements such as Kypia. The exact nature of these rituals is not easily defined, due to a lack of unambiguous votives. Their importance, however, lies in the emphasis on the ritual or sacrificial consumption of meat, which clearly distinguishes them from rituals conducted in the bench sanctuaries. They do not only illustrate the diversity of LM IIIC-SM urban cult practice, they may also provide a link with the more institutionalised rituals of commensality attested in the succeeding EIA.

5. In contrast to the LM IIIC-SM urban sanctuaries, which without exception constituted new foundations, all but one of the ten LM IIIC-SM extra-urban sanctuaries are marked by histories, often extensive, of previous cult use. They consist of the cave sanctuaries at Patsos (A.23), Ida (A.24, Plate 13), Arkalochori (A.28), Phaneromeni (A.29) and Psychro (A.30) and of the open-air sanctuaries at Mount Jouktas (A.25, Plate 14), Mount Kophinas (A.27) and Syme (A.31, Plate 17).[8] With origins going back to MM times or earlier, these extra-urban sanctuaries had often experienced a distinct *akme* in the Neopalatial period, when they were visited by pilgrims from a wide area, who were responsible for the dedication of many precious votives.

While in two of these extra-urban sanctuaries, Arkalochori and Phaneromeni, there may have been a shift to more modest, local use in the LM IIIC-SM period, the others stand out because of the dedication of considerable numbers of elaborate and—for the time—valuable votives. Although these sites did not return to their former, palatial glory, they formed the most important sanctuaries of their time and may well have continued (or, in some cases, resumed) regional functions. Bronze animal and anthropomorphic figurines, for instance, while generally scarce in the LM IIIC-SM period, are more frequent here than in other sanctuaries. Most distinctive, however, are the large and conspicuous terracotta animal and fantastic figures and Horns of Consecration. These constitute strikingly similar assemblages, found from Patsos (A.23) in the west to Syme (A.31) in the east, and in the only newly founded extra-urban sanctuary of this period, at Ayia Triada (A.26, Plate 16). As with the GUA figures, the dedication of these equally large and elaborate figures may indicate a certain social competition, or at least the effort on the part of the dedicator to draw attention to his relations with the divine.

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[8] The tenth example, the votive deposit from Kastri Viannou (A.32), is omitted from further consideration because of a paucity of available information.

The similarity in votive assemblages between these sites is of interest from both a social and a cultic perspective. It indicates regular contact and exchange of ideas within the wider central-Cretan region as well as a certain convergence and homogenisation of votive practice. This contrasts with the heterogeneity during earlier phases in the use of these sanctuaries, which has been thought to reflect different cults. Although there is a possibility that the large terracotta bovine figures and Horns of Consecration were associated particularly with male deities, their widespread occurrence in different sanctuaries makes it unlikely they were specific for one particular god.[9] The Horns of Consecration may symbolise no more than the sacredness of a place or object, while the ubiquitous bovids cannot be interpreted in more than general terms as symbols of agricultural prosperity or as substitutes for the sacrificial animal.

It remains of great interest that in their form, execution and iconography, these bovids, fantastic animals and Horns of Consecration betray an intricate fusion of traditions of Minoan and Mycenaean ancestry, as well as connections with Cyprus. The fact that the associated sanctuaries are concentrated in central Crete—an area for which both the indications for contact with Cyprus and of Mycenaean presence are stronger than elsewhere—clearly raises the possibilities of influence and syncretism. For some of these sanctuaries, moreover, later literary evidence gives names of Greek gods with epithets betraying a non-Greek origin or component, such as Cretan Zeus, Zeus Velchanos and Hermes Kedritas. It remains difficult to prove such syncretism directly, given the indistinct iconographic nature of the votives and the lack of written sources from the period itself. A careful analysis of the assemblage from Ayia Triada, however, has encouraged D'Agata to identify 'socially relevant groups' from the Mainland, on the basis of specifically Mycenaean armour and clothing indicated on some of the fantastic figures. Ideally, detailed analyses of this kind should be undertaken for each of the assemblages involved, before further conclusions are drawn.[10] However, the general lack of strong cult organisation in the LM IIIC-SM period, the lack of central cult statues promoting one image of the god over another at these sanctuaries and the non-specific symbolic connotations of the votive material provide ample and significant 'circumstantial evidence' that these sanctuaries indeed served as meeting places for people with varying beliefs.

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[9] The symbolic meaning of the fantastic figures, which are less frequent than the bovine figures, remains poorly understood.

This leaves us with the somewhat paradoxical situation that the extra-urban sanctuaries, which because of their long history of cultic use are often considered to epitomise the longevity of Bronze Age traditions in Crete, actually present the most pronounced signs of syncretism and hence of change in the content of cult. It is not, however, until the next centuries that richer iconographic evidence and a greater variety in votives brings out the full extent of these processes.

The PG, G and O periods (c. 970-600 BC)

The PG, G and O periods (the EIA) presented, in Crete as elsewhere in the Aegean, a series of complex economic, socio-political and cultural changes. In general terms, these involved an increase in population and material standards, the gradual crystallisation of aristocratic political institutions, an intensification of both internal and overseas contact and trade, and a concomitant flowering of specialist skills, crafts and industries. A number of innovations, such as the adoption of the alphabet and the manufacture of precious jewellery, were owed to the Near East. Increasing communication and interaction at the regional and, particularly, at the interregional level, helped to spread these and other innovations within the Aegean. This and the recognition of common linguistic, social and religious characteristics among Greek-speaking peoples, fostered a certain unifying or 'Hellenizing' effect. The adoption among the elite of similar socio-political institutions and funerary and religious customs suggests the formation of an incipient Panhellenic culture and identity. At the same time, the EIA is known as a period of profound regionalism, in which the intricate interplay of external influences with local factors and traditions led to a certain variation in development and to the formation of distinct cultural idioms.

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[10] Ideally, also, the available evidence from central Crete should be compared with an extra-urban sanctuary in the far east of Crete, a region which shows much fewer, if any, signs of Mycenaean immigration in this period. No such sanctuary has been found so far. It may be relevant that large animal figures are more scarce in the Psychro cave (A.30), which was located in the more remote Lasithi mountains and may have had more exclusive cultic ties with the nearby community at Karphi.

This certainly holds true for EIA Crete, where idiosyncrasies in both the evolution of the poleis and receptivity to external contact are apparent. While EIA Cretans themselves do not seem to have assumed an active role in the expanding long-distance trade networks, the island shows early signs of Oriental influence. Crete's emergence as 'senior Orientalizing culture of the Aegean' appears to have been due to its strategic location on the major sea route between the eastern and western Mediterranean. There are indications of the actual settlement of people from the Near East in Crete, which may have resulted in the kind of prolonged contact that allows more than superficial exchange of practices, ideas and beliefs. It should, however, be added that the regionalism noted on a broader scale also pertains within the island and that the indications of foreign influence and presence are found especially in central Crete. Contact with the Greek mainland also developed along regional lines, again being most pronounced in the central parts of the island. At Knossos, 10th- and 8th-century Attic imports indicate at least two periods of intensified contact. In the eastern and western regions of the island evidence for direct contact with the Mainland and receptivity to its pottery styles is much more scarce or even absent.

As to the evolution of the Cretan polities, a relatively large body of early legal inscriptions attest to polis institutions in the island from at least the second half of the 7th century BC. The Cretan poleis maintained an exclusive kind of citizenship. Strict divisions between the land-owning aristocracy and dependants without civic rights seem to have been preserved into HL times, without evidence for the rise of a free peasantry or for democratic reforms. While much work remains to be done in understanding the processes and different stages leading up to their formation, it is clear that the Cretan poleis did not primarily come into being through the classical Aristotelian model of gradual coalescence of scattered villages. Indeed, Crete is characterised by the continuous presence of large, nucleated settlements throughout the period of *c.* 1200-600 BC—although not without certain changes and shifts during the transition from the LM IIIC-SM period to EIA.

At that time several LM IIIC-SM defensible settlements—among them Karphi, Kephala Vasilikis and Kypia—were abandoned in favour of sites closer to routes of communication. Settlements that remained inhabited—the majority—show signs of re-building and of shifts in location of the associated cemeteries and sanctuaries. The fact that the new configurations of settlement, cemeteries and sanctuaries arising in this period often continued to exist until the HL period or later, underlines the crucial importance of the EIA in the formation of the Cretan polities. The foundation of numerous new sanctuaries seems to have been an important part of this social and political realignment.

Catalogue B in Chapter Four lists 69 (possible) Cretan sanctuaries of EIA date, of which no less then 51 are new foundations (Map 3).[11] Most of these—a total of 45—are to be found in or in close proximity to the associated settlements. It is striking that, even at those settlements that had been inhabited in the immediately preceding LM IIIC-SM period, nearly all urban and suburban sanctuaries are new establishments of either PG or G date.[12] This implies, if not a departure from older cult practices, a new beginning in a new setting. While there is a clear overall rise in number of sanctuaries compared to the LM IIIC-SM period, the increase of suburban sanctuaries, from one in the LM IIIC-SM period to at least 20 in the EIA, is particularly impressive.[13] This extension of community focus to the countryside surrounding the settlement may, in broad correspondence with models developed by De Polignac, be interpreted as combining religious with territorial concerns and a wish to achieve and to express greater unity between *astu* and *chora*.[14] Outside the immediate range of the settlements, there is a greater tendency in Crete to continue (or to resume) cult at old sanctuaries, with only six out of the 20 EIA extra-urban cult places constituting completely new foundations.[15]

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[11] As for the LM IIIC-SM period it should be noted that very few of these are located in the far western regions of the island. Only the Diktynneion (B.50) lies further west than the Amari valley. The far eastern regions, on the other hand, are better represented than before, with nine entries (B.41-49) east of the Kavousi region.

[12] With four possible exceptions, listed in the introduction to Catalogue B (part one, p. 244). The first part of the PG period, the 10th century BC, remains ill-known as regards to both settlements and sanctuaries. New developments can usually be traced from the 9th century BC.

[13] As discussed in the introduction to Catalogue B (part one), p. 245, the fact that a smaller number of domestic sanctuaries is known from the EIA than from the LM IIIC-SM period may be due to the vagaries of excavation.

[14] See in particular the introduction to Chapter Four, p. 215-16.

It is important that, on the whole, Cretan sanctuaries yielded much larger quantities of votives in the EIA than in the preceding period. This does not only facilitate their archaeological recognition in a time when standardised sacred architecture is missing, but also has important social and cultic implications. The increase is part of a more widespread phenomenon in the Aegean, noted in particular for the 8th century BC. Rather than simply reflecting a growth of population and of material standards, it indicates a greater willingness on the part of individual votaries to invest a larger proportion of wealth in permanent dedications.[16] In addition, votive objects tend to display an increasing variety in type. In Crete, EIA votives range from pottery and small terracotta figurines of human and animal form, to larger figures, fine jewellery and large bronze objects such as tripod-cauldrons, ornately decorated Cretan shields and other armour. Some of these constitute objects also used in daily life, but growing numbers of them appear to have been made especially for dedication,[17] expressing the varied concerns of people belonging to different social groups.

It is also important in this context that certain categories of votive objects are unevenly distributed between the different types of sanctuaries. This betrays functional divisions and specialisation among them, with cults of different nature and orientation serving various groups of people. Such cult specialisation is in accordance with the general rise in social complexity during the EIA, and discloses an increasingly complex perspective on the world. The phenomenon is best illustrated by the differential dedication of the precious bronze votives, including tripod-cauldrons, shields and other armour, and of the anthropomorphic terracottas, which can be of male and female form. While the dedication of the precious bronzes is best understood in a framework of 'cumulative emulation' or 'ritualised competition' characteristic of aristocratic members of society, that of the male and female terracottas, whose iconography in the course of the EIA becomes increasingly standardised and idealised, suggests emphasis on the definition and reproduction of exemplary social roles for larger groups of people.

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[15] I.e. the Diktynneion (B.50), Kommos (B.57), Amnisos (B.60), Sta Lenika (B.67), Prophitis Ilias (B.68) and Palaikastro (B.69).

[16] See the introduction to Chapter Four, p. 211-13, with more specific reference to the work of Snodgrass (1986a) and Morgan (1990).

[17] The different types of terracotta and metal EIA votives are discussed in detail in section 4 of Chapter Four, p. 367-423.

On the basis of these variations in votive behaviour, it is possible to make an elementary distinction between: first, the various kinds of EIA sanctuaries that primarily served members of the emerging socio-political elites, with the associated cults having an important function in the articulation of aristocratic values and institutions; second, various other sanctuaries where the chief focus was on the definition and integration of social groups within the community as a whole; and third, smaller, rural cult places, which largely operated outside such evolving frameworks. The latter have been discussed in some detail in the main text,[18] but in the context of a discussion of continuity and change in cult practice they can be dealt with briefly. The cult assemblages from these sanctuaries are modest, consisting of objects also used in daily life and of simple, handmade terracotta animal and anthropomorphic figurines, which basically follow older traditions. While it cannot be ruled out that the associated cults underwent gradual and subtle changes, the small numbers and inarticulate iconography of the votives impede fuller understanding. In the following, emphasis will therefore be placed more on the genesis and developing social and cultic functions of the more recurrent types of Cretan EIA sanctuaries. Whether newly established, as with most urban and suburban sanctuaries, or of long standing, as in the case of most of the extra-urban cult places, these provide the best base to assess both continuity and change in cult practice in EIA Crete.

1. Hearth temples, which are among the better documented sanctuaries of this period, constitute the most prominent type of urban cult building in EIA Crete. They are freestanding and of relatively standardised architectural form, with one to three rooms in linear arrangement and with a centrally located, rectangular stone-built

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[18] I.e. a total of 10 EIA sanctuaries, those at Oaxos (B.8), Krousonas (B.13), Karphi (B.29) with a probable suburban location and those at Mt. Jouktas (B.54), the Stravomyti cave (B.55), Mt. Kophinas (B.58), the caves of Amnisos (B.61), Skoteino (B.62), Phaneromeni (B.63) and Liliano (B.64) with an extra-urban location.

hearth in the main room. There are two freestanding hearth temples at Prinias (B.14-15, Plates 23-24, 81) and two at Dreros (B.31-32, Plates 41-42, 81); the one at Kommos (B.57, Plates 63, 81) and possibly another at Sta Lenika (B.67) are extra-urban in location. Hearth temples also occur elsewhere in the Aegean, but in Crete they are relatively numerous and continue to be a prevailing type of cult building into the HL period. The hearth temple's rise to prominence in the island in the 8th and 7th centuries BC follows a complex course of development, with a merging of various traditions, over an extended period of time.

Within the Cretan settlements, hearth temples seem to have taken the place of the earlier freestanding bench sanctuaries with GUA figures. The latter, which still served as primary community sanctuaries in several LM IIIC-SM settlements of inland and defensible type, were no longer used in the EIA. The 8th and 7th century hearth temples incorporate certain features of the older cult buildings, such as the use, in some, of benches for the display of cult objects[19] and, most importantly, their central position in the settlement and spatial articulation. Hearth temples are centrally located, either on the summit or in the saddle of the settlement hill. Like the earlier bench sanctuaries, they constitute relatively modest constructions in small-stone masonry. Surrounded by settlements that are largely of agglutinative type, hearth temples are given spatial definition by their freestanding position and juxtaposition to open areas.[20] This points to the continuation of the same concepts of spatial organisation and differentiation as in the LM IIIC-SM period.

At the same time, it is clear that both the cultic and social functions of the hearth temples represent a departure from those associated with the LM IIIC-SM bench sanctuaries. The fixed, centrally located hearths, the frequent presence of bronze objects (including armour) and animal bones, constituting the debris of sacrifice and/

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[19] A bench with cult objects *in situ* was found in the Apollo temple at Dreros (B.32), others—without the cult objects, but too small or narrow to have served as seats—existed in Temple A at Prinias (B.15) and perhaps in the cult building at Sta Lenika (B.67).

[20] It is not until the 7th century BC that a certain monumentalisation takes place, giving some of the hearth temples an appearance clearly different from contemporary houses. The defining characteristics of the hearth temples and their differences with contemporary houses have been discussed in more detail in section 6 of Chapter Four, p. 441-76.

or dining, are elements clearly foreign to the older urban sanctuaries. Moreover, the unilateral focus on a female deity seems to have been lost. When there is iconographic or later written evidence for the deity (or deities) worshipped, male forms and names often are prominent, especially that of Apollo.[21] Unambiguous votives are scarce, which suggests that hearth temples, despite their location at the heart of the community, did not serve large groups of votaries. The precious nature and military connotations of those cult objects that are present point to smaller and more exclusive parties who engaged in forms of cult that developed in close relation to aristocratic socio-political institutions. As an intricate part of this development, and in line with the 'international' orientation and outlook that already characterised Cretan elite groups in the LMIIIC-SM period, the hearth temples incorporate several elements of non-Cretan origin. Some of these had been adopted in the LBA and may already have lost their 'foreign' connotations, while others seem to have been of more recent derivation, perhaps enhancing the exclusivity of the cult and its participants.

The most obvious parallels in form to Cretan EIA hearth temples are with the Greek mainland, where the use of axial ground plans with centrally placed built hearths can be traced back as far as the Neolithic period. In Crete, central hearths were introduced in the LM IIIA2-B period, when round specimens are attested at Chania and Mallia, in houses that show a fusion of Mainland and Minoan architectural traditions. The growing predilection for central hearths and houses of axial arrangement in the LM IIIC-SM period, including in the traditional mountain settlements such as Karphi, has been explained as part of a further development of house types known from the LBA and may indicate their full incorporation in the Cretan repertoire. Central hearths do not attain a standard form in this period and are not attested in independent cult buildings. The first Cretan example of a central hearth in a free-standing cult building is the circular, stone-lined hearth in Temple

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[21] Of the three bronze sphyrelata statues from the hearth temple at the saddle of Dreros (B.32), the male one, identified as Apollo, is considerably larger than the two female statues, identified as Lato and Artemis. For Kommos (B.57) the same cult triad of Apollo, Lato and Artemis as at Dreros has been proposed, for the building on the West hill of Dreros (B.31) an association with Apollo or Athena has been proposed, for Sta Lenika (B.67) with Aphrodite and Ares and, albeit more tentatively, for Temple B at Prinias (B.14) again with Apollo.

B at Kommos, which was constructed around 800 BC. After 750 BC it was replaced by a larger rectangular hearth. Central hearths of various forms also remained a recurrent feature in Cretan houses of the 8th and 7th centuries BC.

Two main theories have been formulated about the function and symbolic or cultic connotations of the central hearths in these temples. These two theories concur in assuming a distinct link between the associated rituals and political leadership. The first theory emphasises links with the palatial Mycenaean megara of the LBA, arguing that the symbolic meaning of the large round hearths in those was preserved in the communal hearth or *koine hestia* of the CL and later prytaneia. The perpetually burning fire served as a point of contact with the divine and as a symbol of the continuity of the ruling power and the associated community. The second theory focuses on links with the domestic architecture of the EIA and on social aspects of the rituals conducted in the hearth temples. Analogous to EIA domestic hearths, whose sunken form suggests primary use as cooking pit, providing a central function in family life, hearths in temples would have united small cult or dining 'clubs' through rituals of sacrificial dining. For Crete, a comparison has been made with the andreia (men's halls), where, according to CL and later literary sources, the male citizens of the Cretan poleis took their daily meals. Thus a development is proposed from the earlier 'ruler's dwelling', where ritual or sacrificial dining was hosted by the local leader, to the independent hearth temples, as part of a progressive institutionalisation of ritual dining by male aristocrats.

Both theories are relevant for EIA Crete. Against recent tendencies to explain the functions of EIA hearth temples exclusively in terms of a use as dining hall, it has here been emphasised that ritualised dining in the EIA knew a variety of forms and could take place in a variety of settings. More specifically, not all Cretan hearth temples can be assumed to have performed the same functions. From at least the 7th century BC there seem to have been two types, in some cases co-existing in the same settlement, with one more akin to the andreion and the other to the prytaneion. While rituals at each will have involved (sacrificial) dining, the associated social and cultic functions, and the way in which they came into being, may have differed. Moreover, the genesis of the hearth temples in Crete may not be fully explicable in terms of a fusion of Mainland and Cretan traditions only. It is clearly significant that the earliest hearth temple in Crete, Temple B at Kommos, following a century of Phoenician contact, also incorporated a tripillar shrine of Phoenician form. The combination of sacrificial altar and stone pillar or baetyl was more common in Phoenician sanctuaries. It is hard to decide whether their inclusion in Temple B at Kommos was wholly due to Phoenician influence or—considering Cretan familiarity with central hearths from the LBA onwards and the long history of worship centring on baetyls—provided common ground for joint worship. Either way, the attested Phoenician participation in cult at Kommos adds another potential impulse to the development of the Cretan hearth temple and the associated cult forms.

Hearth temples such as Temple A at Prinias and the building at the West hill of Dreros (both dating to the 7th century BC) may indeed have served as andreia.[22] The first has yielded evidence of dining in the form of animal bones, while its orientalizing sculptural decoration (Plates 23-24) uses motifs also found in the context of Near Eastern *marzeah*, i.e. cult associations of prominent men, perhaps indicating recognition on the part of Cretan aristocrats of functional correspondences.[23] The frieze of armed horsemen in the façade of Temple A and the presence of bronze weaponry, especially at Dreros, betray male aristocratic involvement with special attention for military matters, which from CL literary sources are also known to have figured prominently in the andreia.

While for these hearth temples/andreia the relationship with ritual dining in 'ruler's dwellings'—in Crete exemplified by Building A/B at LM IIIC-SM Vronda—seems particularly meaningful, a direct or unilinear evolution from one form into the other is less certain. The evidence from LM IIIC-SM settlements for ritual dining at open and elevated places—in the case of Prinias perhaps at the spot right below Temple A—suggests a more complex genesis. As to the cultic aspects of the dining rituals, it may be relevant that these remain unarticulated in both the earlier contexts and the later hearth temples which served as andreia. The sculpture of Temple A at Prinias implies a link with a Potnia Theron, while later literary sources attest to an association of the Cretan andreia with

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[22] Other examples of andreia (although the presence of a central hearth has not been attested) may consist of the large megalithic building at the summit of the settlement hill of Oaxos (B.5) and the building with benches at Aphrati (B.28).

[23] As argued by Carter (1997); see also section 6 in Chapter Four, p. 452-53.

Zeus, who as supreme god can also be seen to have held a special position for the EIA warrior aristocracy.

Hearth temples with functions akin to prytaneia include the early examples of Temple B at Kommos (*c.* 800 BC), the Apollo temple in the agora of Dreros (*c.* 750 BC) and possibly Temple B at Prinias (of 8th- or 7th-century BC date). Only the first of these has yielded convincing evidence for dining, but both its extra-urban location and its small size argue against a function as andreion. Of special interest is the possible connection of all three of these sites with the cult for Apollo, as this deity in the Greek world generally shows a strong connection with prytaneia. This connection probably derived from the deity's basic functions of maintaining order within the community and regulating contact with the outside world. This accords with the use of prytaneia as the official meeting and dining place of the magistrates (known in Crete as the *kosmoi*) and as place of reception of foreign guests.

The link with Apollo is also of interest with respect to the possible eastern elements in the development of the Cretan hearth temples. This god is to be considered a relatively late addition to the Greek pantheon, his cult, as reconstructed by Burkert, betraying a merging of elements from Minoan-Mycenaean, Hellenic and Eastern religious traditions that parallels that here proposed for hearth temples. A partial merging of the Minoan healing god Paiawon (mentioned on a Linear B tablet from Knossos) with the functionally similar Eastern Reshep (A)mukal, 'Lord of the arrows and the plague', in Cyprus may already have taken place towards the end of the LBA. The spread of Reshep figurines in the Aegean, depicting a youthful god with bow-and-arrow, may have encouraged Greek-speaking people to make a link with their Apollo and to supply the latter with the epithet 'Amyklos'. For Burkert, the genesis of the Apollo cult is to be seen as part of a larger cult complex with pronounced eastern components, which also includes the coupling of temple and altar for the practising of burnt animal sacrifice.

This redirects attention to Temple B at Kommos, which combines the presence of all these features with evidence for Phoenician cult participation. The evidence for burnt animal sacrifice is particularly striking, as this did not become a common practice in Crete until much later and in general lacks clear Greek antecedents. Temple B at Kommos, despite its unusual extra-urban location, demonstrates an important function of the later prytaneion, that of meeting place for representatives or leading members of the Cretan communities with foreigners from overseas. Whether, as Burkert proposes, earlier syncretism of Paiawon and Reshep at the end of the LBA provided the grounds for common worship here, or whether this happened only then, remains unclear. Likewise, the time of full syncretism of Paiawon/Reshep with the Greek Apollo in Crete is uncertain: the name Apollo is not epigraphically attested in the island before the 6th century BC and Paiawon is still mentioned as a separate god in the works of Homer and Hesiod.

2. A second group of prominent EIA Cretan sanctuaries is composed of six to nine suburban cult places, which are characterised by their conspicuous location on hills in close proximity to their contemporary settlements. To this group have been assigned the sanctuaries near Oaxos (B.6, Plates 18-21), Gortyn (B.23, Plates 27-36), Anavlochos (B.30), Lato (B.34, Plate 44), Praisos (B.46, Plate 54) and, more tentatively, those at Eleutherna (B.4), Siteia (B.41), Anixi (B.42) and Lapsanari (B.43). The suburban location of these sites, together with the presence of large and varied deposits of terracotta votives, indicates their function as major community sanctuaries, involving considerable groups of worshippers. In this respect, the functions of these suburban sanctuaries contrast with, and complement, those of the hearth temples, where cult was dominated by a more exclusive group of male aristocratic citizens.

The presence at these suburban sanctuaries of consistently recurring anthropomorphic terracottas of similar iconographic types has further allowed interpretation of them as places where cult was aimed at the social integration of different constituent parts of the community. Particularly striking is the appearance, in the 7th century BC, of series of Orientalizing mouldmade plaques and figurines depicting young men and particularly young women in standardised and idealised form. Representations of both nude and elaborately dressed young females, sometimes also wearing a polos, are ubiquitous (e.g. Plates 20f-g, 21, 33, 54c). Representations of males usually consist of nude and/or arms-bearing youths (Plates 34a-b, 54a). Elaborating on the suggestions made by Cassimatis and Böhm, these may be seen to emphasise feminine beauty and sexuality on the one hand, and male athletic and martial qualities on the other.[24]

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[24] This implies a departure from earlier interpretations of these figurines as

For the associated sanctuaries this implies—at least by the 7th-century BC—a well-established function in the definition and reproduction of ideal social roles, with rituals aimed at the initiation and social integration of young members of society.

The analysis of the social and cultic functions of these major community sanctuaries has focused on the Acropolis of Gortyn (B.23), this being the most fully published example of its kind. The other suburban sanctuaries often suffer from incomplete excavation and/or inadequate documentation. This, in nearly every case, leaves their architectural form and the exact composition of the accompanying votive deposits unknown, thereby impeding assessment of the exact nature of the associated rituals and of their development through time. The reconstruction of the type of rituals and cult at Gortyn is not meant to serve as an exact template for the other sites, nor to say that rituals were aimed exclusively at initiation. However, the proposed analysis is believed to provide a more general insight into the principles that structured the dedication of what may otherwise appear as a bewilderingly heterogeneous collection of votives at the major community sanctuaries.

At the Acropolis of Gortyn, the progressive monumentalisation of the sanctuary—beginning in the 8th and culminating in the 7th century BC with the erection of an ashlar altar and a temple building with sculptural decoration (Plates 28-29)—underlines its rise in importance. The same two centuries see a growing iconographic elaboration of the votives. These, together with information provided by (later) literary sources from both Crete itself and the rest of the ancient Greek world, allow the recognition of a number of themes pertaining to the definition of social roles and the education and initiation of the young—future members of the polis.

According to these written sources, a basic and recurring characteristic in the education of both boys and girls is the organisation into different age groups or choruses, probably from the age of six or seven. In these choruses, children were instructed in the traditions, history, norms and values of their communities. They engaged in music, song, dance and physical exercise, they learnt various

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representing the Eastern 'Astarte' or her Greek equivalent Aphrodite. The arguments for a more emblematic meaning of these figurines, which may not fit into the categories of votives portraying either deity or votary, have been advanced in section 4 of Chapter Four, p. 408-11.

practical skills and were familiarised with sexuality, often involving homo-eroticism. Crucial transitions were the reaching of puberty and maturity, or adult status, which in Crete coincided with the collective marriage of the members of the age group.

For Cretan boys, who were being prepared for life as citizen and warrior, the later literary sources indicate an emphasis on battle techniques, hunting, archery, war dances and athletics, especially running. At Gortyn, similar emphasis is reflected by the dedication, from the 8th century BC, of miniature armour in bronze and terracotta and, in the 7th century BC, of terracotta plaques of young warriors and youths in athletic nudity. The later written sources mention as a recurrent motif in initiation rituals the changing or taking off of garments, in symbolic reference to the civic privileges which the initiand would acquire. The use of the term 'donning' in these sources is probably to be interpreted as the assumption by the new warrior of his full military gear, while by 'stripping off' he is meant to reveal his athletic nudity, symbolising the right of the citizen—in Crete also called *dromeus* ('runner')—to use the stadium. As to the age groups involved in the EIA rituals at Gortyn, the miniature scale of the armour may point, rather than to full grown aristocrats, to younger men, who at age 17 or 18 were about to enter the *agelai* ('herds'), where they would complete the last phase of their education. The votives would have been dedicated to ensure a successful outcome, foreshadowing or prefiguring the skills and qualities that the dedicant hoped to acquire in the immediate future. The votives from Gortyn provide no clear iconographic evidence for the performance of wedding ceremonies which, at least according to later sources, would accompany the attainment of maturity.

While direct sources about the education of Cretan girls are lacking, analogy with practices in the rest of the Greek world suggests that the chief emphasis, in line with the anticipated role as wife and mother of future citizens, would have been on beauty, self-control and the mastering of domestic skills such as spinning, weaving, corn grinding and other kinds of food preparation. While the large number of 7th-century terracottas of nude and finely dressed females at Gortyn (Plates 31, 33a-b) clearly corresponds to a concern with beauty and sexuality, the absence of female terracottas referring to pregnancy, childbirth or kourotrophism points to a relatively young age group. The additional presence of a series of terracottas—specific for the cult at Gortyn—of younger girls with developing breasts makes it possible to identify one age group as consisting of girls on the brink of puberty (Plate 33e). For girls, the transition to adolescence signified their marriageable status, which may explain the emphasis on sexuality. Other more specific plaques, showing one or multiple young females in the confinement of some kind of structure (e.g. Plate 33c), may, in correspondence to practices attested elsewhere in the Greek world, even refer to a period of temple service for the girls.

The representations of horses (in the form of large terracotta figures, Plate 36) and of a Potnia Theron flanked by birds, horses and lions may be relevant to the education and initiation of both boys and girls. The taming of animals as a simile for the education of the young was popular in the ancient Greek world. There are numerous references in myth and cult to children and adolescents as wild animals, ranging from she-bears and wolves to cows and horses gone astray. In Crete, this concept is exemplified by the term *agela*, which puts the Cretan male adolescents on a par with herds of horses or cattle.

The lack of information about most of the other known suburban sanctuaries makes detailed reconstruction of the types of rituals and the age groups of celebrants involved precarious. However, even superficial consideration shows broad similarities in the orientation of the cults, from Oaxos (B.6) in the west to Praisos (B.46) in the east. What they have in common is the consistent presence of large numbers of standardised, mouldmade terracotta votives of nude and robed young females and nude and/or armed young males. This suggests the same basic emphasis on female sexuality and male martial qualities. Differences in the transitional events and in the age groups involved at these sanctuaries can be inferred from the presence of certain less common and therefore more cult specific votives. Examples are the figurines of more mature females exposing their pubic area in the *anasyrma* gesture (Plate 21c) and of *hieros gamos* or wedding scenes. At Praisos, there may have been a different organisation or structure of initiation rituals, with separate suburban sanctuaries for boys and girls.

As with the hearth temples, the rise to prominence of these major community sanctuaries in the 8th and 7th centuries BC is to be understood primarily in the context of the ongoing articulation of socio-political institutions associated with the Cretan poleis. This implies the development of rituals of a form and nature specific to their time and place. There are no direct precursors for these suburban sanctuaries in the preceding LM IIIC-SM period, and with votive types often being of new form, it is often difficult to evaluate their relationship with older cult traditions. The general impression is one of change and innovation. Yet, the observed emphasis on initiation and the context of community-centred cults presupposes that rituals were instrumental in the forging of a communal identity and therefore well founded in local tradition.

This suggests that the strongest indications for the survival of older traditions are here to be found on the conceptual level, in the nature and function of the associated deity. Although in most cases textual evidence to help identifying the deities of these suburban sanctuaries is lacking, in general the emphasis—in contrast to that of the hearth temples—seems to have been on female deities. Proposed identities include Athena, Aphrodite, Hera, Demeter and Persephone. The presiding of major female deities over important community rituals could be seen as a development emanating from the LBA community cult for goddesses represented as GUAs, whose general protective functions extended to the community as a whole.

More specific indications of such a conceptual link are provided by the cult assemblage from Gortyn. At this suburban sanctuary the goddess venerated in CL-HL times was Athena, the universal protector of cities and already considered by Nilsson to have been the successor of the goddess venerated in the LBA bench sanctuaries. While it should be emphasised that the development from one into the other would not have followed unilinear lines and at Gortyn is not locally traceable, it is of interest that the assemblage from the Acropolis has yielded several objects which may preserve a conceptual link with the earlier GUA. Apart from a 7th-century BC painted terracotta plaque of a female figure with snakes protruding from her robe, the terracotta stands for offering bowls and cylindrical models are comparable to cult equipment related to the cult of the LBA goddess depicted as GUA.

During the EIA, the female deity under whose supervision rituals at Gortyn took place was represented in different ways. The most imposing and at the same time perhaps most neutral image must have been the (fragmentary) 7th-century statue of a seated female. Comparable terracotta representations lack further attributes. At the same time, other votives articulate an image of warrior goddess, as exemplified by the terracotta Palladion figure, and of Potnia Theron. The image of the Palladion corresponds to the Classical Greek image of Athena, but, more importantly in this context, also has contemporary Eastern connections. A combination of martial aspects, explicit female sexuality and the association with horses are paralleled in Near Eastern cults for Anat and Astarte. The image of Potnia Theron has both BA and Eastern antecedents. While the concept of an all-encompassing nature goddess and her representation as Potnia Theron go back to the BA, the wings of the figures shown on the plaques from Gortyn indicate that the image was imported anew.

The presence of the Potnia Theron at the EIA sanctuary of Gortyn does not simply constitute a relic of earlier times, nor was there an unselective borrowing from the Near East. Both manifestations of the deity can be related specifically to the initiatory functions of the deity. The martial aspects of the Palladion, apart from indicating broader functions as protector of the community, gave the young male initiands a means of identifying with the deity. Her representation as Potnia Theron, or a goddess reigning over wild nature, assumed a more specific meaning in connection with the idea of a 'taming of the young and uncivilised' that took place in her sanctuary.

3. A special position is taken by the eight Cretan EIA sanctuaries that were founded at the ruins of Minoan palaces or related monumental BA buildings, as these may be seen to represent a conscious effort to create a link with the past. Their location varies from BA ruins in settlements that continued to be inhabited during the EIA, such as Knossos (B.18, Plate 1) and Phaistos (B.21-22, Plates 25-26), to abandoned BA settlements inland, such as Tylisos (B.53) and Ayia Triada (B.56, Plate 15), and to the deserted BA harbour towns at Kommos (B.57, Plates 63-65), Amnisos (B.60, Plate 66) and Palaikastro (B.69, Plate 73). Although the associated votive deposits vary—from a few drinking cups at Knossos to considerable numbers of shields, tripods and other bronzes at Palaikastro (Plate 74)—the cult assemblages generally betray male aristocratic connotations, while large numbers of simple terracotta votives are noticeably lacking. At all sites there is evidence that important sections of the impressive BA ashlar structures remained visible into the EIA or longer. The fact that cult activities predominantly took place in the open air reinforces the idea that with the installation of these cults a mean-

ingful and direct connection was sought with the surrounding BA ruins.

While the early 20th-century excavators responsible for the discovery of most of these sanctuaries tended to emphasise the continuity of sacred functions from surrounding BA structures, subsequent research has shown that material evidence for cult activities prior to the EIA is lacking at the precise locations of these sanctuaries. This places their foundation in the context of the more widespread EIA revival of aristocratic interest in the BA past. Modern scholarship sees this revival as part of the consolidation of aristocratic identity and institutions, which played an important role in the formation of the polis. Elsewhere interest in the BA past is exemplified by the growing popularity of the Homeric epics, the parallel creation of a 'heroic' figurative art and, on the cultic level, most notably by worship at BA tombs—phenomena with possible roots in preceding centuries, but culminating in the 8th century BC. In EIA Crete, interest in the BA past took certain forms of its own. With Cretan receptivity to the Homeric epics already questioned in antiquity and proof for the practice of tomb cult in the island being strikingly absent, this interest is expressed most visibly and directly by the sanctuaries established at the ruins of palatial BA structures. The relative abundance of evidence for cult activities at these sites makes it possible to trace their origin and their development through time in some detail.

In the discussion of the social and cultic functions of these Cretan sanctuaries, different aspects and different reasons underlying their foundation have been suggested. These range from the continued memory of these sites as special, even sacred, places, to more practical, economic, social and territorial considerations, with varying emphasis on each of these factors for the different sanctuaries.

The monumentality of the BA structures and the use of fine ashlar masonry was in marked contrast with the modest architecture of the EIA and in itself will have inspired a certain respect and awe, as, indeed, was its original purpose. It is unlikely, however, that this alone would have provided the impetus for religious worship at these sites. EIA Cretans generally showed little inhibition in dismantling BA walls and quarrying ashlar blocks for re-use. This, and the fact that worship was initially centred on monuments of a palatial nature, suggests that a relatively accurate memory of the character of these places was preserved.[25] In some cases, i.e. at the palatial ruins of Knossos and Ayia Triada, there is important evidence for earlier cult activities, during the LM IIIC-SM period. However, these earlier cults were either located in more marginal sections of the BA palaces or lack an explicitly articulated relation with the surrounding BA ruins. At Knossos, the LM IIIC-SM cult took place in the Spring Chamber (Plates 1-3) on the southern fringe of the palace area, at some distance from the settlement centre, and was characterised by the dedication of relatively modest votives. At Ayia Triada, the number and elaboration of LM IIIC-SM votives indicate a cult of some importance, but one which may have been instigated primarily by agricultural and territorial concerns, in order to confirm claims to the adjacent fertile fields. While such claims could have been reinforced by stressing ties with the old settlement that had controlled the area in the LBA, the relationship was not visibly articulated and the earlier remains were not re-used or incorporated in the cult activities. At this point the establishment and use of the sanctuary and not the historical antecedents of its location seem to have been the important factors.

It was in the PG period that the installation of cults at BA palatial ruins became part of a more consistent and purposeful appropriation of the past. At sites with evidence for earlier LM IIIC-SM cult activities at the palatial ruins, the PG period brought with it a relocation and reorientation of cult. Votives now often betray definite (military-) aristocratic connections and there is a more direct, physical association with the ruins themselves.

At Knossos, the Spring Chamber was abandoned and a new cult was installed in the area to the southwest of the former Central Court, a site closer both to the heart of the former palace and to the contemporary EIA settlement, which extended over the hill slope to the west. This direct cultic interest in the ruins of the BA palace, after a considerable period of neglect, is paralleled by what seems to be an attempt by leading Knossian families to mimic or to fashion for themselves a BA burial style. At the North Cemetery there is evidence, not for cult at LBA tombs, but for their reuse or imitation. The concomitant seeking of inspiration in BA forms for the shape and decoration of funerary vessels in these richer tombs (Plate 79), strengthens the identification of the worshippers at the former palace as belonging to an exclusive group. Here, active association with the past provided a means of social distinction within the community and helped to articulate an aristocratic life style and identity. The same applies to the sanctuary founded in this period at the foot of the monumental ashlar walls sustaining the Central Court of the former palace at Phaistos, where associated votives consist of precious bronze shields and vessels with clear (military-) aristocratic connotations.

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[25] Palaikastro may be an exception, as at this site BA palatial structures have so far not been identified, although their presence has been suggested in the unexcavated fields directly to the southeast of the sanctuary.

The inception of these urban sanctuaries is accompanied by that of others at a number of extra-urban sites, which from the Neopalatial period had been closely associated with the settlements at Knossos and Phaistos. These consist of the harbour site at Amnisos, traditionally belonging to Knossos, and of Kommos and Ayia Triada, in the territory of Phaistos. The types of votives again point to an aristocratic initiative, as best documented at the dependencies of Phaistos. Here, the foundation, around 1000 BC, of a sanctuary at the former harbour town of Kommos coincides with a temporary interruption or lull in cult activities at Ayia Triada. A small temple, Temple A, was built, where cult activities involved indoor sacrificial dining, a privilege of the male elite. EIA votives include a bronze shield, other weaponry and terracotta bull and horse figures. This has been explained as a sign of renewed interest, on the side of the leading members or rulers of the community at Phaistos, in the coastal areas of its territory. With overseas communication gradually increasing, the establishment of presence in an area largely abandoned since the end of the BA assumed new importance. Temple A at Kommos incorporated one of the exposed monumental ashlar BA walls and thus visibly expressed an association with the building that had been the public centre of an international harbour in the LBA. The fragments of late 10th/9th-century Phoenician transport amphorae and later pottery from various regions in the Aegean indicate that the EIA sanctuary developed into a meeting place with foreign merchants. This contact with people from overseas, in a time when long-distance travelling was far from common, is likely to have added to the prestige of the cult, consolidating the position of the aristocratic participants at home and helping to define the territorial parameters of the emerging state they represented.

Eastern Crete presents one further example of an EIA sanctuary at BA remains. It is located at the abandoned coastal town of Palaikastro, and displays both correspondences and differences with parallel installations in central Crete. The correspondences include distinct elite involvement, while differences can be found in the apparent lack of evidence for territorial and trade concerns and for foreign contact. In contrast to the dependencies of Amnisos and Kommos, Palaikastro had been an independent harbour town in the LBA, whose population, in the course of the turmoil at the end of the LBA, was probably dispersed over a number of new LM IIIC-SM defensible settlements. Instead of one EIA inland settlement that could claim possession/ownership of the sanctuary area, there may have been several communities whose population preserved traditional ties to the old harbour town. Compared to Amnisos and Kommos, the EIA sanctuary at Palaikastro received much larger numbers of precious metal votives, including bronze vessels, shields and tripod-cauldrons. This suggests that cult at the sanctuary attracted elite members from various communities, who here engaged in conspicuous, competitive and emulative votive behaviour. In this case, cult would not have expressed claims of ownership to the surrounding agricultural lands or to the old harbour site. Instead, by providing a relatively neutral but exclusive meeting place, it would have played a more pronounced role in the articulation of aristocratic values and identity at the regional level.

In this respect it is of interest that Palaikastro provides a convincing example of the continued association of the area with the worship of an important indigenous god. The late inscription of a Hymn, the original of which may go back to the 6th-century BC, was found in the sanctuary. This identifies the cult as dedicated to 'Zeus of Dikte', a manifestation of the Cretan-born Zeus, whose Minoan ancestry has been generally accepted. Linear B tablets from the LBA palace at Knossos attached the epithet 'Diktaios' to the name of Zeus, indicating syncretism at that time. The hymn invites the god to come to Dikte, a toponym recently proposed as that already denoting the Petsophas/Palaikastro area in the BA. This identification, together with the recent discovery in the Neopalatial town of a chryselephantine statuette of a youthful god, suggests an important centre for worship of this male god. These elements and the fact that in the Hymn the god is addressed as 'kouros' (youth) indeed point to a remarkable preservation of central BA traits in this cult into the 6th century BC and later.

This is not to say, of course, that aspects of the cult would not have changed. For one thing, older functions relating to vegetation and fertility—also expressed in the later Hymn—may have been suppressed by developing military-aristocratic concerns during the EIA. The bronze shields and other weaponry, including miniature models, and the existence in Crete of cult associations of 'Kouretes', young men in the service of the god, are generally interpreted as evidence for the performance at Palaikastro of rites of initiation for young aristocratic men. In this emphasis on aristocratic functions, there are clear parallels with the cults at the BA remains in central Crete. Yet, compared to this other region, modifications of the cult in eastern Crete may well have been of a different order. Located in the far east of the island, the sanctuary at Palaikastro was not easily accessible to people from other regions in Crete. In addition, there is in the east much less evidence for renewed Mycenaean influence or immigration during the preceding LM IIIC-SM period, when the extra-urban sanctuaries in the more centrally located parts of the island show signs of religious syncretism. The example of Palaikastro suggests the relative strength of local or regional traditions, which, when again actively celebrated at the ruins of the BA town, may, more specifically than forging a regional aristocratic identity, have contributed to the development of notions of an indigenous or Eteocretan identity.

In central Crete, the situation seems to have been more complex, with both the earlier syncretism and the more apparent blend of religious with economic and territorial concerns, raising the possibility of further re-interpretation, re-invention and co-option of the religious associations of the BA monuments. While the ruins of the palaces of Knossos and Phaistos may have been remembered as both the former residencies of mighty rulers and important religious centres, something of their old cultic association may have been preserved. At Amnisos and Kommos clear indications of cult functions for the underlying BA structures with which the EIA sanctuaries were associated are lacking. Moreover, as discussed above, at Kommos contact with and cult participation by Phoenician visitors in all probability led to a further syncretism of Paiawon or Apollo with Reshep and to the inclusion of other foreign components in the cult, such as the rite of burnt animal sacrifice.

4. As in the preceding LM IIIC-SM period, the majority of extra-

urban sanctuaries in use during the EIA consist of cult places whose history goes back to the Neopalatial period or earlier.[26] In contrast to the LM IIIC-SM period, when extra-urban sanctuaries formed a relatively homogenous group, in the EIA a clear cult specialisation and functional hierarchy develop between them. The cult assemblages typical for the extra-urban sanctuaries of the LM IIIC-SM period—combining large terracotta bovid and other animal figures, fantastic figures and Horns of Consecration—no longer occur. Only bovid and other terracotta animal figures continue to be dedicated, but in sharply reduced numbers.

In seven out of the twenty EIA extra-urban cult places the associated cult objects are limited to pottery, terracotta figurines and the sporadic small bronze item, indicating no more than rural functions for a small group of worshippers. In some cases, such as that of Mount Jouktas (B.54, Plate 14) and Mount Kophinas (B.58), this implies a marked decline in comparison with the preceding period.

At another group of four extra-urban sanctuaries, i.e. Patsos (B.51), Tylisos (B.53), Ayia Triada (B.56, Plate 15) and Psychro (B.65), the large terracotta figures current in the LM IIIC-SM period seem to have been replaced by bronze animal figurines, amongst which bovids continue to predominate. Like their terracotta predecessors, these bronze figurines represent a certain investment of wealth on the part of the dedicators. Their presence in some quantity at these four sanctuaries indicates that the associated cults had considerable renown and, as before, attracted worshippers from several communities in the surrounding region. Like the earlier terracotta animal figures, the bronze figurines cannot be interpreted more specifically than as representing substitutes for the sacrificial animal or as expressing a concern with agricultural prosperity and therefore indicate no change in the content or orientation of the associated cults. At the same time, however, there is an articulation of new votive types which imply an elaboration or widening of functions. At Patsos, the dedication of male and female figurines with pronounced sexual organs and of couples in the act of embracing, exhibit a concern with human sexuality/fertility not encountered earlier (Plate 55). At Ayia Triada (where cult may have been interrupted for some time after the LM IIIC-SM period), the addition to the votive repertoire of male figurines with libation cups, flutes and younger male companions points, on analogy with other sanctuaries, to initiation rites for young aristocrats. The Psychro cave is another example of an EIA extra-urban sanctuary which continued to function at the (sub-)regional level, in this case to be defined more precisely as the wider region of the Lasithi plateau. Here too a rise in human figurines is noticeable, while other votive types again follow categories already found in the preceding periods.

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[26] Only six of the twenty EIA extra-urban sanctuaries were new foundations and three of these fall under the category of 'EIA sanctuaries at the ruins of BA monuments'.

Three extra-urban sanctuaries stand out, because they, in the course of the EIA, developed into the richest and most celebrated sanctuaries of the island. The Idaean cave (B.52, Plates 13, 56-61), the cave at Tsoutsouros (B.59) and the open-air sanctuary at Syme (B.66, Plates 17, 68-72) are characterised by a remarkable wealth of votive material, including large and elaborately wrought bronzes, gold and other precious jewellery, ivory objects and other orientalia.

Of these three, the Idaean cave and Syme received comparable classes of offerings, including bronze shields, Oriental and orientalizing stands and cauldrons, tripod-cauldrons, smaller bronze discs (possibly miniature shields), arrow and lance heads, precious jewellery, as well as bronze anthropomorphic and animal figurines (including horses). The accumulation of votives of this kind clearly indicates that these two sites had developed into interregional sanctuaries with a predominantly aristocratic congregation. As with the example of Palaikastro discussed above, these sanctuaries served as aristocratic meeting places and arenas of display, where cult participants from different settlements engaged in votive behaviour marked by a tendency to 'cumulative emulation' or 'ritualised competition'. Unlike Palaikastro, their location at the junction of regional boundaries encouraged their use by worshippers from different neighbouring regions.

The Idaean cave and Syme are also comparable in respect to their locations and to their earlier histories as prominent cult places, factors which combine in explaining their rise to prominence in the EIA. Both sanctuaries are situated in remote, thinly populated areas, which, being of little agricultural potential, were dedicated to pastoralism. At a considerable distance from the largest and most important settlement centres, which in this as in most other periods were concentrated in central Crete, they were located on neutral ground at the junction of different regions—the Idaean cave in the mountains separating central from western Crete, Syme on the southeast slope of the Lasithi massif between central and eastern Crete—potentially drawing worshippers from both regions. As to their earlier histories, both sanctuaries had flourished in Minoan palatial times and continued to exist in the LM IIIC-SM period, when they belonged to the group of more important extra-urban sanctuaries with probable regional functions.

As at Patsos and the other older extra-urban sanctuaries preserving (sub-)regional functions in the EIA, the bronze animal figurines dedicated at the Idaean cave and Syme follow the iconography of the LM IIIC-SM terracotta animal figures, expressing similar agricultural concerns and a comparable display of wealth. At the same time, there is an unparalleled elaboration of votives with military-aristocratic connotations. While it may be assumed that these sanctuaries combined functions for a wider audience of those with primarily agricultural/pastoral interests and those of a more exclusive group of worshippers, the latter type of votives are of particular interest. Especially at Syme, where the EIA finds have been published fully, they show through which aspects of the associated cult elite participation was articulated and how this in turn affected the orientation of the cult and the conception of the deity—issues that are especially relevant when considering that these sanctuaries are among the most long-lived in Crete, and that they are often taken to epitomise the strength of cult continuity in the island.

At Syme, male aristocratic attendance has been convincingly interpreted as taking the form of initiation rites for young men on the brink of maturity. According to the 4th-century BC historian Ephorus, these rites—described as being of great antiquity—involved the mock abduction of a chosen adolescent boy by an older man, who was to be his instructor and lover. Accompanied by the boy's age group or *agela* they would retreat to the countryside for a period of several months, which was spent hunting and feasting. At the end of this period, the company returned to the city, where the new warrior-citizen was introduced to the andreion and presented with a cup, military gear and an ox, which was to be sacrificed to Zeus.

The gradual articulation of initiation rituals similar to those described by Ephorus can be traced in some detail at Syme. The dedication of bronze warrior figurines from *c.* 1000 BC introduces an explicit concern with military qualities. From the 8th century BC iconographic references to male initiation rites become more explicit, as in the bronze figurines depicting a nude male couple, a male holding a chalice, a male with a bow, and many bronze agrimia (Plates 68a-b, 72c). The latter, like the agrimia horns and skulls in the sacrificial layer at the site, show a preoccupation with hunting. Initiation aspects are more fully articulated in the numerous 7th-century BC bronze cut-out plaques, which show young and older huntsmen subduing agrimia, and male couples, the older taking the younger man by the arm (Plates 69a-b, 70).

At Syme, this articulation of aristocratic rites of passage happened in the context of a cult for Hermes and Aphrodite—the first, considering his depiction on some of the bronze plaques, receiving most attention (Plate 71). In the works of Homer and Hesiod, Hermes is represented as a rural and pastoral god, connected with the fertility of flocks and, by extension, with human fertility and sexual prowess. At Syme his pastoral aspect may be reflected in the continuous dedication of animal figurines (Plate 72). The coupling of his cult with that of Aphrodite and a connection with homo-eroticism are also attested elsewhere. Archaic and later inscriptions further mention Hermes in the context of the palaestra and gymnasium. No less important were his functions in the demarcating and transgressing of boundaries, for which reason he was seen as the protector and guide of those travelling through unknown terrain and crossing boundaries.

Many aspects of the EIA initiation rites at Syme therefore seem to harmonise with the canonical, later Greek conception of Hermes' character and functions. However, as argued by A. Lebessi, such correspondences could equally well derive from an earlier period of syncretism as from an exposure to developing Panhellenic traditions during the EIA itself. For instance, Hermes' depiction on the 7th-century bronze plaques as youthful figure corresponds both with his epithet of 'kouros' in the *Iliad* and the usual representation of male deities in Minoan iconography (Plate 71). The 7th-century bronze plaques from Syme which depict the god, show as of yet no fixed conventions and include elements suggestive of an earlier, probably Minoan heritage. Hermes is generally considered an 'old' god, whose name may be mentioned on a Linear B tablet from the Mainland. In the BA he would have been syncretised with a Minoan Potnios Theron, whose domain would have been the 'wild countryside'. This earlier heritage may also be echoed in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, where the god is mentioned as having control of lions, bears and flocks. Particularly striking—and not mentioned in the Homeric and Hesiodic works—is the association of the god at Syme with vegetation. This is not only apparent from his later, HL epithet 'Kedritas' (of the cedar tree), but also from his depiction in a tree on one of the EIA bronze plaques and from his adornment with twigs on others (Plates 71c-d).

While there may have been some Eastern influence on the form and iconography of the EIA votives at Syme, clear signs of the introduction into the cult of foreign elements seem scarce. Instead, cult practices tie in with older local customs. There is, unlike for instance at Kommos, no evidence for burnt animal sacrifice, but the offering of whole animal heads has clear BA antecedents. One of the 7th-century bronze plaques shows an agrimi bound on a sacrificial table—a scene with striking parallels on LBA seal stones. There is further an emphasis on libation, using chalices that are similar to the Minoan ones dedicated earlier at Syme. LBA stone offering tables, which are also found in the sanctuary itself, are re-used and depicted on 7th-century plaques. This may point, more than to mere adherence to old practices, to a conscious cherishing of old forms, suggesting that the antiquity of the cult at least by the 7th century BC had become one of its attractions.

At the Idaean cave, a similar process of the articulation of an aristocratic (male) elite in the context of cult for a deity who locally had been long-venerated can be seen to have taken place. Here, the dedication of numerous bronze tripod-cauldrons and shields may point to rituals aimed more at mature aristocratic warriors than at young men on the brink to adulthood (Plates 56-61). At the Idaean cave, the principal deity was Cretan-born Zeus, a god who, as discussed for Palaikastro, is characterised by a history of development equally long and complex as of Hermes. Later written sources confirm the orgiastic nature and mystery aspects of the cult, and its fame throughout the Greek world, with famous initiates including Pythagoras.

As at Syme, there was at Ida probably an earlier fusion, some time in the LBA, of a Minoan Potnios Theron with a Mycenaean god, in this case Zeus. In contrast to Syme, however, indications for the inclusion of Near Eastern elements in the cult are much stronger. Near Eastern influence speaks most of all from the associated myth of the birth of Cretan Zeus, the earliest version of which is preserved in Hesiod's *Theogony*. Hesiod's version, which tells of the castration and overthrow of Ouranos by Kronos and the subsequent usurpation of power by Zeus, is clearly inspired by the Hurrian/Hittite myth of Kumarbi, which, however, was recorded some 500 years earlier. Whether the time of its introduction into the Aegean world and Crete should be placed in the BA or EIA remains unclear. The EIA cult objects from the Idaean cave include numerous Oriental and Orientalizing objects, suggesting an environment receptive to outside influence. None of these objects, however, contain iconographical references to elements of the birth myth. Those that represent the deity show a mixture of Minoan, Mycenaean and Near Eastern conceptions. As at Syme, the iconography is fluid, initially without fixed conventions. On the well-known late 9th-century bronze tympanon (Plate 57), the product of an immigrant or travelling craftsman from the Near East, the god is represented as a Potnios Theron—thus tying in with older Minoan conceptions, but making use of Near Eastern conventions, such as the stance on the back of a bull and the wielding of a lion above his head. One of the shields, on the other hand, seems to depict a ray of lightning, probably referring to conceptions of the god as Sky-father.

Together, the Cretan sanctuaries in use during the long period from 1200 to 600 BC bear witness to the manifold patterns of continuity and change, not only in the realm of religion, but in society at large. Continuity of BA traits can be noted in different forms and at different levels, which add to the long noted survival of pre-Greek divine names and epithets, the longevity of (particularly extra-urban) BA sanctuaries and their cults, and the continuing predilection for cave sanctuaries in the island. An example of an EIA cult assemblage, where the form of the cult building and the associated objects directly perpetuate LBA forms, is to be found in the small bench sanctuary at Pachlitzani Agriada (B.40). Bronze and terracotta figurines retain BA stylistic and iconographic features, including Minoan gestures of worship and of epiphany.[27] The relatively rare occurrence and contexts of these examples suggests these may be seen as marginal rather then constituting dominant or central religious expressions, especially when considering the disappearance after the LM IIIC-SM period of old Minoan cult symbols such as the Double Axe and Horns of Consecration. There are, however, other cases where the survival in non-articulated form of BA traits and traditions seems indicative of deeply embedded concepts and cultural patterns. Telling in this respect is the continuation from the BA of distinctive votive patterns, such as the more frequent dedication of bronze figurines in extra-urban sanctuaries and their rarity in habitation and funerary contexts, the continued dedication of anthropomorphic bronzes in sanctuaries which already had received such offerings in the BA, and a distinct preference for the dedication of bovine figures and figurines over horses and other animals that sets Crete apart from the Mainland.[28] Likewise, as summarised above, older concepts concerning wide ranging protective functions of female divinities for the community as whole may still have played a role in the newly founded suburban sanctuaries. In other cases, e.g. that of the EIA hearth temples, BA features such as cult benches, location and spatial articulation became incorporated in what were basically new types of sanctuaries and cults. In addition, there are instances where a more conscious and purposeful (and as a result more visible) effort was made to express links with the BA past, especially in the early part of EIA by the then emerging aristocracy. These instances vary from the association with nature goddesses (on urns of the PGB period still depicted with upraised arms),[29] to the foundation of new sanctuaries at the ruins of Minoan palatial or related structures and an enhanced elite participation in extra-urban sanctuaries that belonged to the oldest and richest of the island. At the same time, these expressions of enhanced interest in the BA legacy are bound to have brought with them adaptation and reinterpretation, not only giving new significance but in some cases also creating continuity where there may not have been any.

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[27] Chapter Four, section 4, p. 389, 392, 432-33.

The most obvious developments in the course of the six centuries from 1200 to 600 BC are the great proliferation of communal sanctuaries and the increase in the number and variety of votive offerings—developments which may be seen in the context of the gradual rise in social complexity and the ongoing processes of early polis formation. These changes show the growing importance attached to the expenditure of both personal and communal resources in lasting cult expressions and indicate the active part played by sanctuaries and cults in the process of the articulation of different social groups and different socio-political institutions. The growing interest in BA monuments, customs and forms can be understood as part of the same process, as is the growing receptivity to outside influences, both from the Greek mainland and the Near East.

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[28] Chapter Four, section 4, p. 390, 393, 395.

[29] See Chapter Four, section 4, p. 376-77 and section 5, p. 433-36.

In several respects, the evaluation and disentanglement of these different factors remains difficult. Any analysis of the influence of Mainland traditions is complicated by centuries of earlier contact between the Minoan and Mycenaean civilisations. In the gradual mixing of traditions over an extended period of time distinct Minoan and Mycenaean connotations may have been lost or may no longer have been seen in opposition. (In that sense it is often more correct to speak of the continuation, in Crete, of LBA rather than of 'Minoan' customs and elements.) Against the background of prolonged contact and exchange, which was coupled with the immigration, at different times, of Mycenaean, and later of Doric-Greek speaking people, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the role of the developing Panhellenism of the EIA. This was shown particularly by the examples of Syme and the Idaean cave.

The absorption of and contributions to the incipient Panhellenic culture, as characterised by the spread through the Greek-speaking world of the alphabet, Homeric poetry and the associated 'heroic' life style with similar funerary and votive practices, seem to have been selective in Crete. According to Plato, the Cretans of his time considered Homer a 'foreign poet' and did not share in the Greek passion for his works. The archaeological evidence shows that some EIA Cretans did participate in 'Panhellenic circles'. In the cultic realm, the presence of Cretan-made jewellery, bronze weaponry and other objects at Olympia and Delphi suggests Cretan involvement. In the island itself, the dedication of bronze tripod-cauldrons, which begins later than on the Mainland, about 800 BC, points to more than an adoption of forms. It represents an example of 'heroic' gift-exchange translated into votive behaviour as practised elsewhere by members of the Greek elite. On the other hand, EIA Cretans did not engage in tomb cult, nor did they in later times adopt the otherwise ubiquitous Classical temple.

The degree of Hellenization of religious concepts and deities in EIA Crete is most difficult to evaluate. While a certain amount of extrapolation is possible between the deities found in the Linear B tablets of the LBA and those of the historical period, there is no contemporary textual evidence for the names of the gods. In as far as there are consistently used iconographic types, these may exhibit distinctly idiosyncratic and 'non-Homeric' traits. In view of Homer's noted bias against 'nature goddesses' in general, the recurrent association of Cretan warrior-aristocrats with an orientalizing Potnia Theron is striking. Such goddesses are represented on PGB and later urns from Knossos and Aphrati (Plates 78-80), in nude frontal form on five late 9th-7th century BC Cretan shields (Plate 58), and in the 7th-century BC sculpture of Temple A at Prinias (Plates 19a-b). These goddesses, whatever their names may have been at the time, are far removed from the virgin-huntress Artemis as she appears in the Homeric epics. The orientalizing image of a Potnia Theron survives on 7th-century BC terracotta plaques. More in general, Crete's EIA figurative art develops differently from that of the Mainland. Crete is known for the early appearance of figurative scenes, on pottery in the 10th century BC and on metalwork from the 9th century BC. Figurative scenes include heroic subjects such as the hunting and the fighting of animals by fully armed warriors and almost invariably contain supernatural allusions in the form of anthropomorphic divine figures and fantastic animals such as griffins and sphinxes in an orientalizing style. Mainland funerary, battle and naval scenes represent a heroic world, without such allusions, in a Geometric style.

As to Near Eastern influence, earlier research has already underlined its importance in the formation of Cretan EIA culture. While the understanding of the processes and mechanisms of transmission and reception of Oriental(-izing) elements would benefit from further iconographic and contextual analysis, especially with the incorporation of more funerary data, it is clear that Crete's epithet of 'senior Orientalising culture of the Aegean' is well deserved. The study of the LM IIIC-SM and EIA sanctuaries and their associated cults likewise shows the adoption of Oriental techniques and objects, iconography and cult customs, such as, most tangibly, the practice of burnt animal sacrifice. Moreover, the EIA sanctuary at Kommos provides a convincing instance of religious syncretism.

As with the assessment of Mainland influence, a continuing problem is that both the LBA and the EIA in Crete experienced periods of enhanced receptivity to the cultures of the Near East. As a result it can be difficult to determine whether a particular form or custom was introduced earlier and survived into the EIA, was then revived or rediscovered, whether it represents a new instance of importation, or whether it was perhaps the result of a more or less continuous process of cross-fertilisation. One wonders if the EIA Cretans may have had the same problem. There has been a tendency for scholars to place the roles of BA tradition and Eastern influence in opposition, by saying that attention to the former has obscured the effects of the latter. There is, however, much to be said for the idea, recently proposed by I. Morris, that in EIA Crete no such opposition was felt. Instead, the island's long history of contact with Cyprus and the Near East would have given the increased incorporation of orientalizing elements in its material culture more the flavour of continuity with the past.[30] Anthropological studies indicate that the acquisition and possession of foreign objects and the adoption of foreign customs, especially in periods of restricted long-distance travel, served as a mark of distinction—the extraordinary even achieving, at times, the status of the supernatural. The cultivation of a special relationship with the monuments and cults of the BA past will have had the same or similar implications.

What remains perhaps worth emphasising the most, therefore, is the combination among EIA Cretan aristocratic groups of a strong interest in the local BA past with the participation in interregional or 'international' elite networks, providing links with both Greek-speaking and Oriental cultures. The incorporation of elements from these different realms is apparent in both funerary and votive behaviour and may be seen as forming part of the same phenomenon of the increasing articulation of aristocratic elites. The parallelism in funerary and votive gifts, with the same kind of objects occurring in rich tombs and sanctuaries, is in contrast with the divergence in poorer (particularly terracotta) votives and grave goods. More modest EIA votive offerings, including bronze figurines, initially show little influence from Oriental or Panhellenic traditions, but instead continue those of Cretan, or more generally, Aegean, LBA times.

A change occurs in the 7th century BC, when Orientalizing styles become current in non-prestigious objects such as pottery and terracotta votives, most notably in mouldmade plaques. At the same time there is a progressive Hellenization of Cretan metalwork. This expansion of the use of Oriental styles and motifs indicates a lessening of the exclusivity of exotica and a corresponding loss of direct aristocratic connotations. The same may apply to cultic association with BA ruins, as from the 7th century BC there is evidence, at least in some regions, of the dedication of modest terracotta votives at BA constructions of non-palatial nature and rough, megalithic construction. This is also the time of the greatest rise in the dedication of terracotta votives and the full articulation of initiation rituals, often in suburban sanctuaries, which were instrumental in the defining and integration into society of different social groups. Together these phenomena indicate the significant advances in the formation of the Cretan poleis that will have occurred in this period.

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[30] I. Morris 1997, 10, 32-34, 42.

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Table 1. LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries with terracotta GUA figures and associated objects and features

		urban						
		A.3 Prinias	A.6 Karphi Temple	A.9 Karphi Court 16-17	A.12 Karphi Room 116	A.16 Kephala Vasilikis (E4)	A.17 Chalasmenos	A.21 Vronda Building G
terracotta	**GUAs**	6+	5	x	2+	5	9	30
	snake tubes	5+		x		1	5+	17
	kalathoi	x	x			x	x	22
	plaques		1	?	1		11	26
	fenestrated stands					2	1	
	cylindrical models							
	braziers	x				x		
	drinking vessels		?			x		
	kraters							
	animal figures							
	fantastic figures	?						
	Horns of Consecration							
	votive Double Axes							
	anthropomorphic figurines			1				
	animal figurines			x				
	fantastic figurines							
	rhyta							
metal	anthropomorphic figurines							
	animal figurines							
	fantastic figurines							
	Horns of Consecration							
	votive Double Axes							
	discs							
other	triton shells		x	x				
	animal bones							
	ash/burning		?			?		
	stone-built benches		x			x	x	x
	rock shelves			x	x			
	stone-built or rock altar		?			?		

X = prevailing type; x = few or unspecified number of items; ? = uncertain presence; M = males in prevailing numbers; m = males in small or unspecified numbers; F = females in prevailing numbers; f = females in small or unspecified numbers

Table 2. LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries with terracotta animal figures and associated objects and features

		urban			**extra-urban**							
		A.2 Tylisos	A.5 Phaistos	A.15 Vrokastro	A.23 Patsos cave	A.24 Idaean cave	A.25 Mount Jouktas	A.26 Ayia Triada	A.27 Mount Kophinas	A.30 Psychro cave	A.31 Syme	A.32 Kastri
terracotta	**animal figures**	x	x	x	12	x	x	39	x	x	45	x
	fantastic figures				1			35		?	?	x
	anthropomorphic figurines	2	?	m	1			3			m	f
	animal figurines	x	?	?	X		x	31		x	x	x
	fantastic figurines											
	Horns of Consecration	x		2	2	x		24			?	x
	votive Double Axes							?				x
	GUAs											?
	snake tubes										x	
	kalathoi										x	
	fenestrated stands										x	
	plaques											
	cylindrical models											
	braziers										x	
	drinking vessels										x	
	kraters						x			x	x	
	rhyta							x				?
metal	anthropomorphic figurines				m/f					m	m	
	animal figurines				2			3			?	
	fantastic figurines				1							
	Horns of Consecration										x	
	votive Double Axes							x		?	?	
	votive weaponry									x		
	fibulae/pins										x	
	other									x		
other	triton shells											
	animal bones					x					x	
	ash/burning					x	x				x	
	stone-built benches											
	rock shelves											
	stone-built or rock altar					x	x			x		

X = prevailing type; x = few or unspecified number of items; ? = uncertain presence; M = males in prevailing numbers; m = males in small or unspecified numbers; F = females in prevailing numbers; f = females in small or unspecified numbers

Table 3. LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries without terracotta GUA or animal figures

		urban											**extra-urban**	
		A.1 Thronos Kephala	A.4 Knossos Spring	A.7 Karphi Small shrine	A.10 Karphi Area 26-27	A.11 Karphi Room 58	A.13 Karphi Room 85	A.14 Karphi Room 106	A.18 Chalasmeno A1	A.19 Chalasmeno B1	A.20 Vronda A/B	A.22 Vronda D	A.28 Arkalochori cave	A.29 Phaneromeni
terracotta	GUAs													
	snake tubes					x								
	kalathoi		X		x	x			x		x			
	fenestrated stands			x			x	x						
	plaques													
	cylindrical models		x					x						
	braziers		x										?	
	drinking vessels	x								?	X		?	
	kraters												?	
	animal figures													
	fantastic figures													
	Horns of Consecration													
	votive Double Axes													
	anthropomorphic figurines	f					x	x		x				m
	animal figurines		x				x	x		x		x		
	fantastic figurines		x						x					
	rhyta				x									
metal	anthropomorphic figurines								m					m
	animal figurines													
	fantastic figurines													
	Horns of Consecration													
	votive Double Axes				x			x						
	other (tools, discs, pers. items)			x	x			x	x					
other	triton shells													
	animal bones	X									x			
	ash/burning								x					
	stone-built benches													
	rock shelves			?	x	x	x							
	stone-built altar													

X = prevailing type; x = few or unspecified number of items; ? = uncertain presence; M = males in prevailing numbers; m = males in small or unspecified numbers; F = females in prevailing numbers; f = females in small or unspecified numbers

Table 4. EIA sanctuaries with large bronzes and associated objects

		(sub-)urban						extra-urban						
		B.6 Oaxos, lower sanct.	B.22 Phaistos, palace	B.23 Gortyn, acropolis	B.28 Aphrati	B.31 Dreros, West hill	B.45 Praisos, Altar hill	B.52 Idaean cave	B.53 Tylisos	B.57 Kommos	B.60 Amnisos	B.65 Psychro cave	B.66 Syme	B.69 Palaikastro
metal	shields		X			x	x	X		x		?	x	X
	small 'discs'			x			X	x		x	x	x	x	x
	Oriental(ising) stands/cauldrons							x	x		x		x	x
	tripod-cauldrons					?	x	X		?	x		X	X
	— in miniature form			X				X						
	armour	X		x	X	x	X							x
	— in miniature form			X			x							x
	arrow/lance heads	x					x	x		x		x	x	
	bowls/vessels			x		?		x						x
	fibulae/pins			x			x	x		x		x	x	x
	jewellery							x				x	x	
	anthropomorphic figurines			x	m			m		m?	m	m	M /f	
	animal figurines (except horses)						x	x		x	x	X	X	x
	horse figurines/chariots							x		x	?	x	x	
terracotta	small shields			X			x	x			x		x	x
	cauldrons			x	?			x				x	x	
	drinking vessels							x		X	x	x	X	X
	anthropomorphic figures	F		F			f					?	f	
	animal figures			x			?			X			x	
	anthropomorphic figurines/plaques	m/ F		M/ F		f						m/ f	M /f	
	animal figurines (except horses)			x		x	?	x		x	x	x	X	
	horse figurines/chariots									x	x			

X = prevailing type; x = few or unspecified number of items; ? = uncertain presence; M = males in prevailing numbers; m = males in small or unspecified numbers; F = females in prevailing numbers; f = females in small or unspecified numbers

Table 5. EIA sanctuaries with bronze anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines and associated objects

		(sub-)urban				**extra-urban**										
		B.23 Gortyn acropolis	B.28 Aphrati	B.40 Kavousi, Pachlitzani	B.45 Praisos, Altar hill	B.51 Patsos cave	B.52 Idaean cave	B.56 Ayia Triada	B.57 Kommos	B.59 Tsoutsouros cave	B.60 Amnisos	B.63 Phaneromeni cave	B.65 Psychro cave	B.66 Syme	B.67 Sta Lenika	B.69 Palaikastro
metal	**Total anthropomorphic**	**1**	**1**	**1**		**7**	**12**	**13**	**1?**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**6**	**11+**	**1**	
	—— of unknown sex	1				2		6		1		1	3		1	
	—— female			1		2	6	1					2?	1		
	—— male		1			2	6	5	1		2	1	1	9+		
	—— male warrior					1?		1						1		
	—— of LM IIIC-SM date					x		x				x	x	x		
	—— of earlier BA date						x			x		x	x	x		
	Total zoomorphic				**1**	**5**	**65**	**74**	**5**		**1**		**21**	**535**	**2**	**2**
	—— bovids					1	x	66	4		1		11	325	1	2
	—— caprids/ovids				1	2		6					5	203		
	—— horses							1	1				1	4	1	
	—— other species					2		1					4	3		
	—— of LM IIIC-SM date															
	—— of earlier BA date					x							x			
	Large bronzes	x	X		X		X		x		x		?	X	?	X
terracotta	anthropomorphic unknown sex							X		x		x				
	—— female	x		x		x		x		x		x	x	x		
	—— male	x				x		x					x	x		
	—— male warrior	x												x		
	bovids	x			?	x	x	X	x		x		x	x		
	caprids/ovids					x	x	x						x		
	horses	x					x	x	x		x			x		
	other species	x						x						x		
	large animal figures	x			?	x		x	X				x	X		
	—— of LM IIIC-SM date					X	x	X					x	X		

X = prevailing type; x = few or unspecified number of items; ? = uncertain presence; M = males in prevailing numbers; m = males in small or unspecified numbers; F = females in prevailing numbers; f = females in small or unspecified numbers

Table 6. EIA sanctuaries with terracotta human figures, mouldmade terracottas and associated objects

		(sub-)urban												**extra-urban**	
		B.6 Oaxos, lower sanct.	B.23 Gortyn, acropolis	B.30 Anavlochos	B.34 Lato, votive deposit	B.35 Lato, Phylakas	B.36 Vrokastro 8-11/17	B.40 Kavousi, Pachlitzani	B.41 Siteia	B.42 R. Ekklisia, Anixi	B.45 Praisos, Altar hill	B.46 Praisos, Vavelloi	B.47 Praisos, Mesavrysis	B.56 Ayia Triada	B.66 Syme
terracotta	**anthropomorphic figures**	F?	F	x	m/f	f	m/f	f	M/F	x	f	x	F		f
	animal figures		X				X				?				x
	Mm. nude females	X	X	X	X				X	X		X			x
	Mm. robed females	X	X	X	X			x	X	?		x			x
	Mm. kourotrophos				x				x	?		?			x
	Mm. multiple females		x	x											
	Mm. males		x	x	?				x	x		X			x
	Mm. warriors		x							x		x			
	Mm. human couples								x			x			
	Mm. Potnia Theron		x												
	Mm. Potnios Theron		x		x										
	Mm. sphinxes etc.		X	x	x					x		x			
	anthropomorphic figurines	m/f	m/F	m/f	m/F	m/f		F	x						m/f
	enthroned females	x	x		x				?						x
	animal figurines		x	x	x	?	x		x		?				x
	kernoi		x						x	x		x			x
metal	large bronzes	X	x								X				X
	arrow/lance heads	x					x				x				x
	fibulae/pins		x				x				x				x
	jewellery														x
	human figurines		x					f							M/f
	animal figurines										x				

X = prevailing type; x = few or unspecified number of items; ? = uncertain presence; M = males in prevailing numbers; m = males in small or unspecified numbers; F = females in prevailing numbers; f = females in small or unspecified numbers; Mm. = mouldmade

Table 7. EIA sanctuaries with mouldmade terracottas and associated objects (excluding sanctuaries which also have cylindrical human figures)

		(sub-)urban								extra-urban			
		B.9 Oaxos, Aimonas	B.12 Krousonas, Koupos	B.19 Knossos, Demeter	B.25 Gortyn, Vourvoulites	B.29 Karphi Vitzelovrysis	B.43 Lapsanari	B.48 Itanos, Vamies	B.49 Zakros	B.59 Tsoutsouros cave	B.63 Phaneromeni cave	B.64 Liliano cave	B.65 Psychro cave
terracotta	Mm. nude females	X	x		?	?	X	?		?	x		x
	Mm. robed females		x	x	?		x	?		?		x	?
	Mm. kourotrophos									X			
	Mm. multiple females												
	Mm. males						x		x	X			x
	Mm. warriors												
	Mm. human couples									X			
	Mm. Potnia Theron		?										
	Mm. Potnios Theron												
	Mm. sphinxes etc.						x			x	x		x
	anthropomorphic figurines			m/f	x	x				m/f	x		m
	enthroned females	x							x				
	animal figurines			x	x	x			x	x		x	x
	kernoi						?						
metal	large bronzes												?
	arrow/lance heads		x										x
	fibulae/pins		x	X		x				x			x
	jewellery									X			x
	anthropomorphic figurines										m		m/f ?
	animal figurines												X

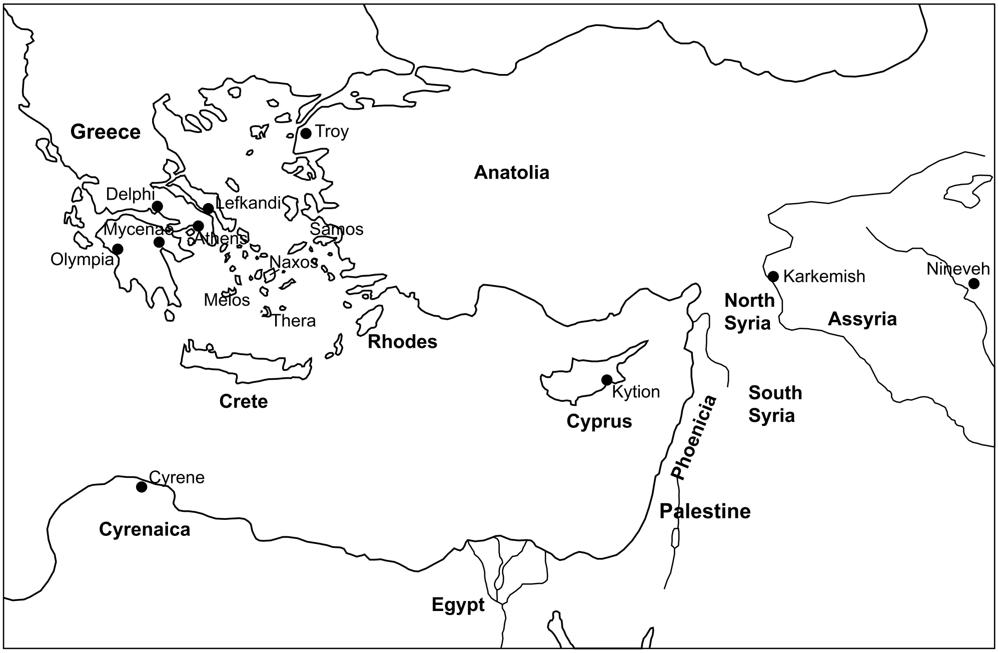
X = prevailing type; x = few or unspecified number of items; ? = uncertain presence; M = males in prevailing numbers; m = males in small or unspecified numbers; F = females in prevailing numbers; f = females in small or unspecified numbers; Mm. = mouldmade

Table 8. EIA sanctuaries with terracotta animal figures and associated objects

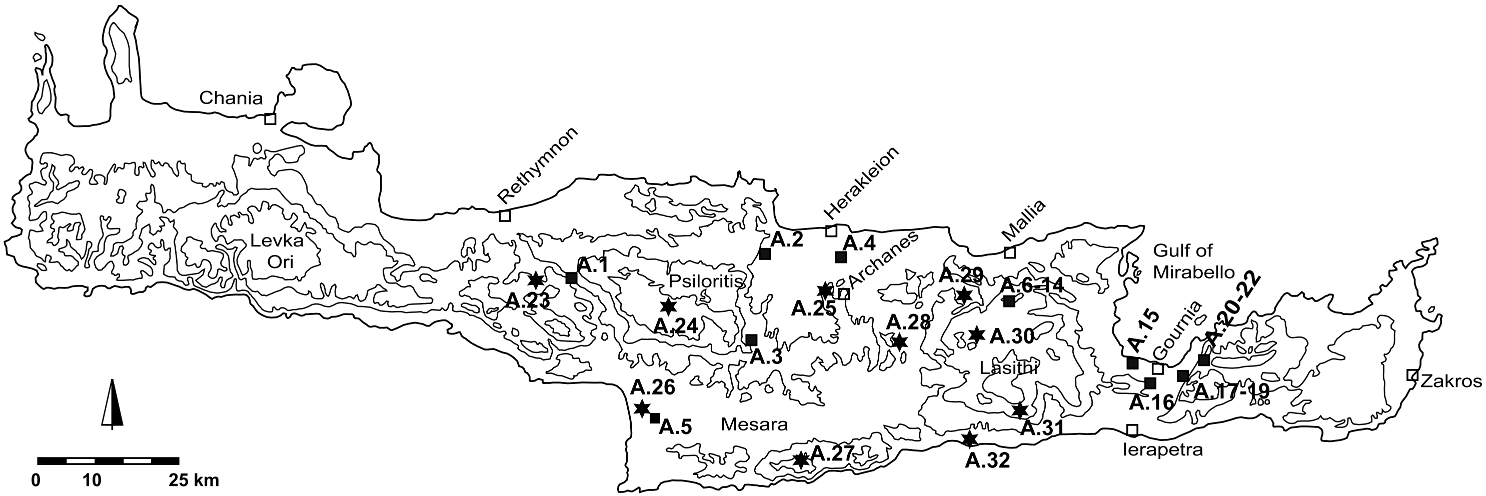
		(sub-)urban								extra-urban			
		B.4 Eleutherna, Nisis	B.19 Knossos, Demeter	B.23 Gortyn, Acropolis	B.25 Rotassi	B.32 Dreros, Apollo temple	B.36 Vrokastro 8-11/17	B.39 Kavousi, Plaï tou Kastrou	B.45 Praisos, Altar hill	B.51 Patsos cave	B.52 Kommos	B.65 Psychro cave	B.66 Syme
terracotta	bovine figures	?	x		?	x	X	x	?	x	X	x	x
	equine figures			X	?		x				x		
	other animals		x							x			x
	anthropomorphic figures	?		F			m/f ?		f			?	f
	Mm. anthropomorphic figurines		F	M/F		x						m/f	m?/f
	anthropomorphic figurines		m/f	m/f						m/f		m	m/f
	bovine figurines		x	X		x	?	x	?	x	X	x	X
	equine figurines		x	X	x		X			x	X		x
	other animal figurines		x	X		x	x	x	x		?		X
metal	tripod-cauldrons								X		?		X
	shields/armour			x		?			x		x	?	x
	arrow/lance heads						x				x	x	x
	anthropomorphic figurines			f						m/f	m?	m/f?	M/f
	bovine figurines									x	x	X	X
	equine figurines											x	x
	other animal figurines								x	x		x	X

X = prevailing type; x = few or unspecified number of items; ? = uncertain presence; M = males in prevailing numbers; m = males in small or unspecified numbers; F = females in prevailing numbers; f = females in small or unspecified numbers; Mm. = mouldmade

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS


Greece
Troy
Anatolia
Delphi
Lefkandi
Mycenae
Athens
Samos
Olympia
Naxos
Melos
Thera
Rhodes
Crete
Karkemish
Nineveh
North Syria
Assyria
Kytion
Cyprus
South Syria
Phoenicia
Palestine
Cyrene
Cyrenaica
Egypt

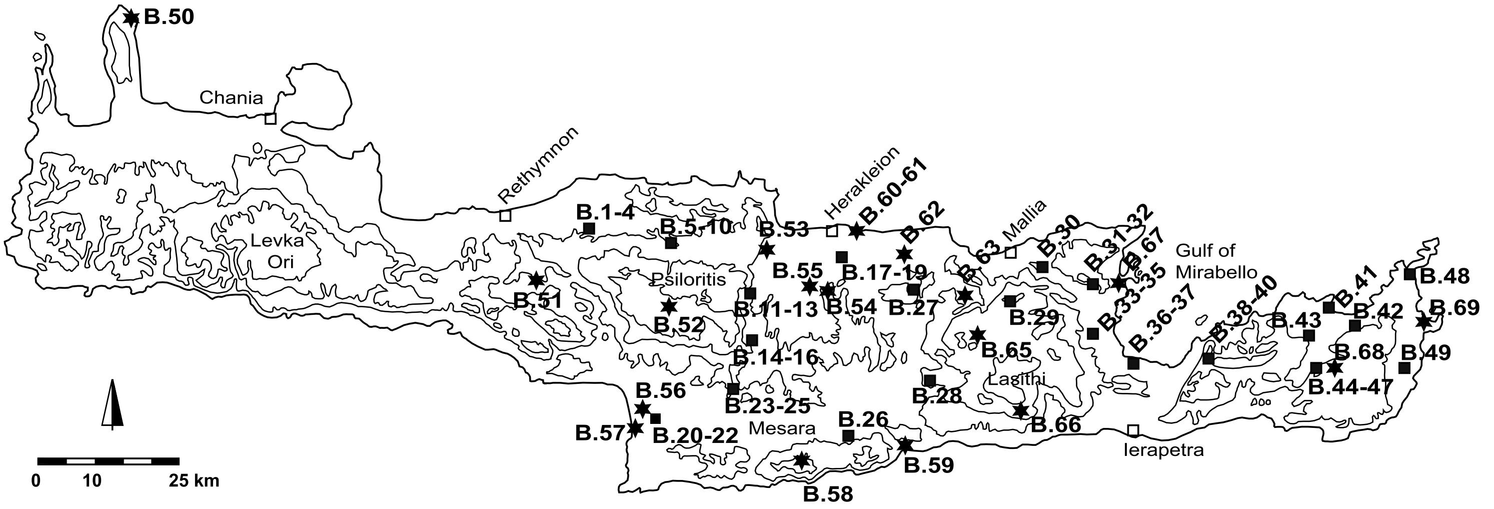
Map 1. Eastern Mediterranean


Chania
Rethymnon
Levka Ori
Herakleion
Mallia
Gulf of Mirabello
Psiloritis
Archanes
Lasithi
Gournia
Zakros
Mesara
Ierapetra
A.1
A.2
A.3
A.4
A.5
A.6-14
A.15
A.16
A.17-19
A.20-22
A.23
A.24
A.25
A.26
A.27
A.28
A.29
A.30
A.31
A.32
0
10
25 km

Map 2. Crete, LM IIIC-SM sanctuaries of (sub-)urban (■) and extra-urban location (✶)

Key to sites:

A.1 Thronos Kephala/Sybrita
A.2 Tylisos
A.3 Prinias
A.4 Knossos
A.5 Phaistos
A.6-14 Karphi
A.15 Vrokastro
A.16 Kephala Vasilikis
A.17-19 Chalasmeno
A.20-22 Vronda
A.23 The Patsos cave
A.24 The Idaean cave
A.25 Mount Jouktas
A.26 Ayia Triada
A.27 Mount Kophinas
A.28 The Arkolochori cave
A.29 The Phaneromeni cave
A.30 The Psychro cave
A.31 Syme
A.32 Kastri Viannou


B.50
Chania
Levka Ori
Rethymnon
B.1-4
B.5-10
B.51
Psiloritis
B.52
B.53
Herakleion
B.60-61
B.62
B.55
B.17-19
B.11-13
B.54
B.27
B.14-16
B.56
B.57
B.20-22
B.23-25
Mesara
B.26
B.58
B.59
B.63
Mallia
B.30
B.31-32
B.67
B.33-35
B.29
B.65
Lasithi
B.28
B.66
B.36-37
Gulf of Mirabello
B.38-40
Ierapetra
B.43
B.41
B.42
B.48
B.69
B.68
B.44-47
B.49
0
10
25 km

Map 3. Crete, with PG-O sanctuaries of (sub-)urban (■) and extra-urban location (✶)

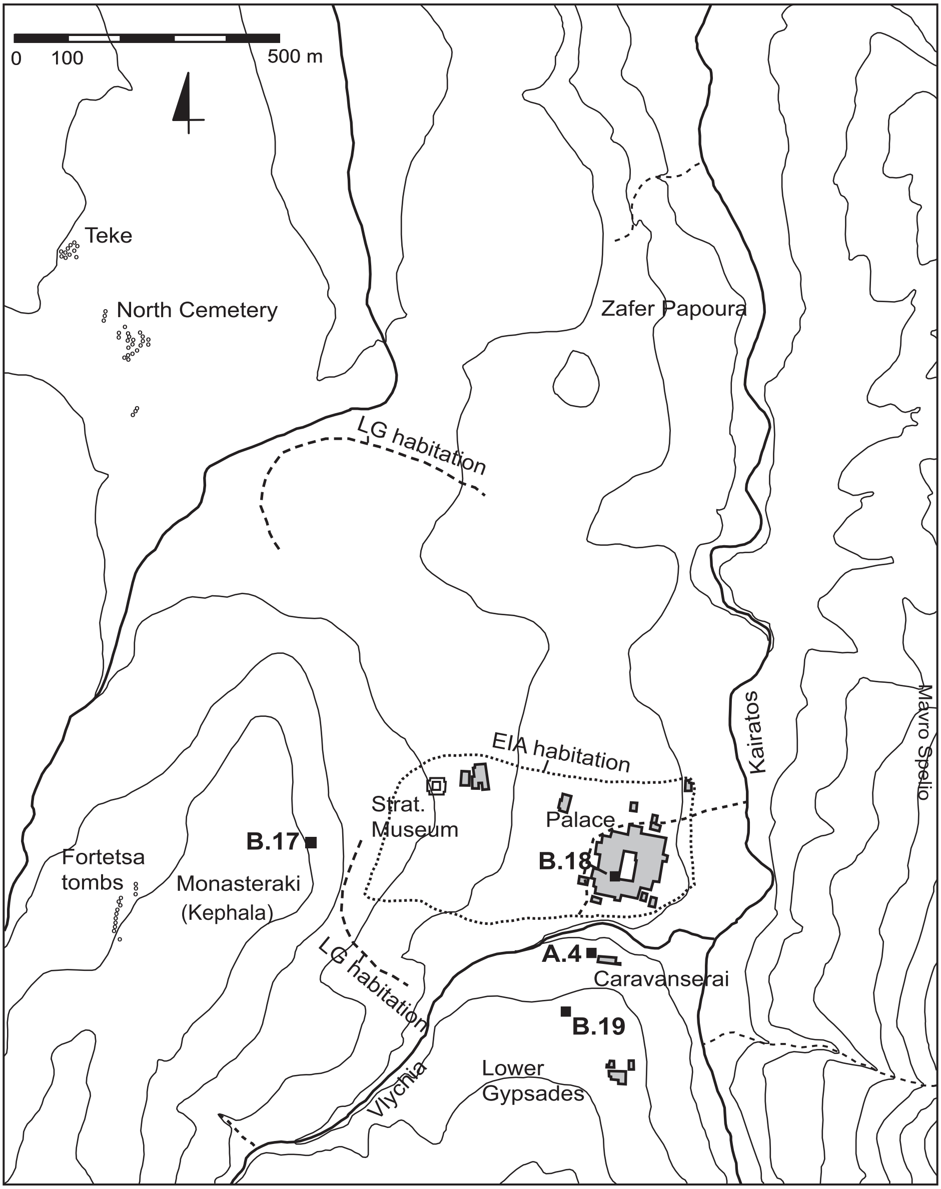
Key to sites:

B.1-4 Eleutherna
B.5-10 Oaxos
B.11-13 Krousonas
B.14-16 Prinias
B.17-19 Knossos
B.20-22 Phaistos
B.23-25 Gortyn
B.26 Rotassi
B.27 Smari
B.28 Aphrati
B.29 Karphi
B.30 Anavlochos
B.31-32 Dreros
B.33-35 Lato
B.36-37 Vrokastro

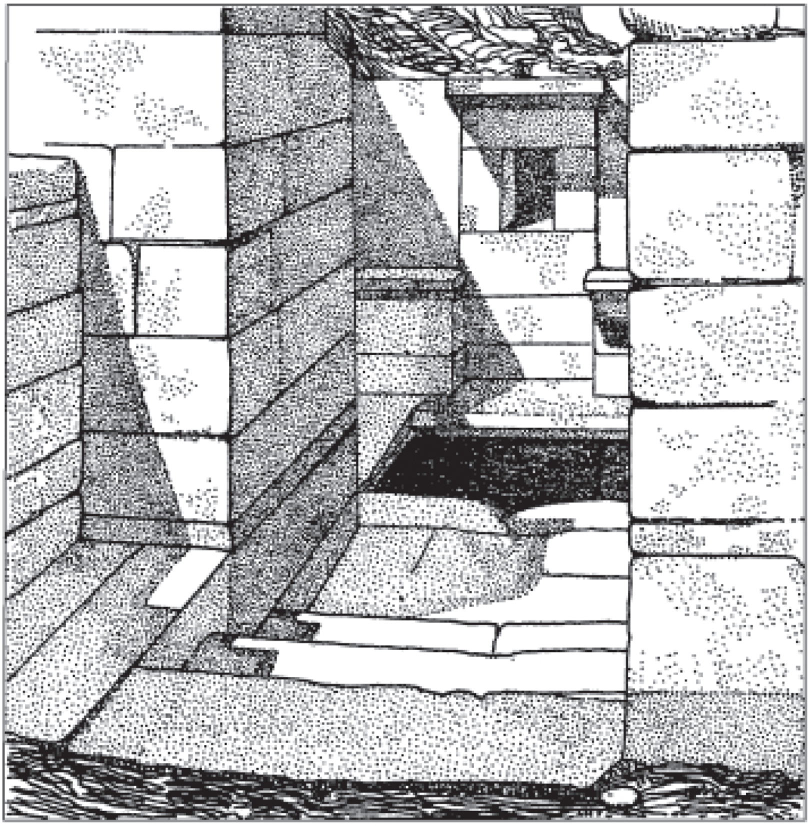
B.38-40 The Kastro, Kavousi
B.41 Siteia
B.42 Anixi, Roussa Ekklisia
B.43 Lapsanari
B.44-47 Praisos
B.48 Itanos
B.49 Zakros

B.50 Rodopou, the Diktynneion
B.51 The Patsos cave
B.52 The Idaean cave
B.53 Tylisos
B.54 Mount Jouktas
B.55 The Stravomyti cave
B.56 Ayia Triada

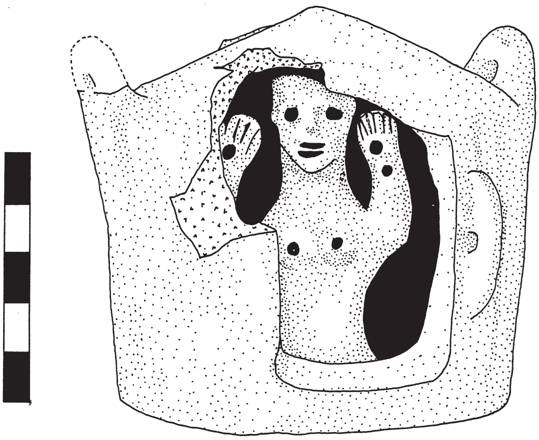
B.57 Kommos
B.58 Mount Kophinas
B.59 The Tsoutsouros cave
B.60 Amnisos, the sanctuary of Zeus Thenatas
B.61 Amnisos, cave of Eileithyia
B.62 The Skoteino cave
B.63 The Phaneromeni cave
B.64 The Liliano cave (unknown location)
B.65 The Psychro cave
B.66 Syme
B.67 Sta Lenika
B.68 Prophitis Elias
B.69 Palaikastro, the sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus


0
100
500 m
Teke
North Cemetery
Zafer Papoura
LG habitation
EIA habitation
Strat.
Museum
Palace
B.17
B.18
Fortetsa
tombs
Monasteraki
(Kephala)
LG habitation
A.4
Caravanserai
B.19
Lower
Gypsades
Vlychia
Kairatos
Mavro Spelio

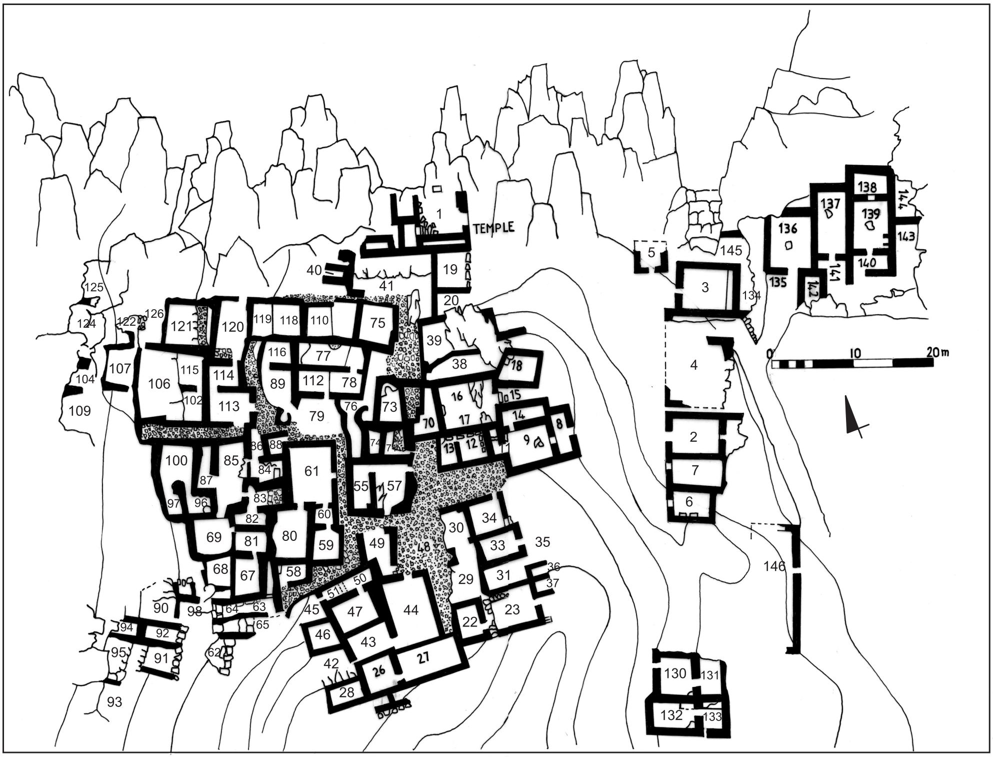
1. Knossos and environs; after Hood & Smyth 1984.



2. Knossos, the Spring Chamber (A.4); after Evans 1928, suppl. pl. XVI (drawing by the author).



3. Knossos, cylindrical model from the Spring Chamber (A.4); after Evans 1928, fig. 13 (drawing by the author).

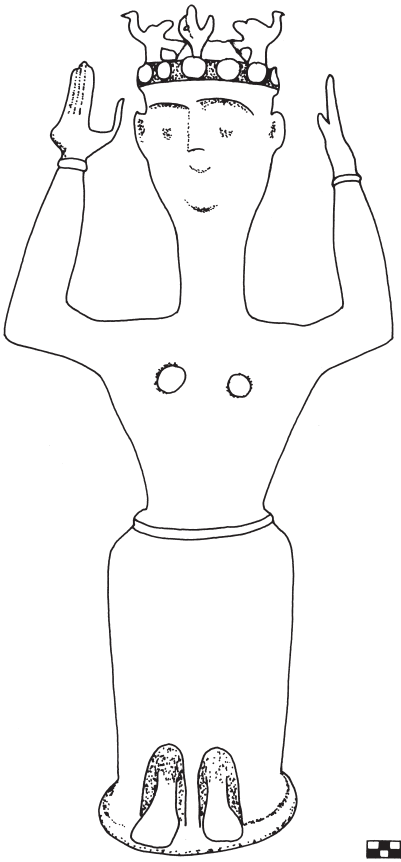

TEMPLE
1
19
20
40
41
5
3
4
2
7
6
145
134
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
142
143
144
0
10
20m
125
124
122
126
121
120
119
118
110
75
116
77
39
38
18
107
106
115
114
89
112
78
104
109
102
113
79
76
73
70
16
17
15
14
9
8
13
12
100
86
88
85
84
87
61
74
71
55
57
97
96
83
82
60
30
34
69
81
80
59
49
48
33
35
68
67
58
50
51
29
31
36
37
90
98
64
63
45
47
44
22
23
94
92
65
46
43
95
91
62
42
26
27
28
93
146
130
131
132
133

4. Karphi, site plan (A.6-14); Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, pl. IX. Reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens.

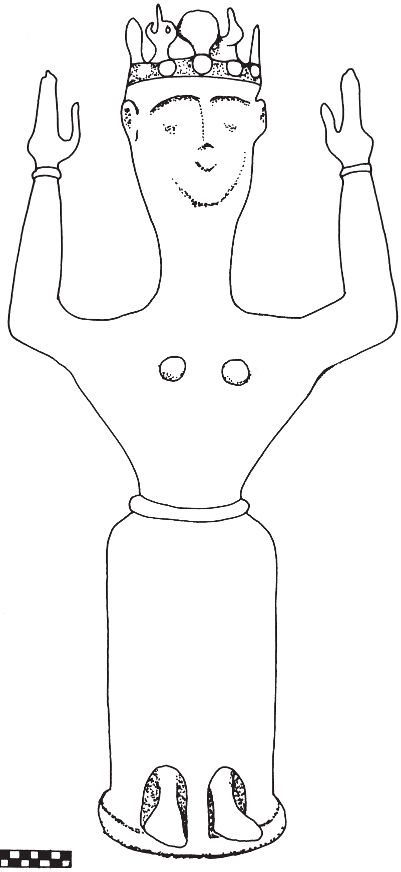
5. Karphi, view of the western part of the settlement and beyond, from east (photograph by the author).

→

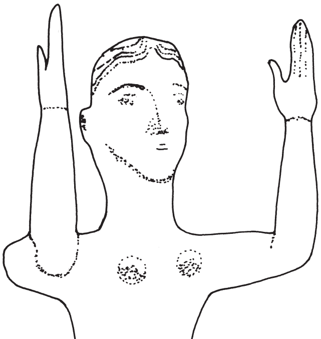
6. (opposite page) Karphi, five terracotta figures of ‘Goddesses with Upraised Arms’ from the Temple (A.6); after Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, pl. XXXI, Seiradaki 1960, pl. 14 (drawing by C. Lamens).



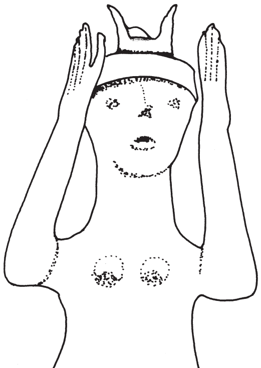
a



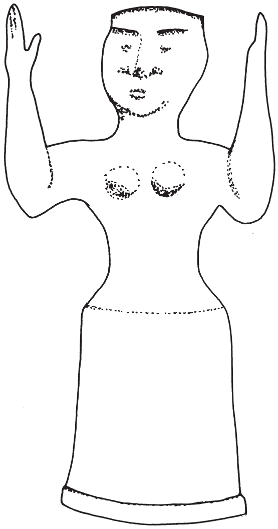
b



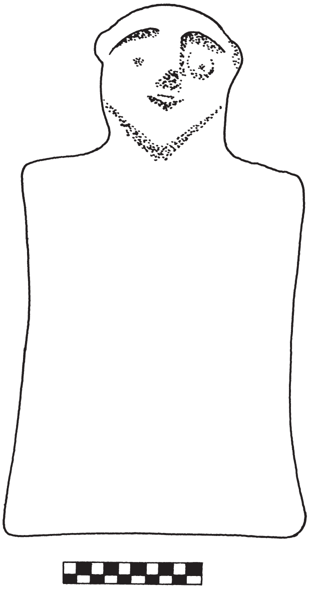
c



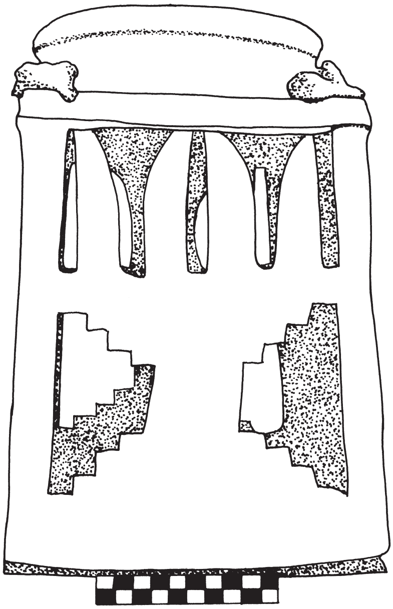
d



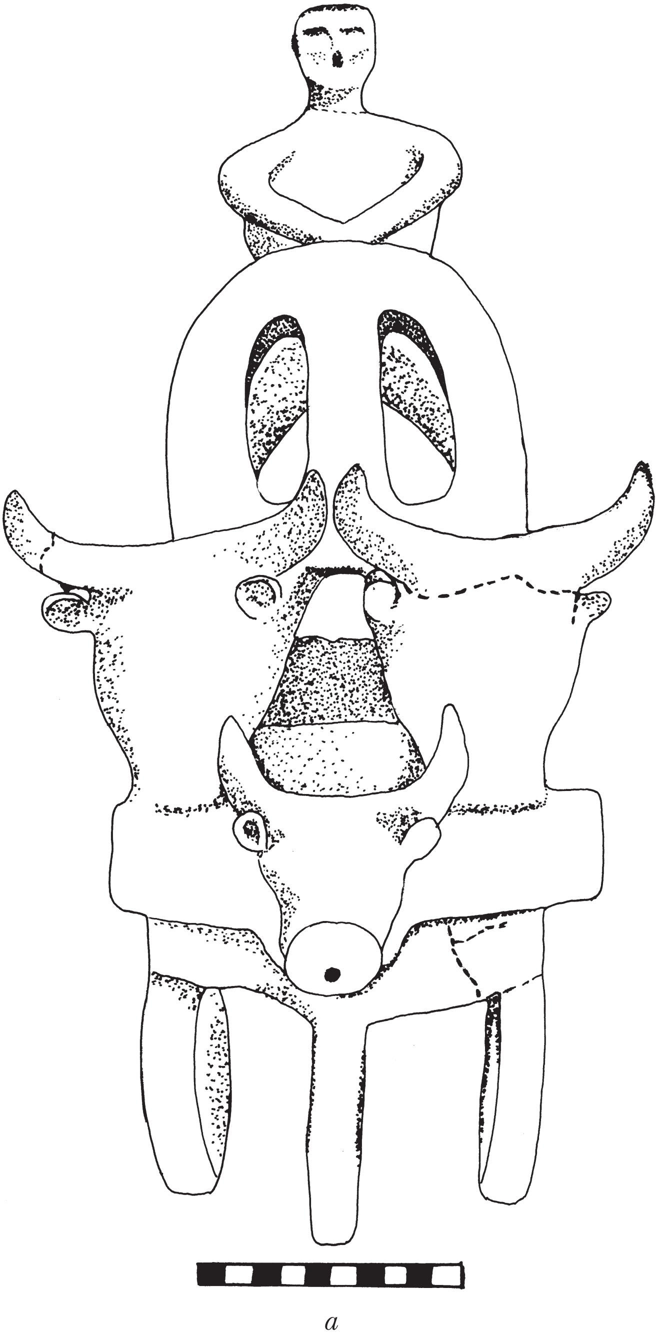
e

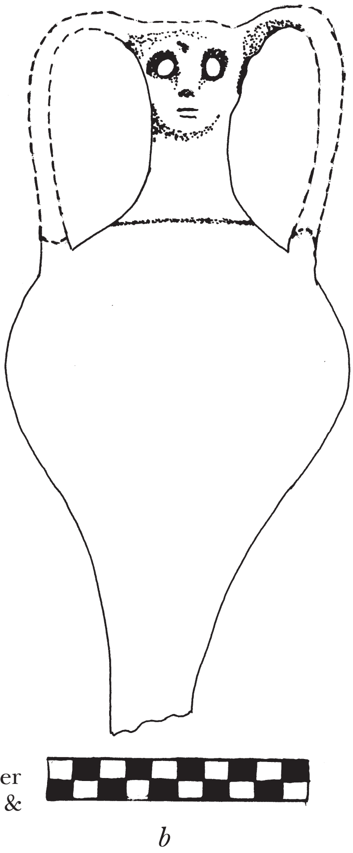


7. Karphi, terracotta plaque from the Temple (A.6); after Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, pl. XXXV:1 (drawing by C. Lamens).

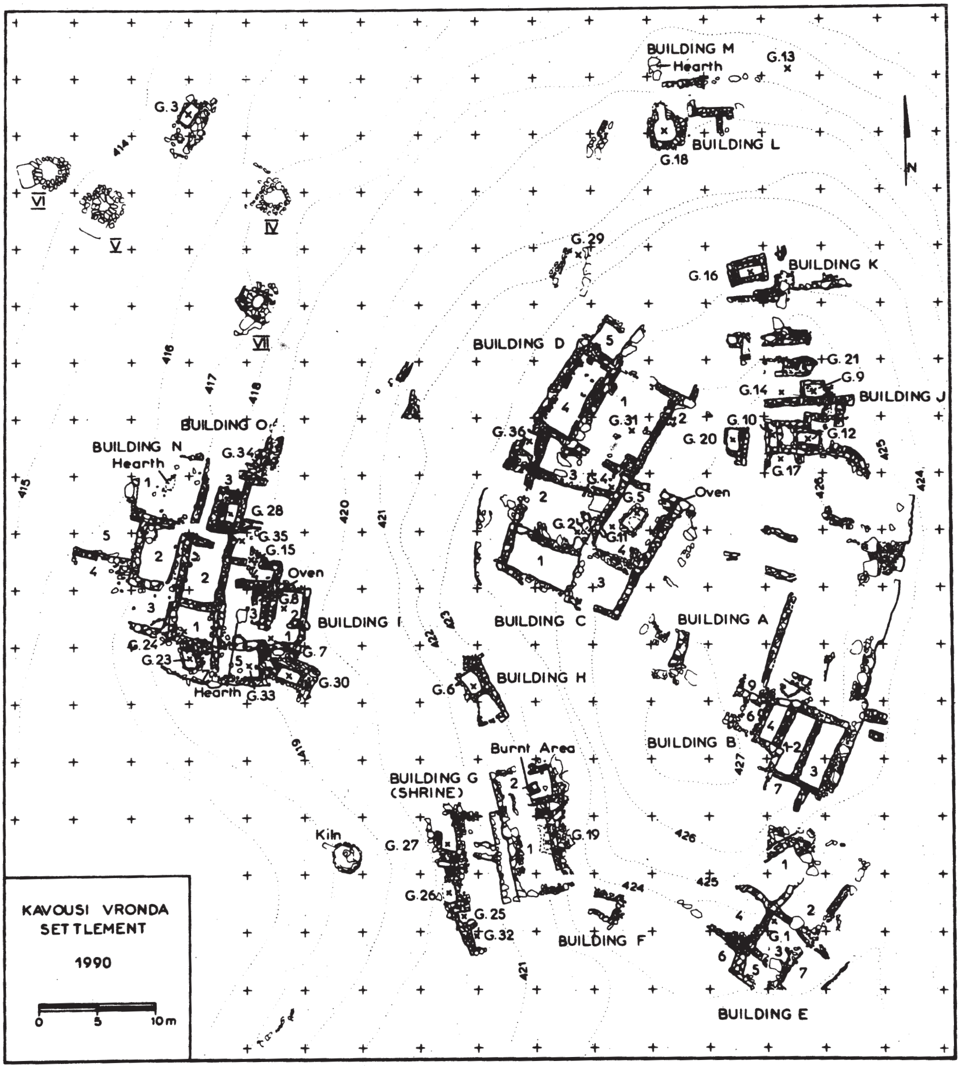


8. Karphi, terracotta stand from Room 57 (A.7); after Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, pl. XXXIV (drawing by C. Lamens).

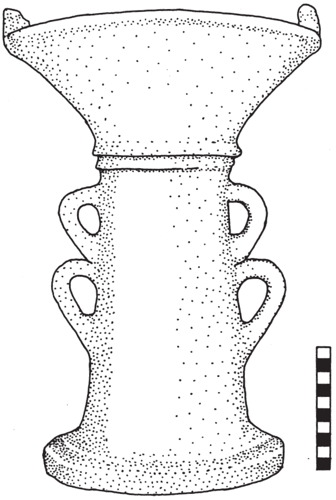




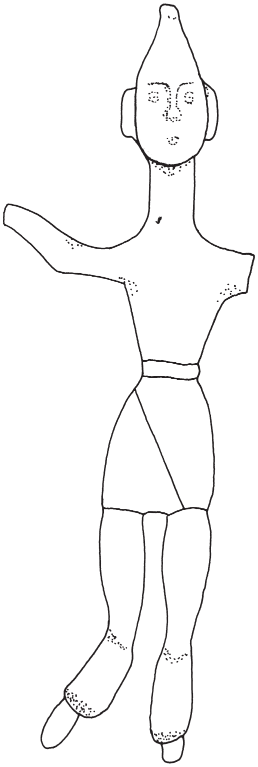
9 a-b. Karphi, terracotta rhyta from Room 27 (A.10); a) after Seiradaki 1960, pl. 13 and b) after Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1937-38, pl. XXXV:2 (drawing by C. Lamens).


BUILDING M
Hearth
G.13
G.3
BUILDING L
G.18
N
VI
V
IV
VII
414
416
417
418
415
419
420
421
422
423
424
425
426
427
G.29
BUILDING K
G.16
BUILDING D
5
G.21
G.9
G.14
BUILDING J
G.31
G.10
G.20
G.12
G.17
G.36
BUILDING O
BUILDING N
Hearth
G.34
G.28
G.35
G.15
Oven
G.8
BUILDING I
G.4
G.5
Oven
G.2
G.11
BUILDING C
BUILDING A
G.24
G.23
G.7
G.30
Hearth
G.33
G.6
BUILDING H
BUILDING B
Burnt Area
BUILDING G (SHRINE)
G.19
Kiln
G.27
G.26
G.25
G.32
BUILDING F
G.1
BUILDING E
KAVOUSI VRONDA SETTLEMENT
1990
0
5
10 m

10. Vronda, site plan (A.20-22); Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1991, 69 fig. 1. Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

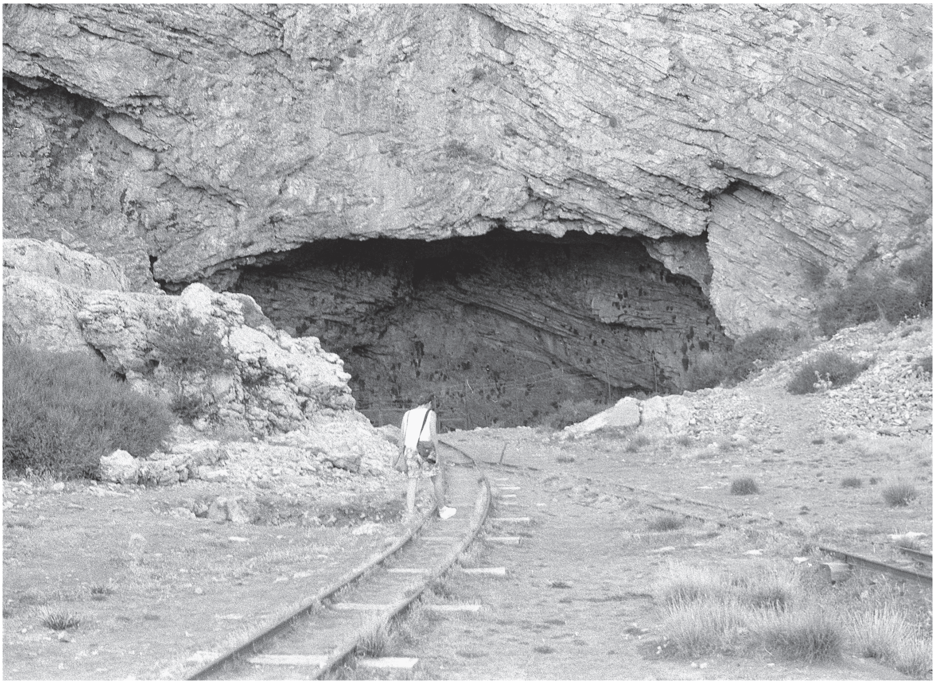


11. Vronda, terracotta 'snake tube' with kalathos attached from Building G (A.21); after Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1991, pl. 63e (drawing by the author).



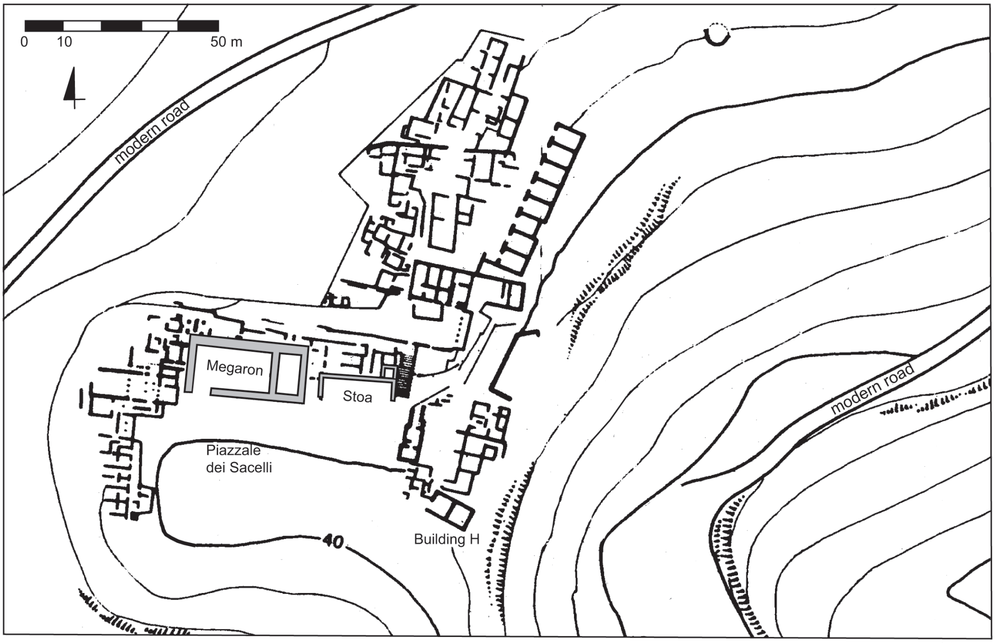
→

12. The Patsos cave (A.23), bronze Reshep figurine (H. 15.3 cm); after Boardman 1961, pl. 25 (no. 371) (drawing by C. Lamens).

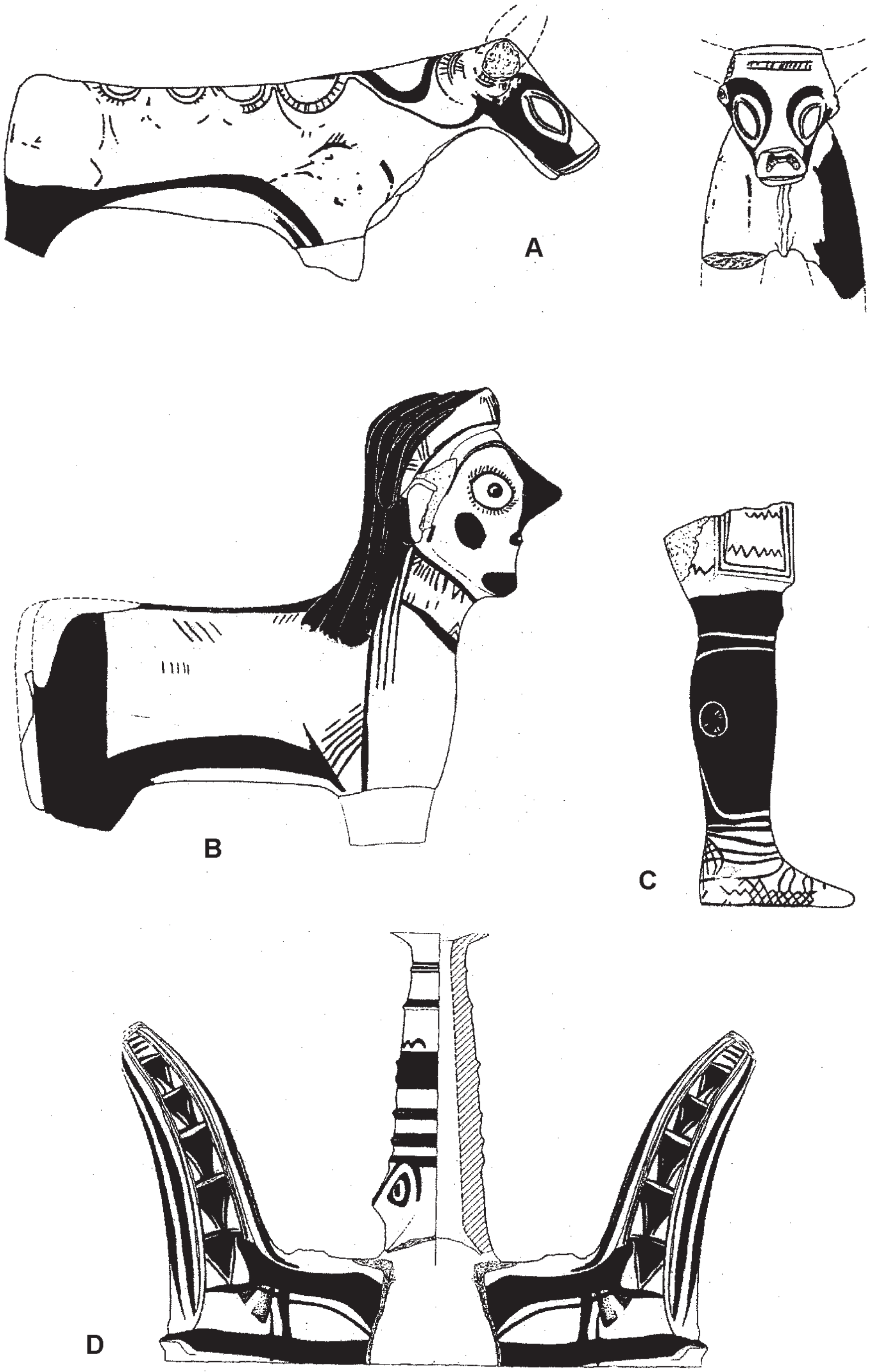


13. The Idaean cave (A.24) (photo by the author).

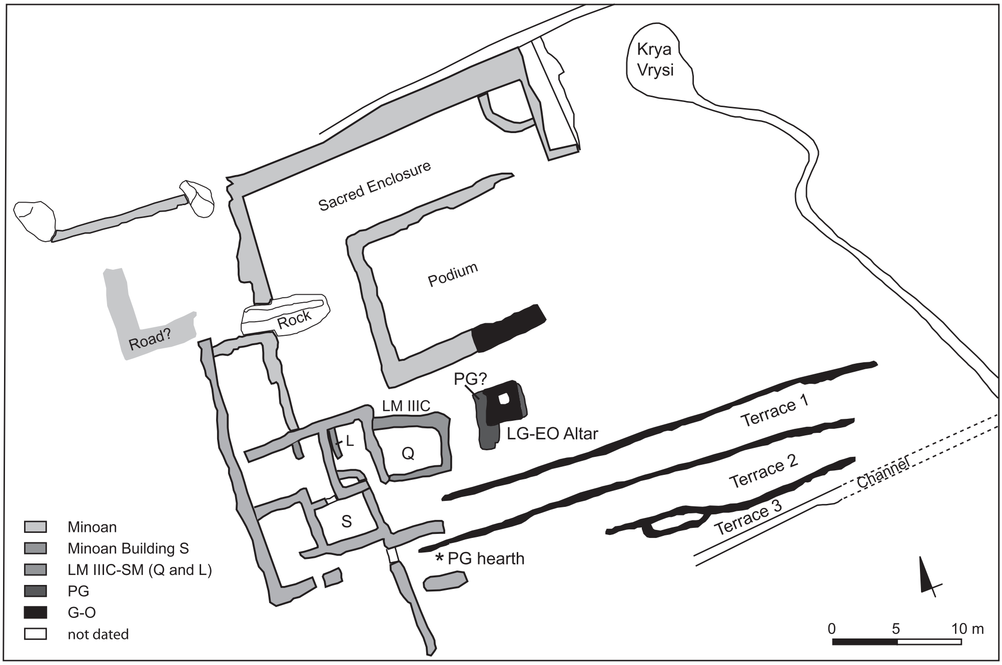
14. Mount Jouktas (A.25), from the northeast (photo by author).


0
10
50 m
modern road
Megaron
Stoa
Piazzale
dei Sacelli
40
Building H
modern road

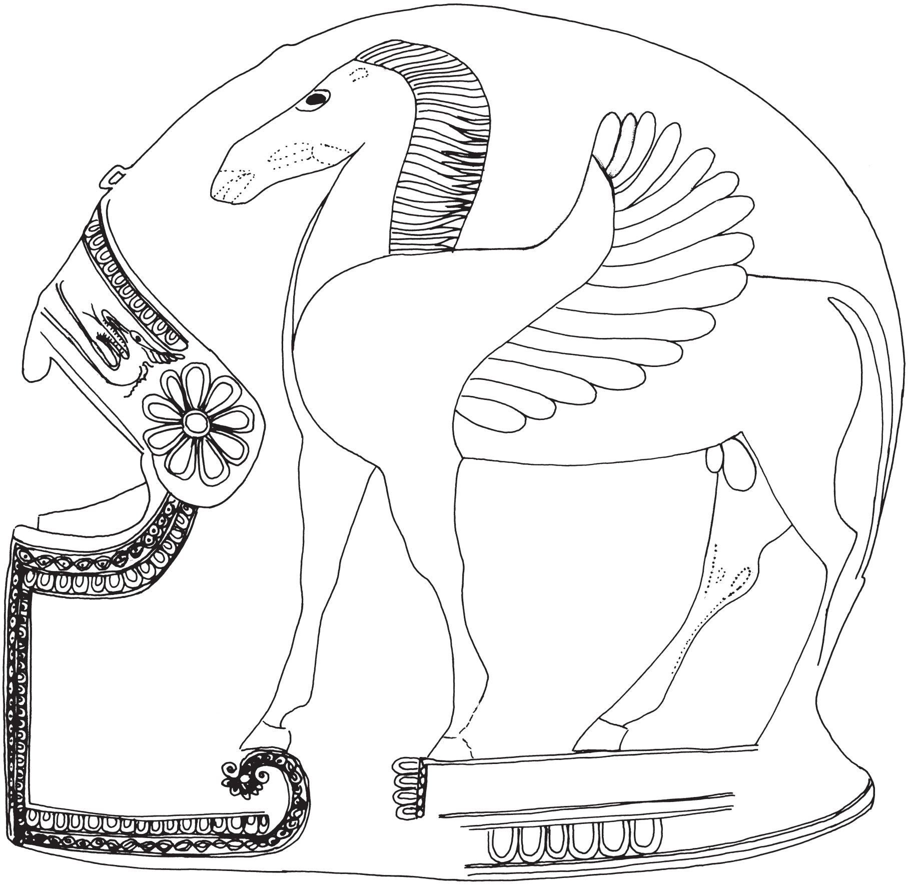
15. Ayia Triada (A.26/B.56), site plan; after La Rosa & D’Agata 1984, 161.



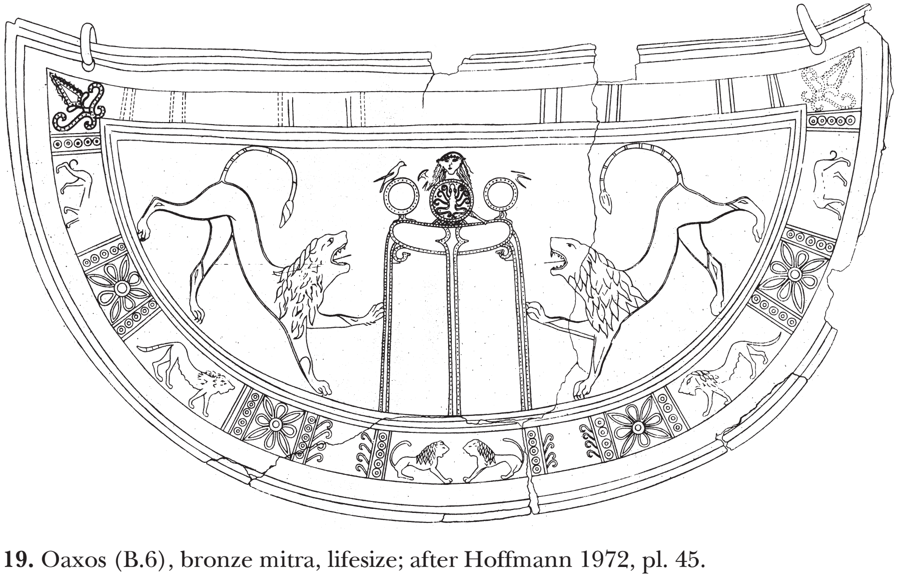
16. Ayia Triada (A.26), **a**) terracotta bovid (D'Agata 1999c, pl. XXXI, no. C 1.7); **b**) terracotta fantastic figure (D'Agata 1999c, pl. LIX, no. C 2.2); **c**) leg of terracotta fantastic figure (D'Agata 1999c, pl. LI, no. C 2.9); **d**) terracotta Horns of Consecration (D'Agata 1999c, pl. LXV, no. C 3.7 and 3.8). Reproduced with permission of the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens.


Krya
Vrysi
Sacred Enclosure
Podium
Rock
Road?
PG?
LM IIIC
L
Q
S
LG-EO Altar
Terrace 1
Terrace 2
Terrace 3
Channel
* PG hearth
Minoan
Minoan Building S
LM IIIC-SM (Q and L)
PG
G-O
not dated
0
5
10 m

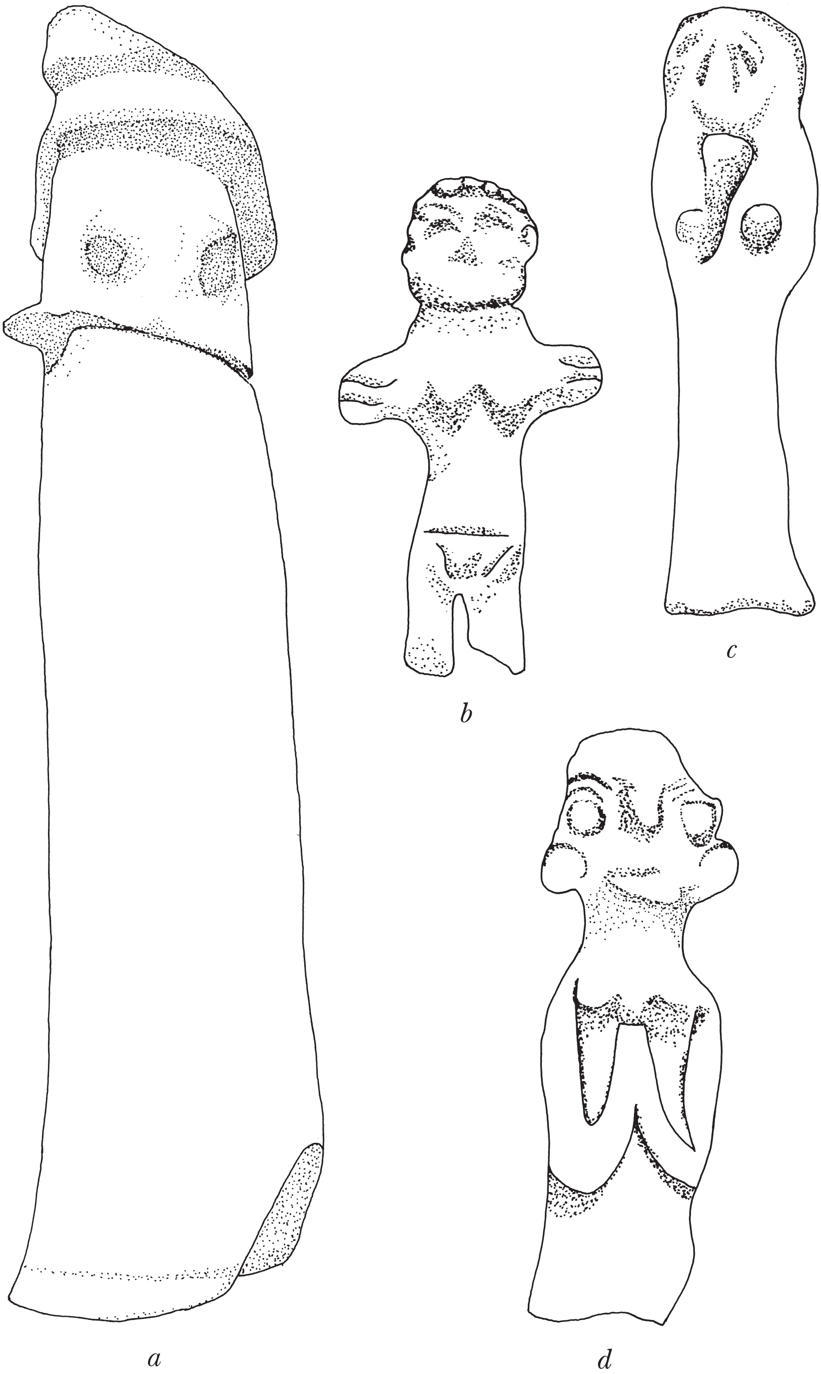
17. Syme (A.31/B.66), site plan; after Schürmann 1996, Tafel 1.



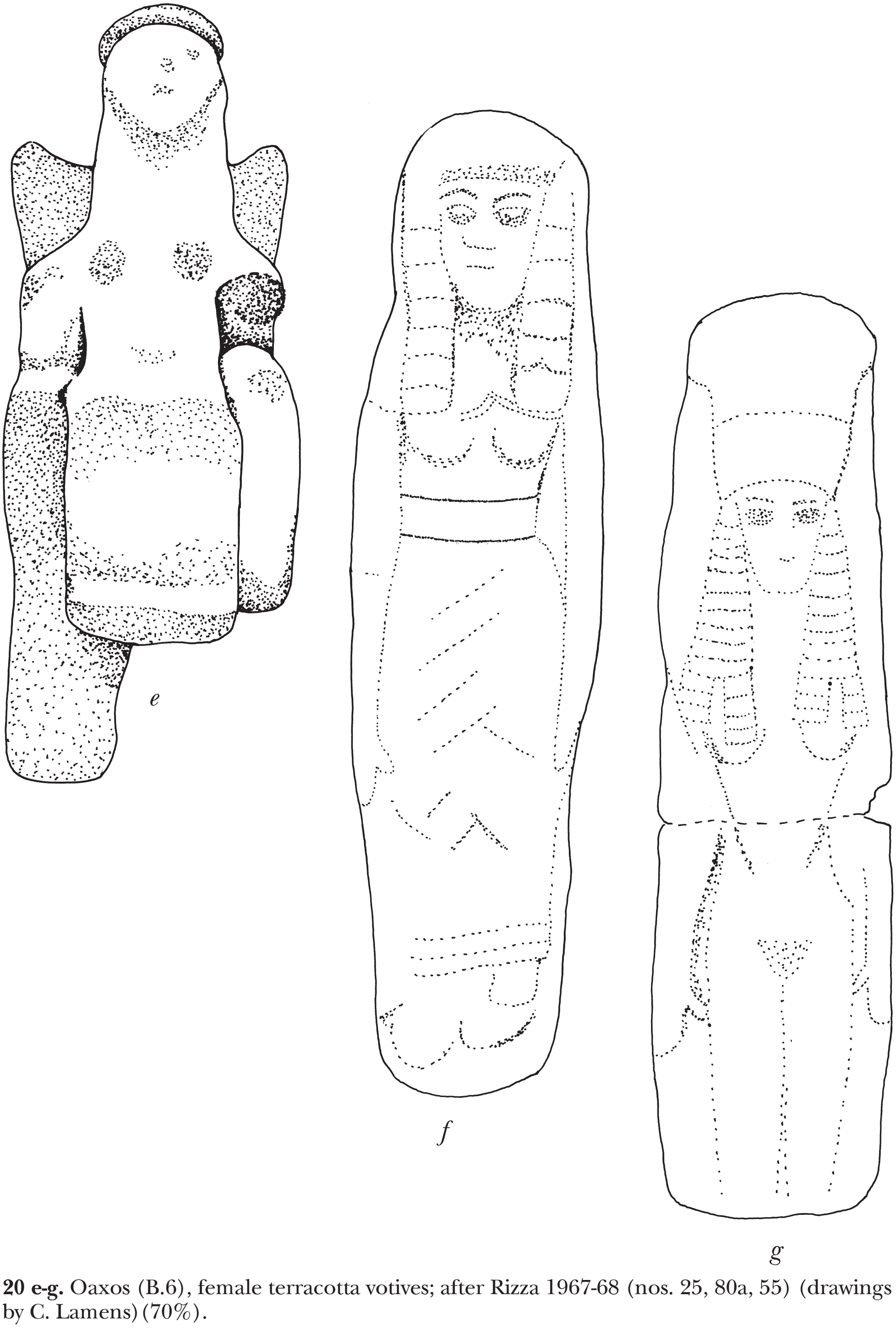
18. Oaxos (B.6), bronze helmet, lifesize; after Hoffmann 1972, pl. 14 (drawing by C. Lamens).



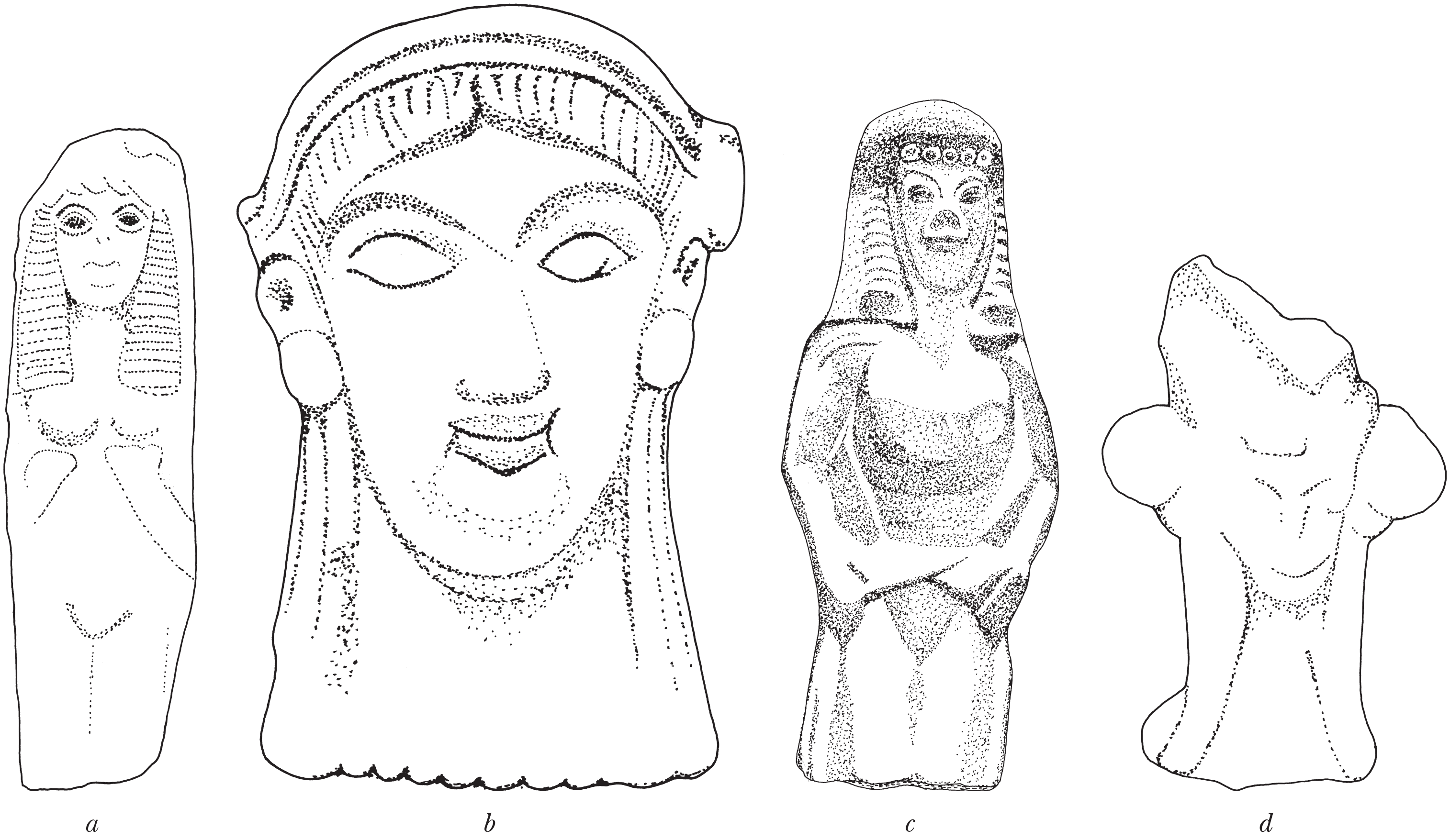
19. Oaxos (B.6), bronze mitra, lifesize; after Hoffmann 1972, pl. 45.



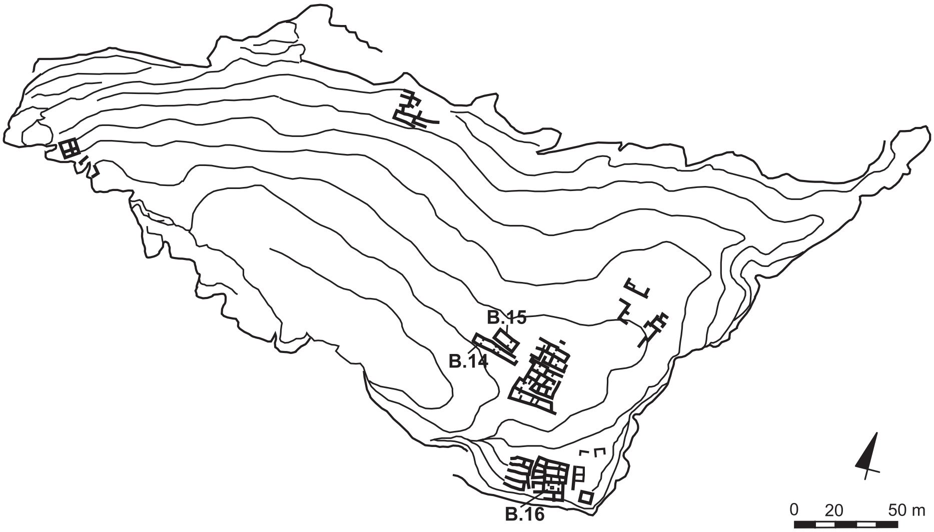
20 a-d. Oaxos (B.6), female terracotta votives; after Rizza 1967-68 (nos. 4, 14, 9, 7) (drawings by C. Lamens) (70%).



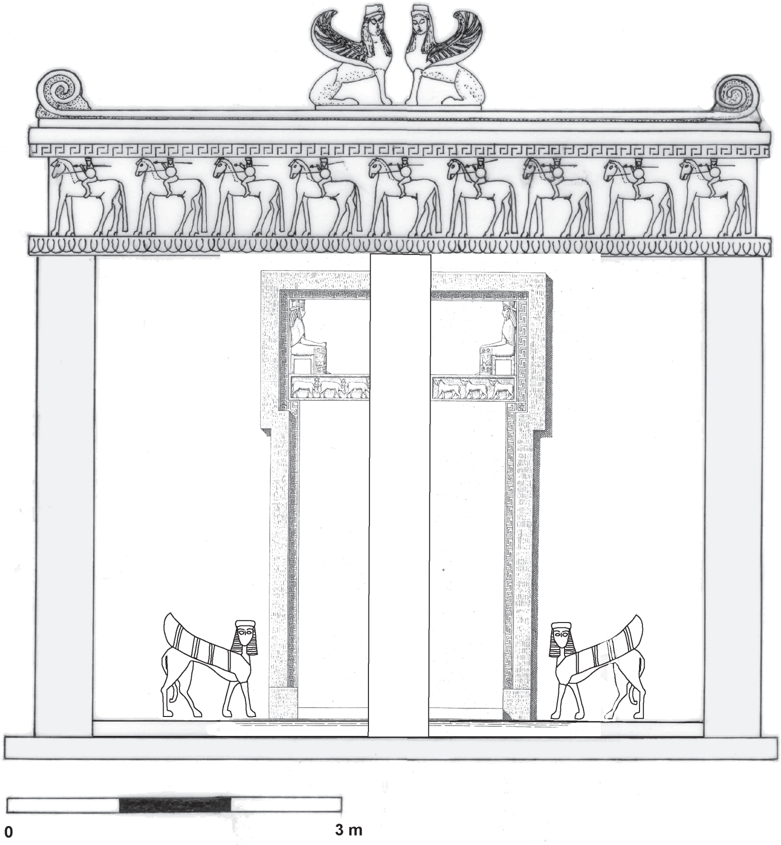
20 e-g. Oaxos (B.6), female terracotta votives; after Rizza 1967-68 (nos. 25, 80a, 55) (drawings by C. Lamens) (70%).



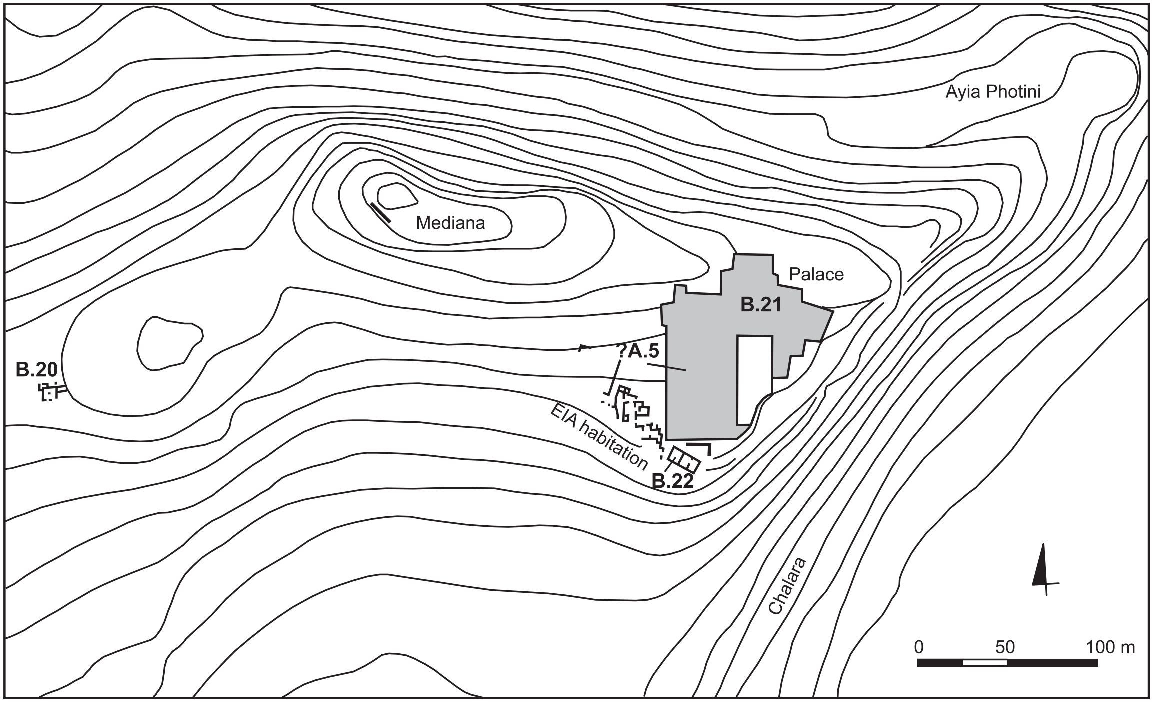
21 a-d. Oaxos (B.6), female terracotta votives; after Rizza 1967-68 (nos. 39a, 35, 101, 86) (drawings by C. Lamens) (70%).


B.15
B.14
B.16
0
20
50 m

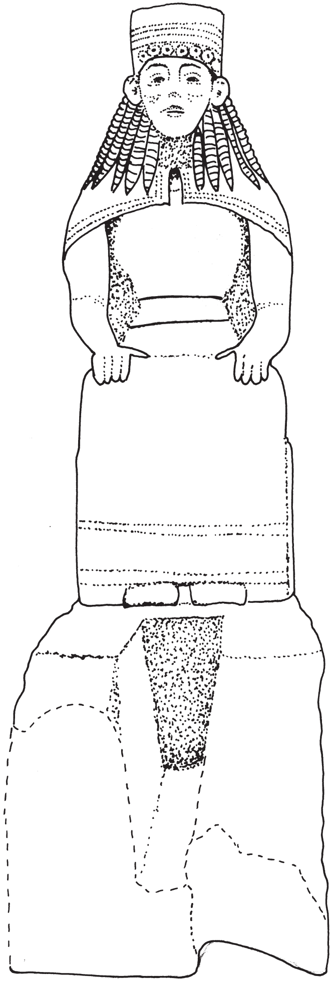
22. Prinias (A.3/B.14-16), site plan; after Rizza 2000, 161, fig. 1.



23. Prinias, reconstruction Temple A (B.15); after Pernier 1914, pls. V, VI and Watrous 1998, fig. 8.1.

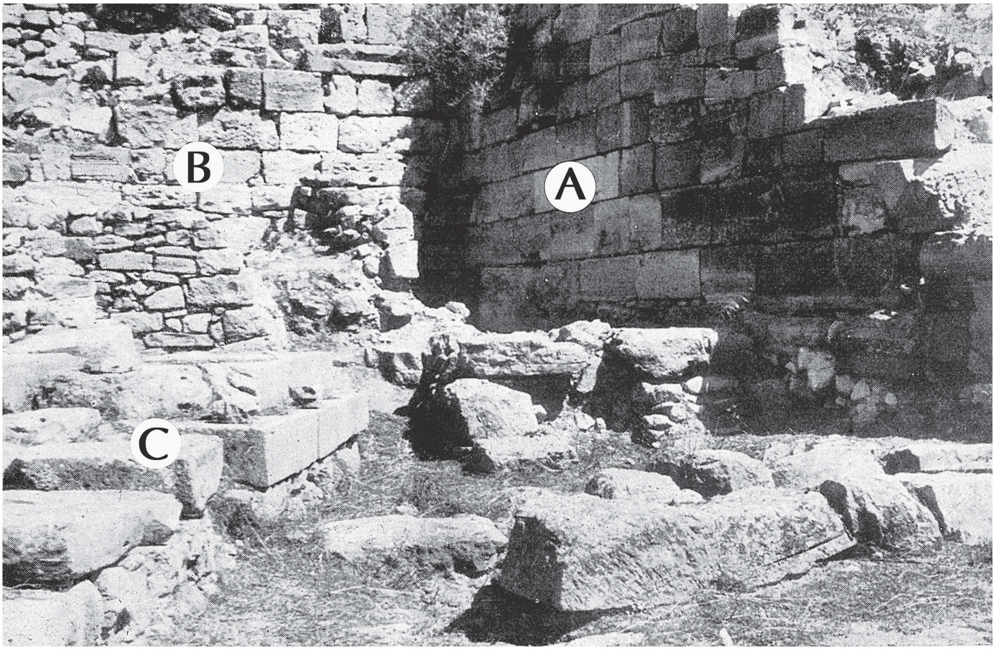

Ayia Photini
Mediana
Palace
B.21
?A.5
B.20
EIA habitation
B.22
Chalara
0
50
100 m

25. Phaistos (A.5/B.20-22), site plan; after La Rosa 1992b, fig. 33.1 and Mazarakis Ainian 1997, fig. 481.

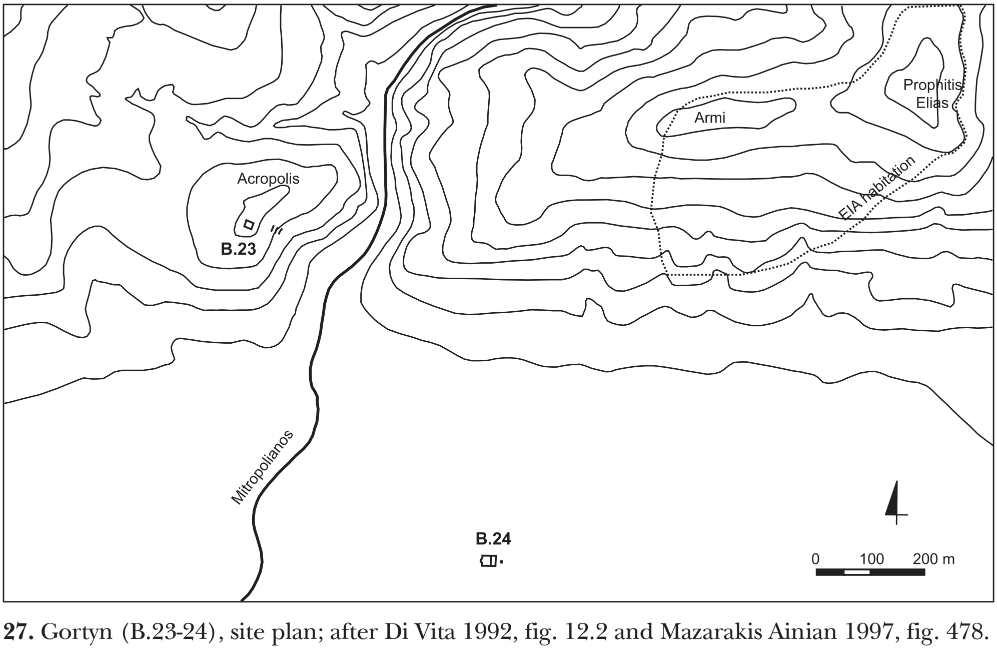


←

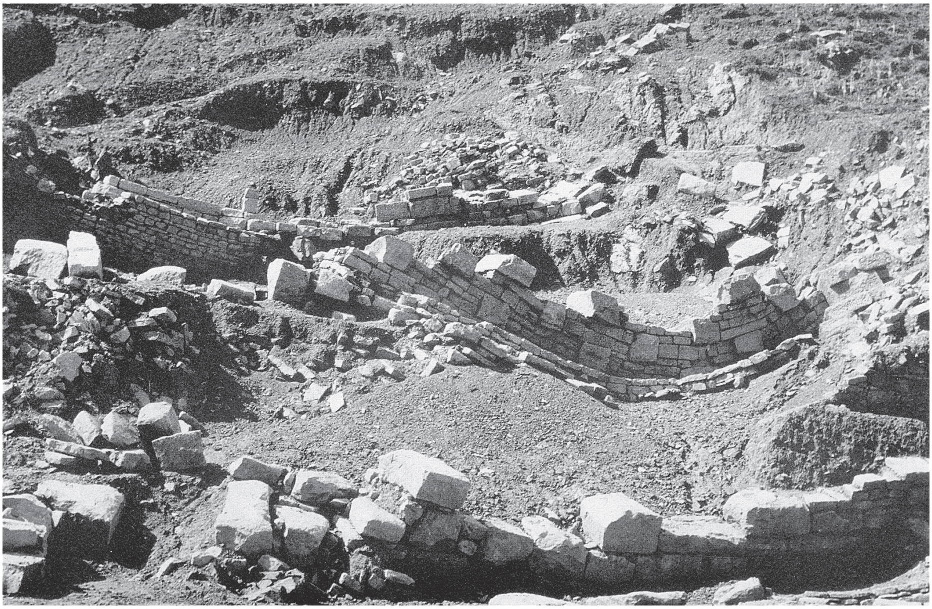
24. Prinias (B.15), sculpture Temple A (H. *c.* 0.70 m); after Rizza & Rizzo 1984, fig. 427 (drawing by C. Lamens).



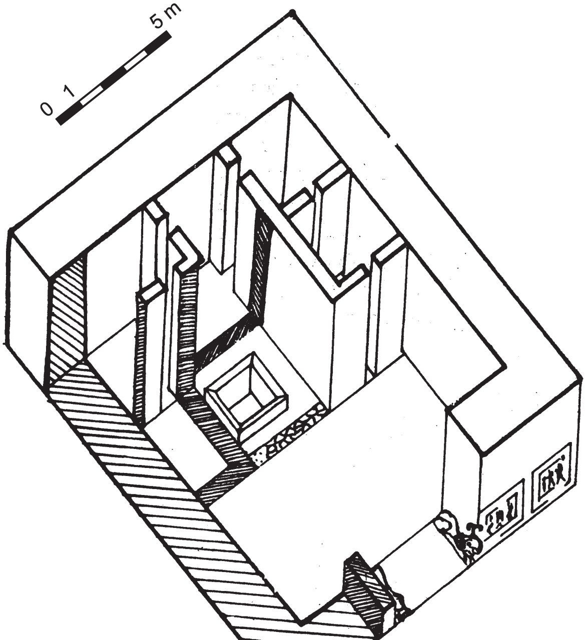
26. Phaistos (B.22), EIA and later sanctuary (C) at the foot of Minoan ashlar walls (A-B); Pernier & Banti 1951, fig. 83. Reproduced with permission of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens.


Prophitis
Elias
Armi
Acropolis
B.23
EIA habitation
Mitropolianos
B.24
0
100
200 m

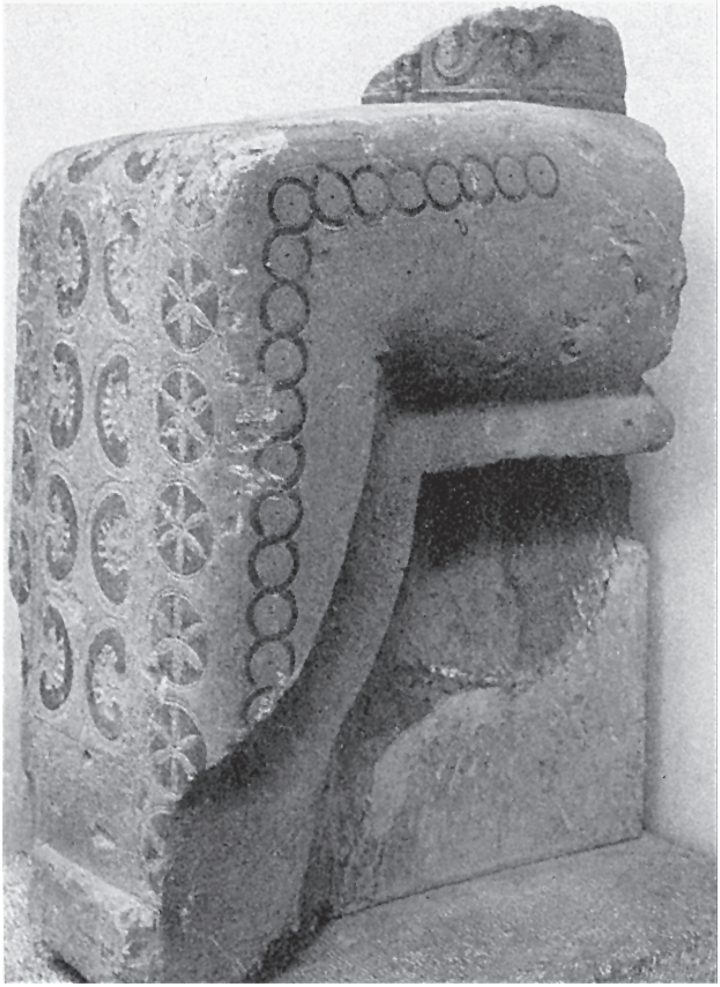
27. Gortyn (B.23-24), site plan; after Di Vita 1992, fig. 12.2 and Mazarakis Ainian 1997, fig. 478.



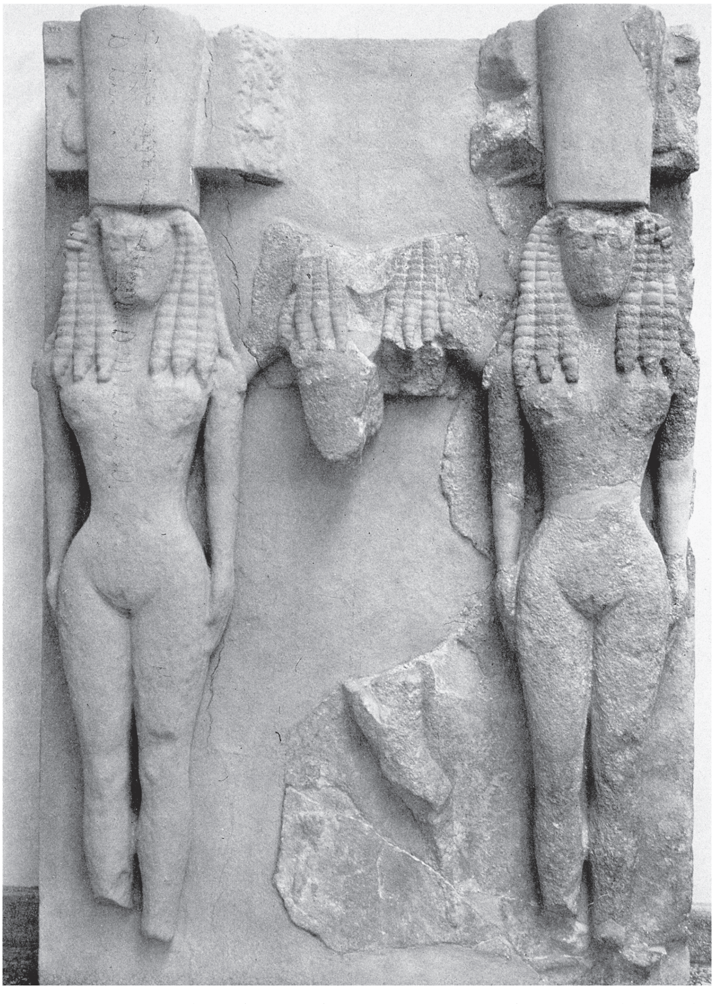
28. Gortyn (B.23), terraces on eastern side Acropolis; Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, fig. 172. Reproduced with permission of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens.



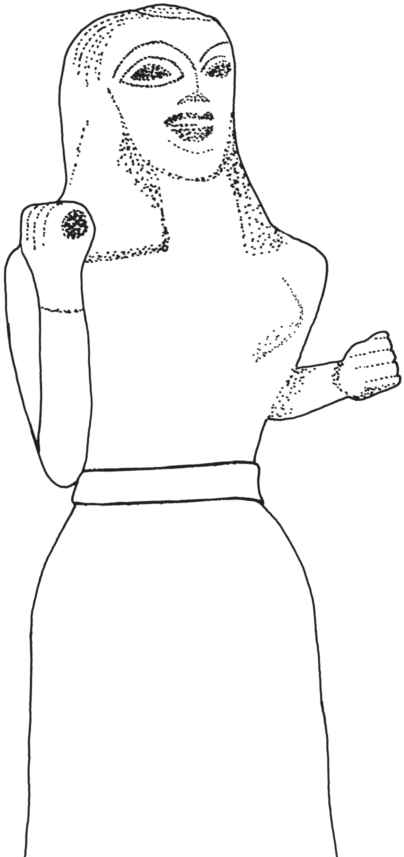
29. Gortyn (B.23), isometric reconstruction of the temple on the summit of the Acropolis; Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, fig. 76. Reproduced with permission of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens.



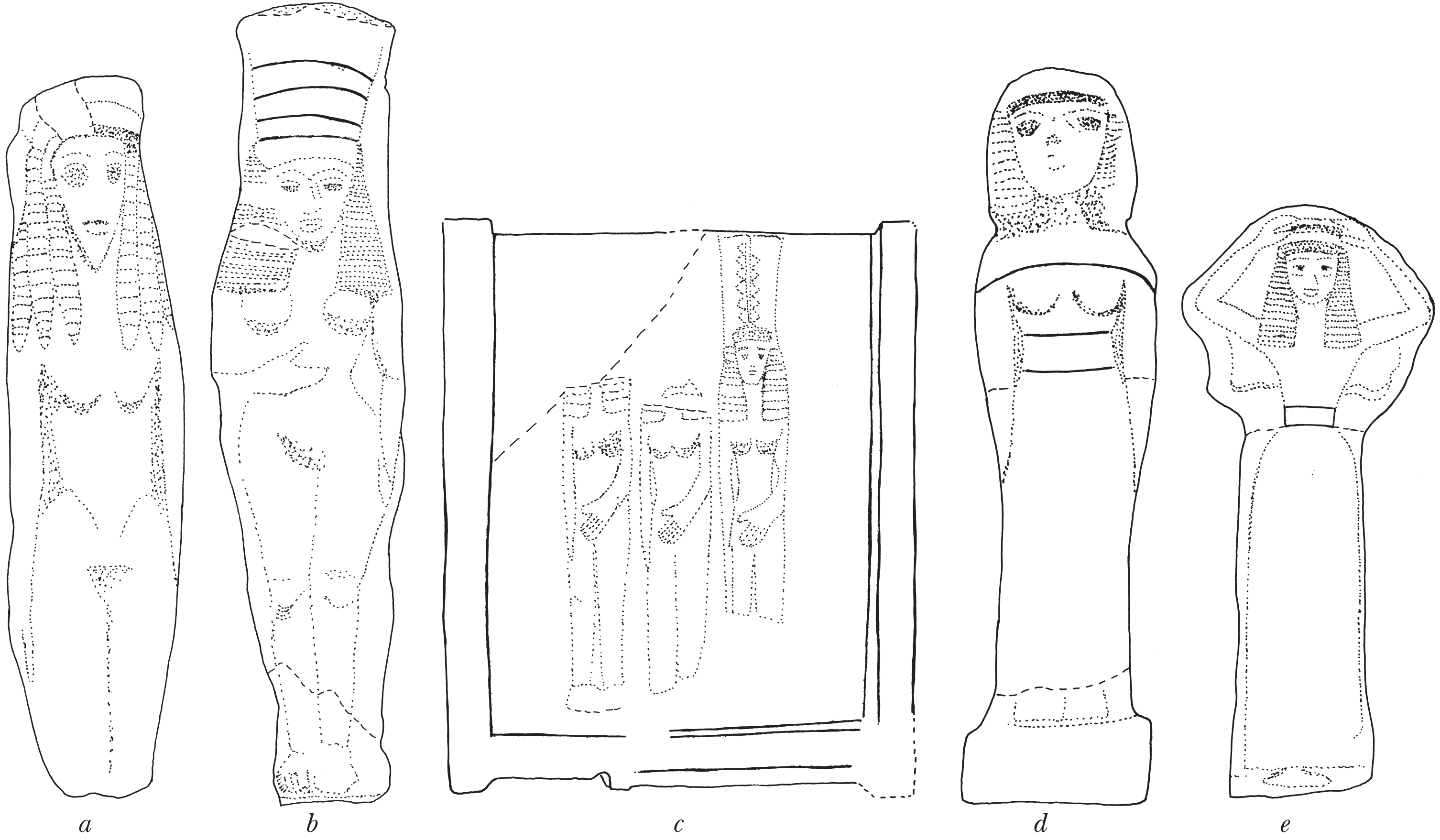
30. Gortyn (B.23), limestone statue of seated female from area of altar (H. *c.* 0.80 m); Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, pl. III. Reproduced with permission of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens.



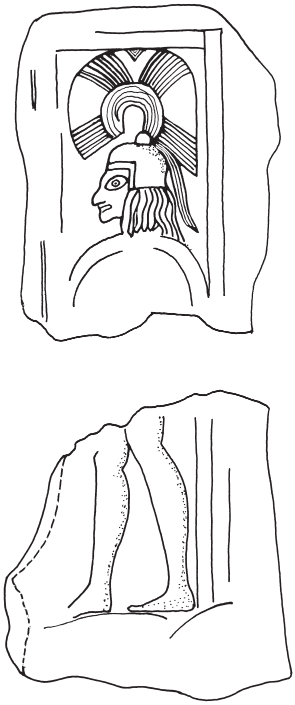
31. Gortyn (B.23), relief sculpture from temple (H. *c.* 1.50 m); Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, pl. IV. Reproduced with permission of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens.



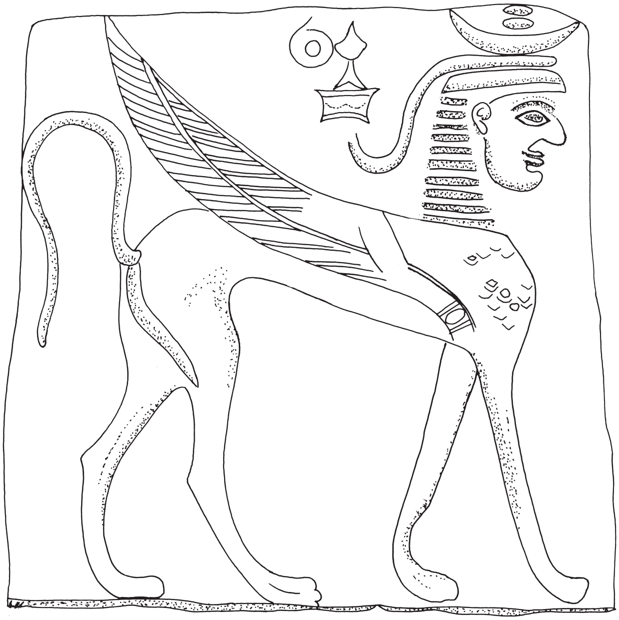
32. Gortyn (B.23), terracotta Palladion from sanctuary at Acropolis; after Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, pl. XI (drawing by C. Lamens) (35%).



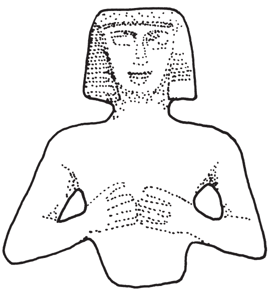
33 a-e. Gortyn (B.23), female terracotta votives from sanctuary at Acropolis; after Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, nos. 60a, 120a, 124, 198, 167a, (drawings by C. Lamens) (70%).



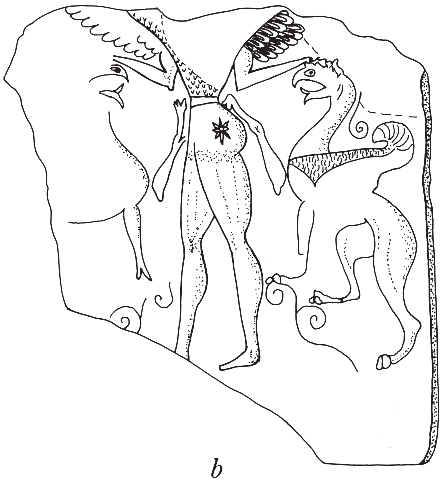
a



a



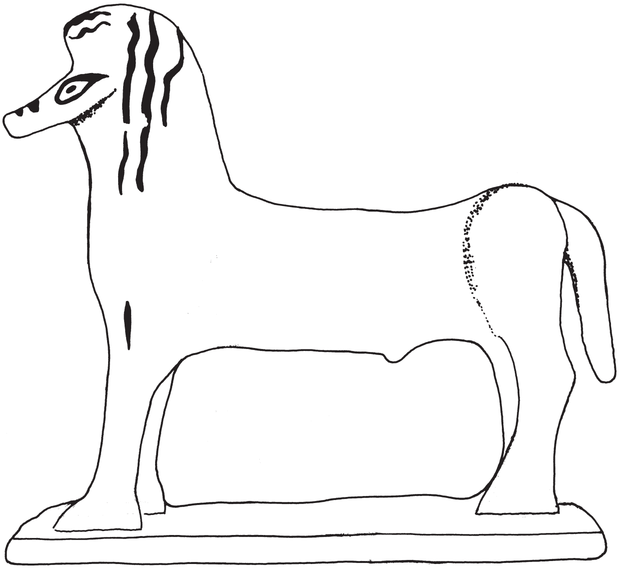
b



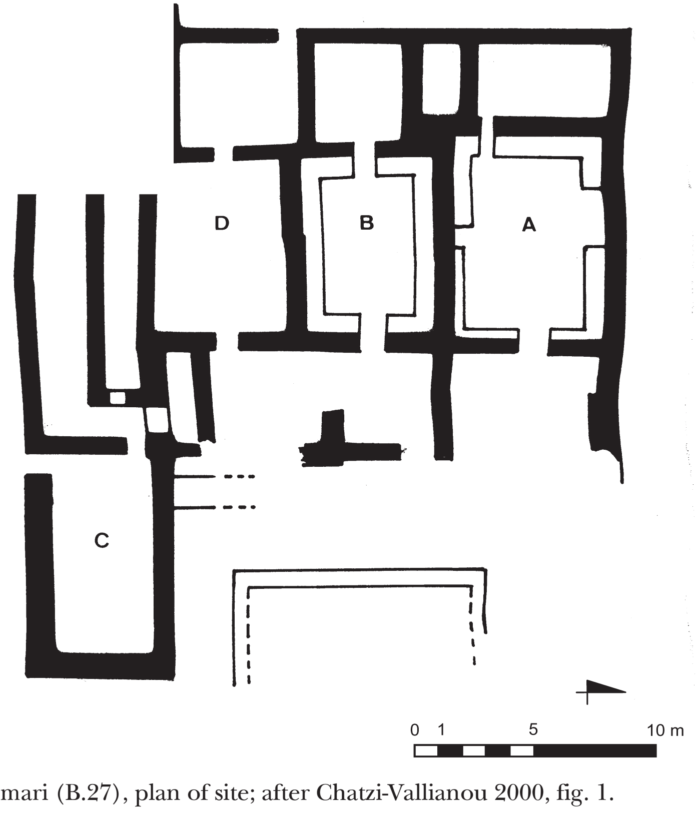
b

34 a-b. Gortyn (B.23), male terracotta votives from sanctuary at Acropolis; after Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, nos. 168a-b, 161 (drawings by C. Lamens) (70%).

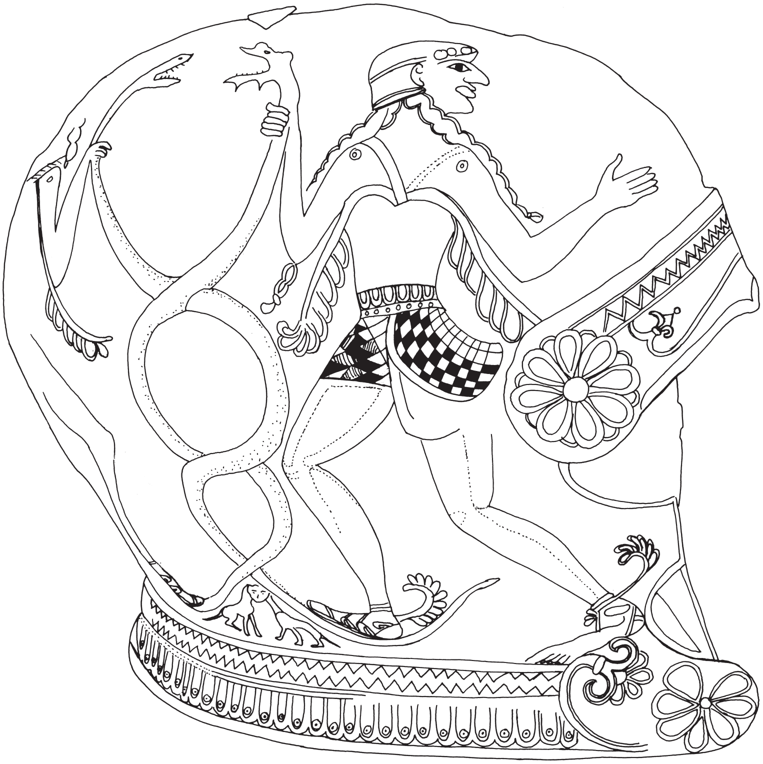
35 a-b. Gortyn (B.23), terracotta plaques from sanctuary at Acropolis; after Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, nos. 172, 127 (drawings by C. Lamens) (50%).



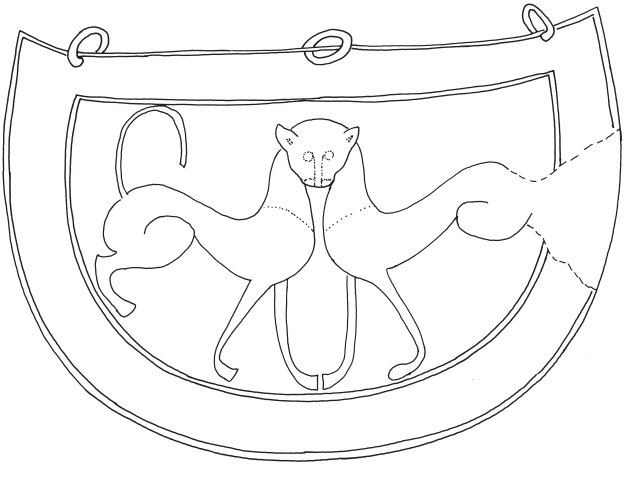
36. Gortyn (B.23), terracotta horse figure from sanctuary at Acropolis; after Rizza & Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, no. 280 (drawing by C. Lamens) (35%).



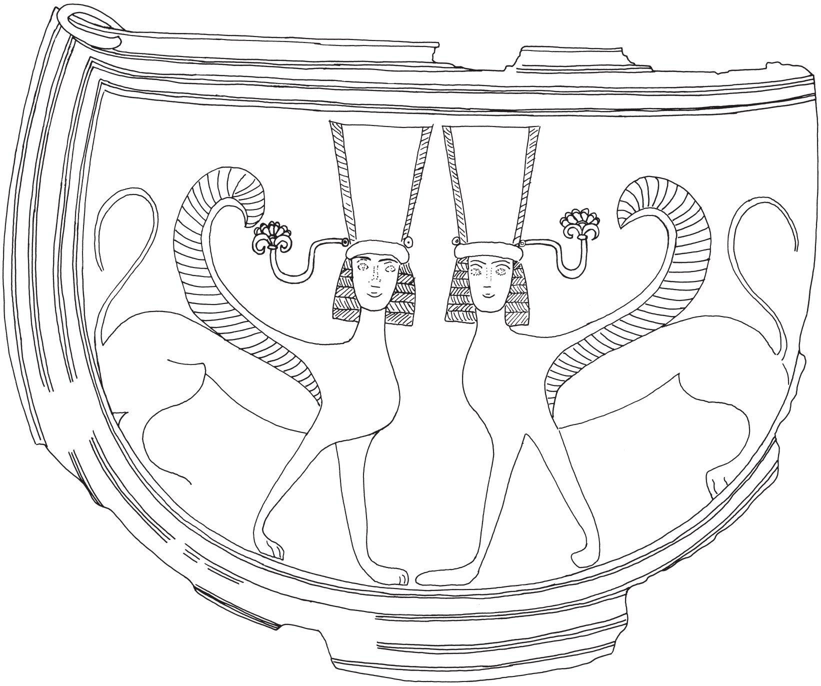
37. Smari (B.27), plan of site; after Chatzi-Vallianou 2000, fig. 1.



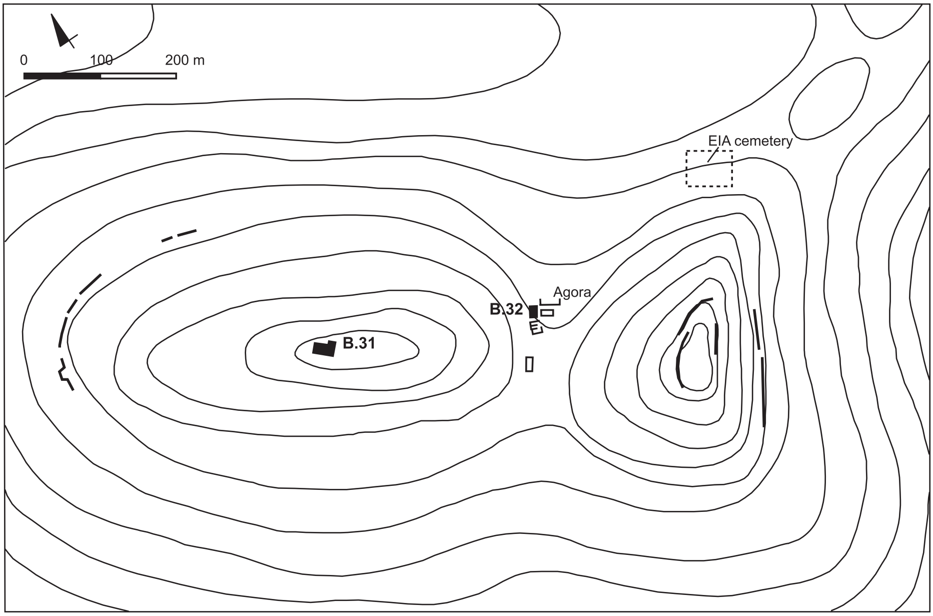
38. Aphrati (B.28), lifesize bronze helmet (H. 21 cm); after Hoffmann 1972, pl. 1 (drawing by C. Lamens).



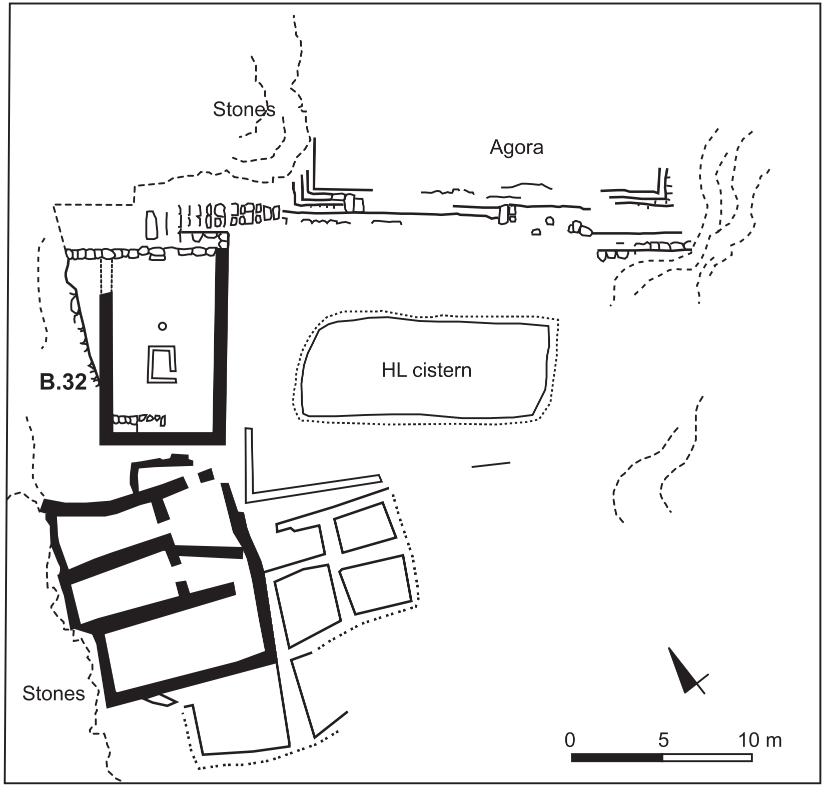
39. Aphrati (B.28), lifesize bronze mitra (H. 16.1 cm); after Hoffmann 1972, pl. 36 (drawing by C. Lamens).



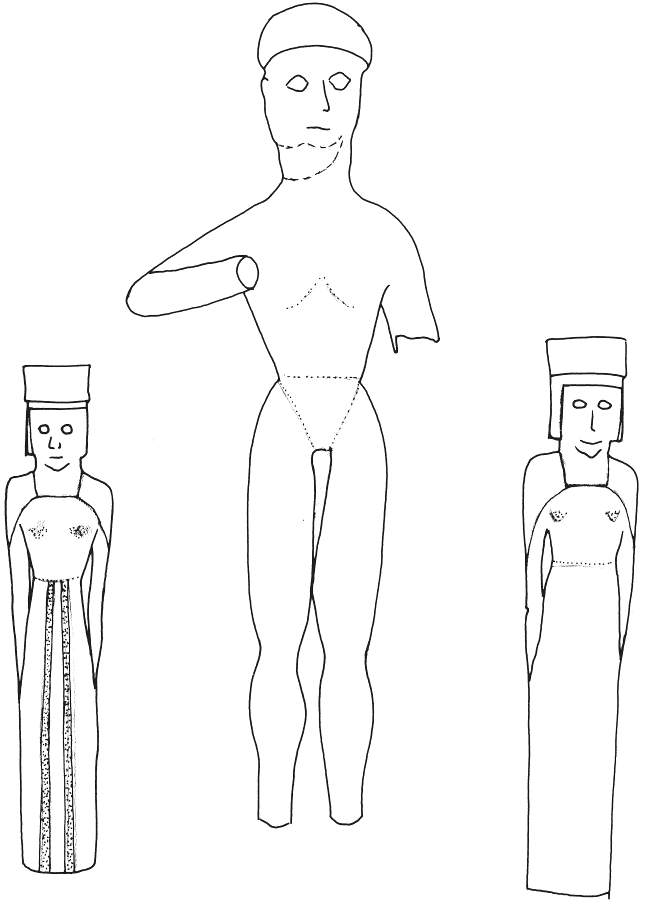
40. Aphrati (B.28), lifesize bronze mitra (H. 17.4 cm); after Hoffmann 1972, pl. 32 (drawing by C. Lamens).


0
100
200 m
EIA cemetery
Agora
B.32
B.31

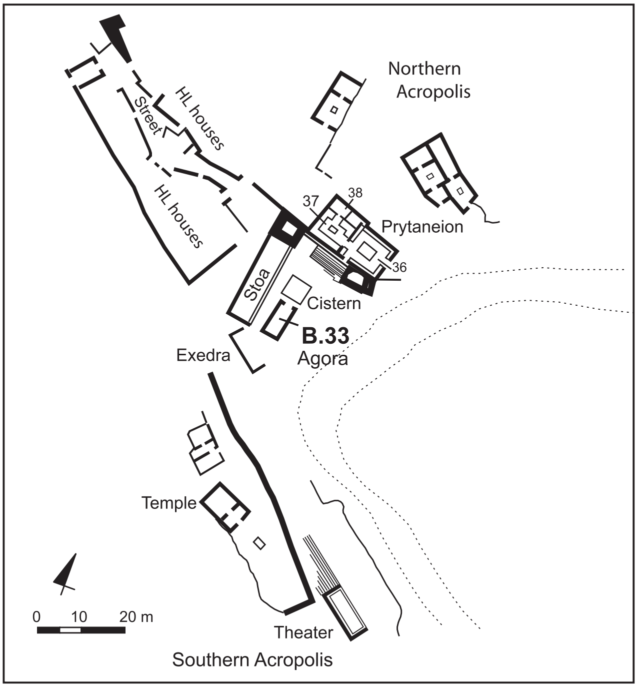
41. Dreros (B.31-32), site plan; after Demargne & Van Effenterre 1937a, 6 fig. 2.


Stones
Agora
B.32
HL cistern
Stones
0
5
10 m

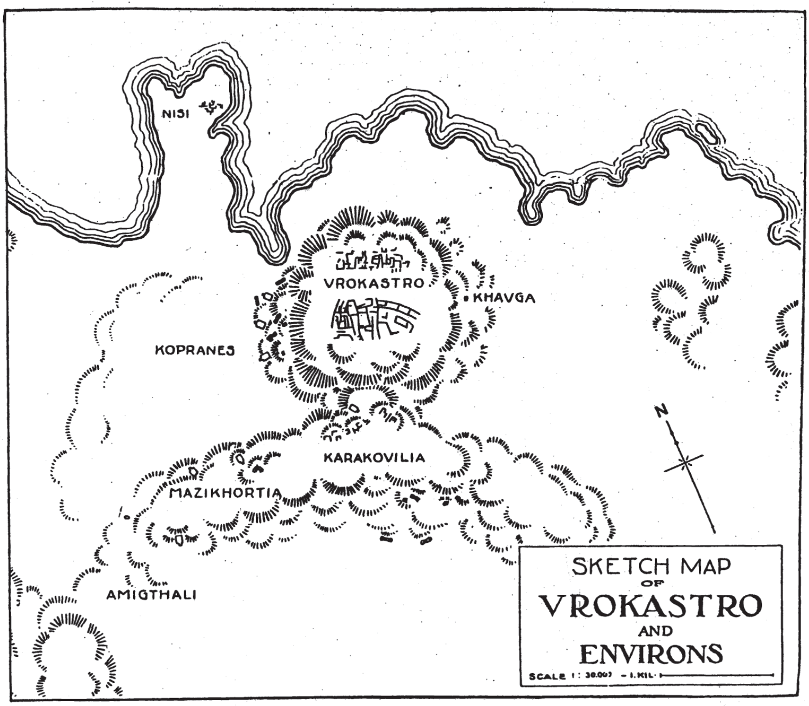
42. Dreros, saddle with cult building (B.32) and agora; after Tiré & Van Effenterre 1978, fig. 25.



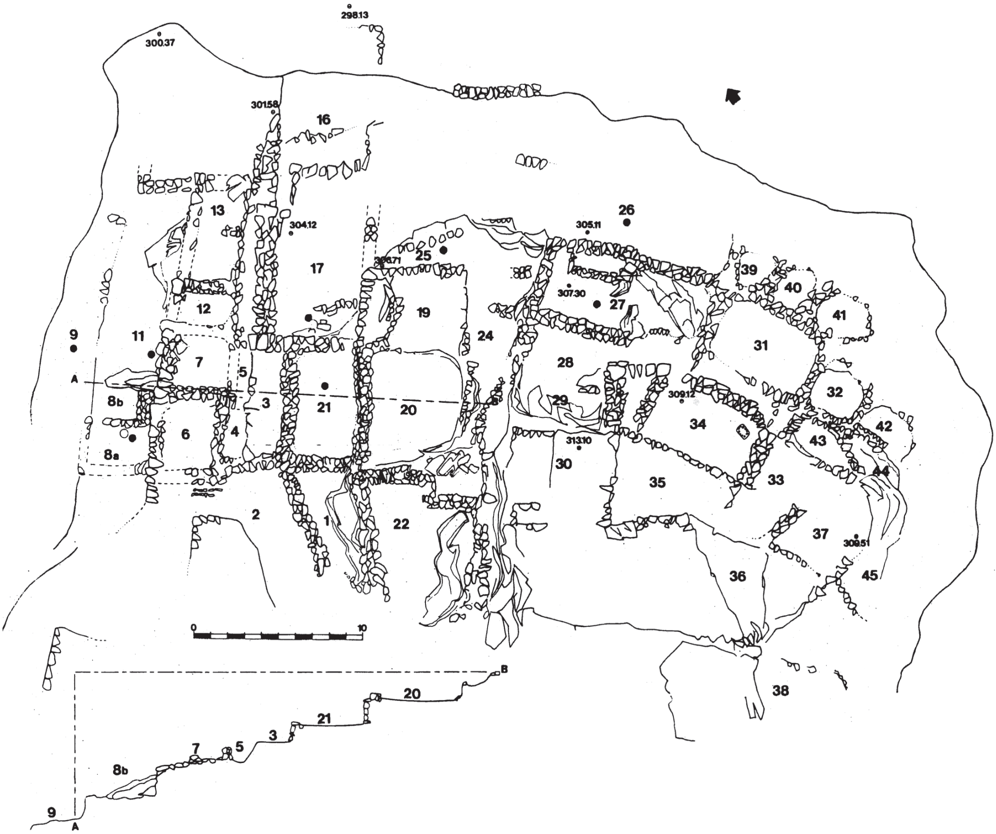
43. Dreros, bronze sphyrelaton statues (H. *c.* 0.80 and 0.45 m) from the cult building in the saddle (B.32); after Marinatos 1935-36, fig. 3 (drawing by C. Lamens).


Northern Acropolis
HL houses
Street
HL houses
37
38
Prytaneion
36
Stoa
Cistern
B.33
Agora
Exedra
Temple
0 10 20 m
Theater
Southern Acropolis

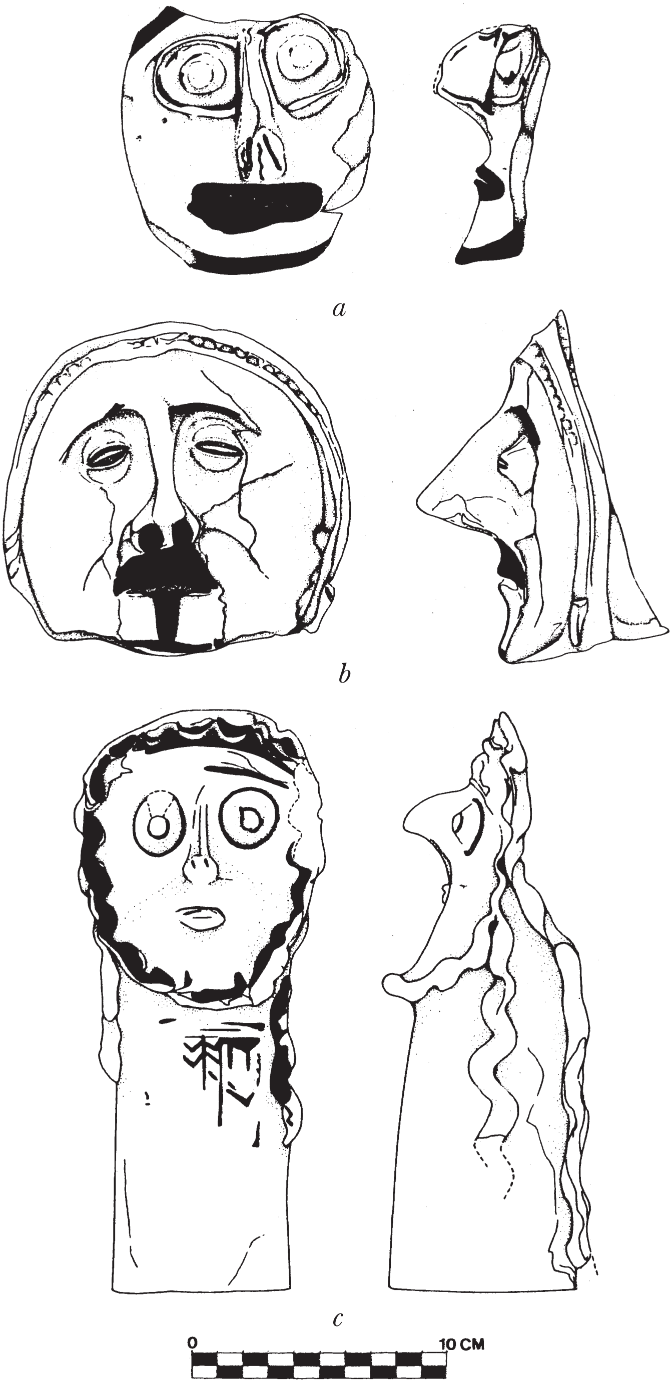
44. Lato (B.33), site plan; after Picard 1992, fig. 19.1.


NISI
VROKASTRO
KHAVGA
KOPRANES
KARAKOVILIA
MAZIKHORTIA
AMIGTHALI
N
SKETCH MAP OF VROKASTRO AND ENVIRONS
SCALE 1 : 30.000 – 1. KIL.

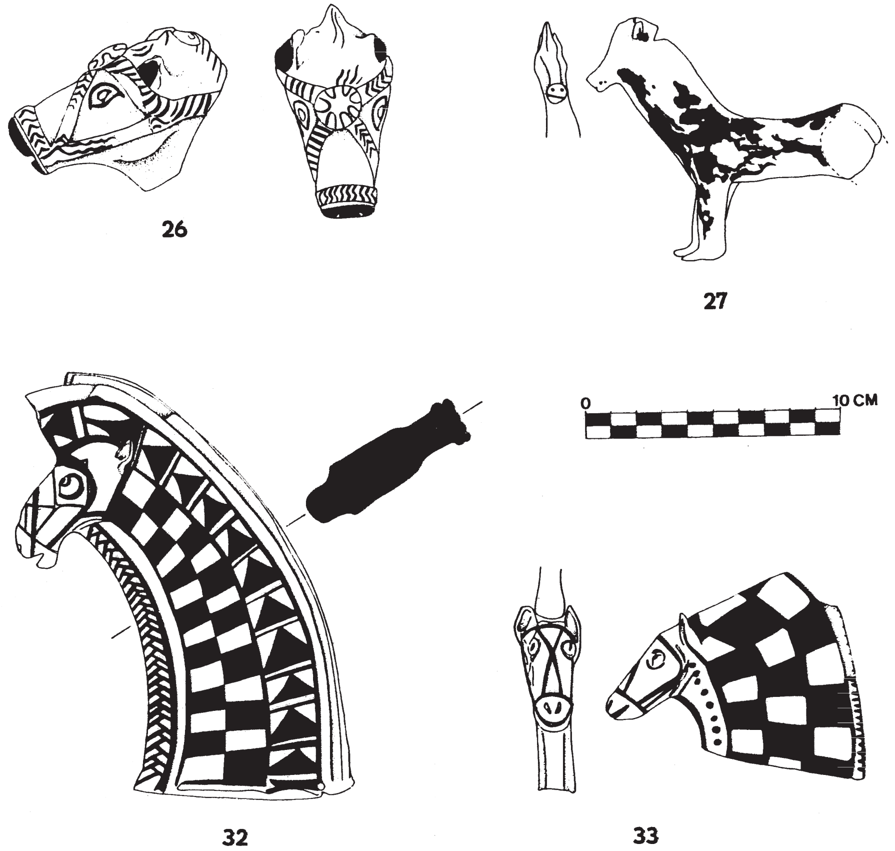
45. Vrokastro and environs (B.36-37); after Hall 1914, pl. XVII.


298.13
300.37
301.58
16
13
304.12
17
26
305.11
25
308.71
39
40
307.30
27
12
19
41
9
11
7
24
31
A
5
28
8b
3
21
20
29
309.12
32
34
42
6
4
43
8a
313.10
30
35
33
44
2
1
22
37
309.51
36
45
0
10
38
B
20
21
3
7
5
8b
9
A

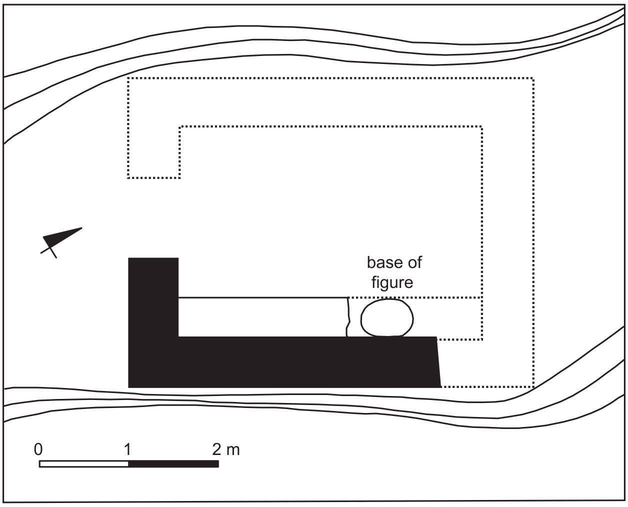
46. Vrokastro (B.36), plan of upper settlement; Hayden 1991, fig. 2. Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens.



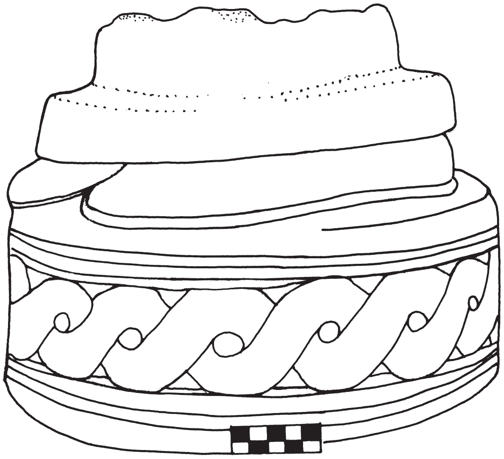
47 a-c. Vrokastro (B.36), terracotta human heads from **a**) Room 17 (no. 41, male), **b**) Room 9 (no. 39, male ?), **c**) Room 26 (no. 40, female?); Hayden 1991, figs. 12-13. Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens.


26
27
0
10 CM
32
33

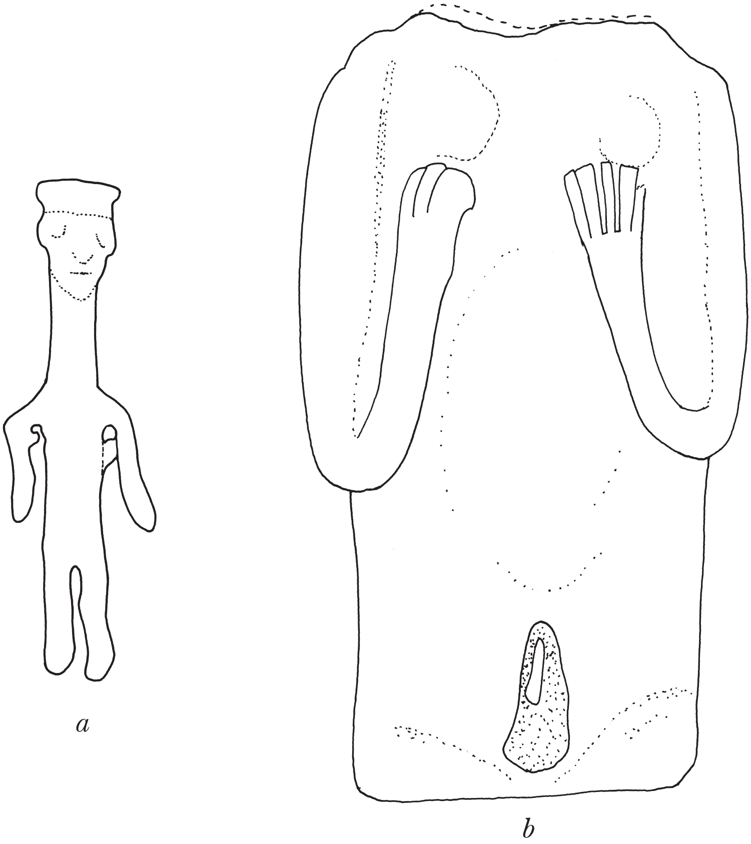
48. Vrokastro (B.36), terracotta objects from Room 11 (nos. 26-27, 32-33); Hayden 1991, figs. 10-11. Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens.


base of figure
0
1
2 m

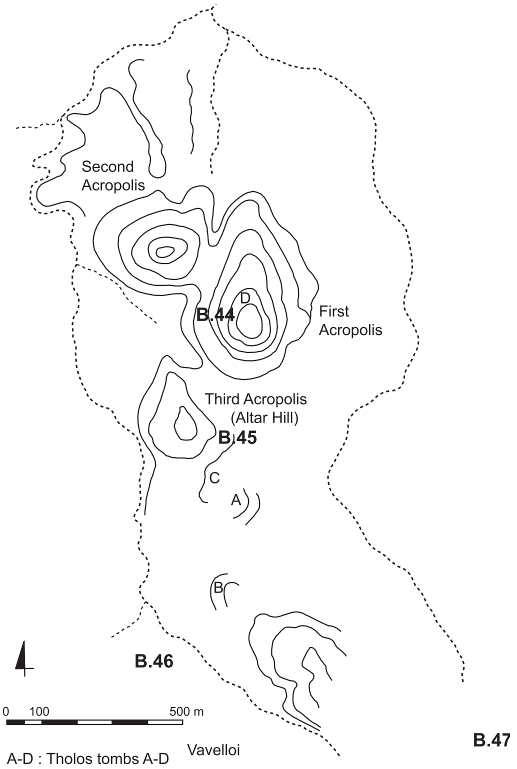
49. Pachlitzani Agriada (B.40), site plan; after Alexiou 1956, fig. 1.



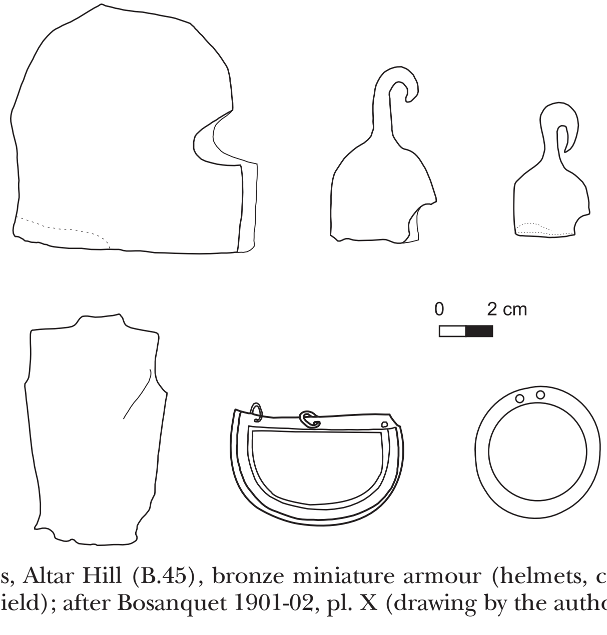
50. Pachlitzani Agriada (B.40), base of terracotta figure; after Alexiou 1957, pl. G.1 (drawing by C. Lamens).



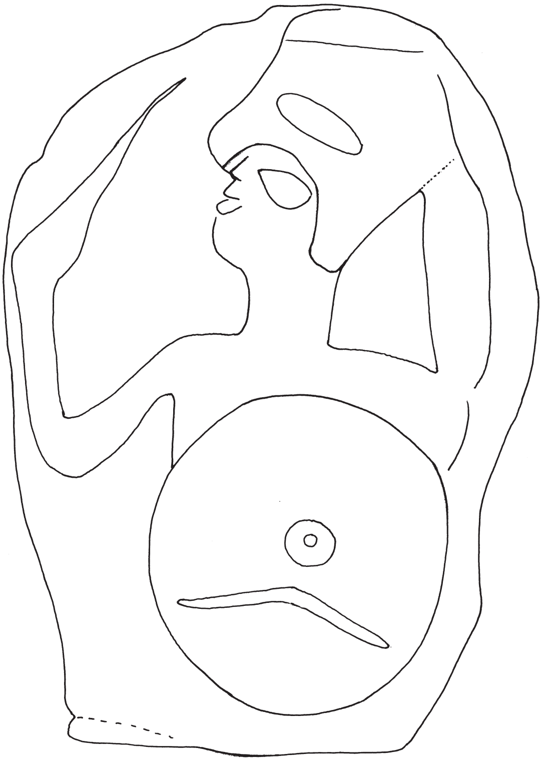
51 a-b. Pachlitzani Agriada (B.40), bronze (a) and terracotta (b) female votives; after Alexiou 1956, pls. A.1-2 (drawings by C. Lamens) (70%).


Second
Acropolis
First
Acropolis
D
B.44
Third Acropolis
(Altar Hill)
B.45
C
A
B
B.46
B.47
0
100
500 m
A-D : Tholos tombs A-D
Vavelloi

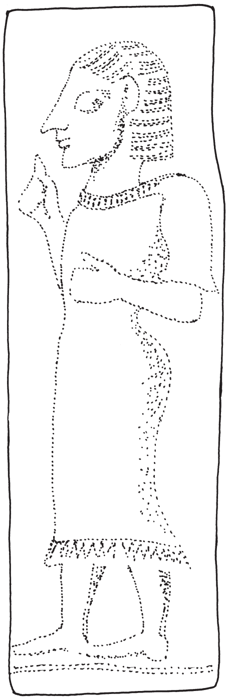
52. Praisos (B.44-47), site plan; after Whitley 1992, fig. 37.1.



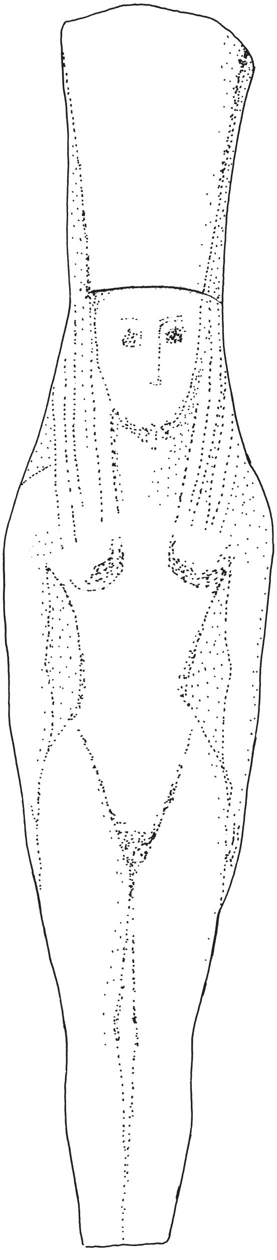
53. Praisos, Altar Hill (B.45), bronze miniature armour (helmets, cuirass, mitra and shield); after Bosanquet 1901-02, pl. X (drawing by the author).



a

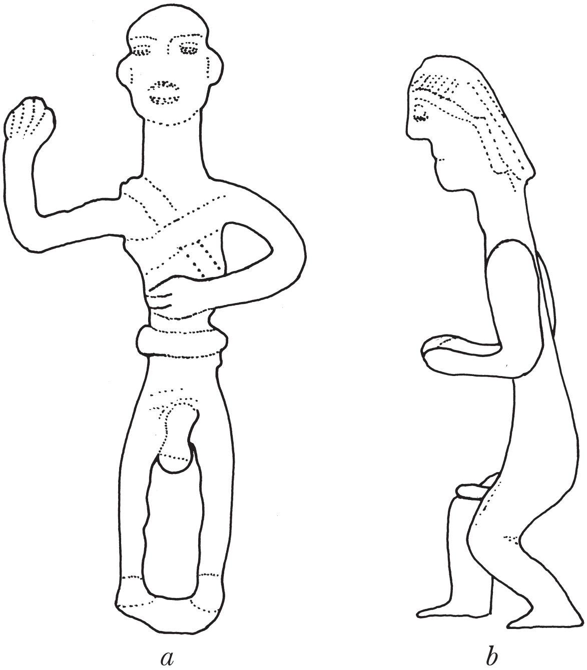


b

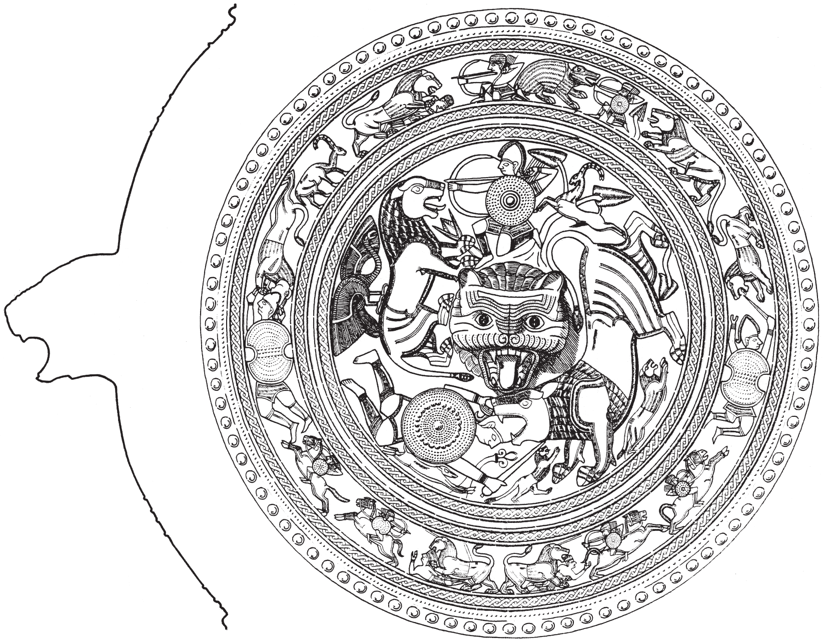


c

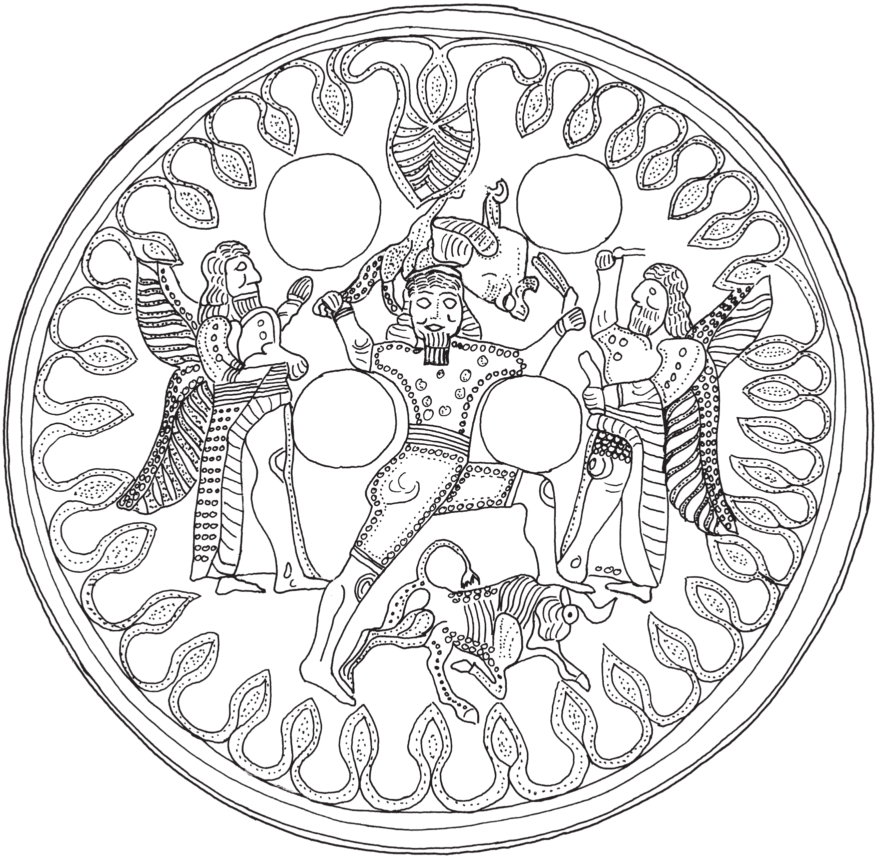
54 a-c. Praisos, Vavelloi (B.46), male (a-b) and female (c) terracotta votives; after Higgins 1954, no. 575, Halbherr 1901, pl. XII (no. 1) and pl. X (no. 1) (drawings by C. Lamens) (70%).



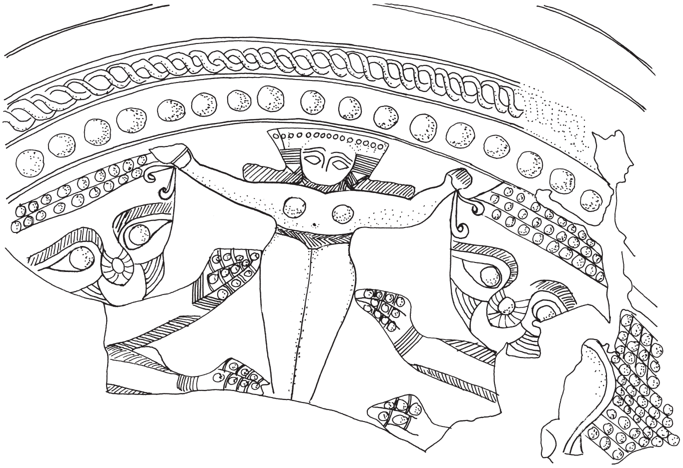
55 a-b. Patsos (B.51), bronze figurines; after Verlinden 1984, nos. 227 and 228 (drawings by C. Lamens) (70%).



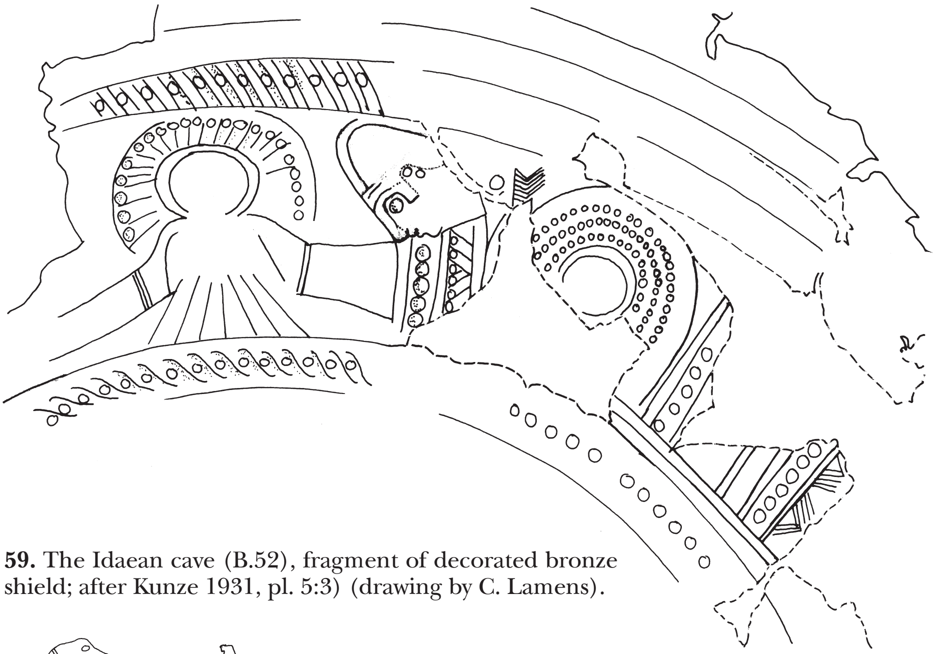
56. The Idaean cave (B.52), bronze decorated shield with lion protome (diam. *c.* 0.83 m); after Kunze 1931, Beilage 1.



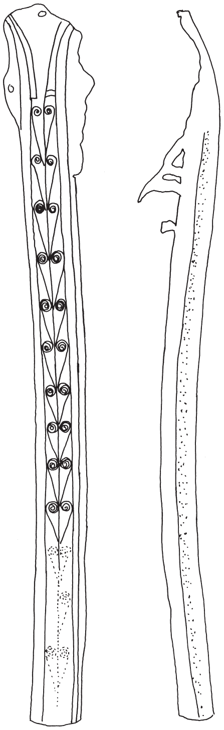
57. The Idaean cave (B.52), bronze tympanon (diam. 0.60 m); after Kunze 1931, pl. 49 (drawing by C. Lamens).



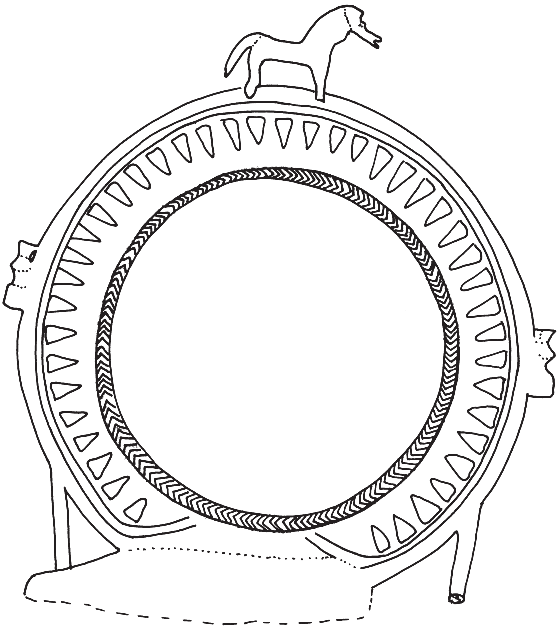
58. The Idaean cave (B.52), fragment of decorated bronze shield with nude female; after Kunze 1931, pl. 5:2 (drawing by C. Lamens).



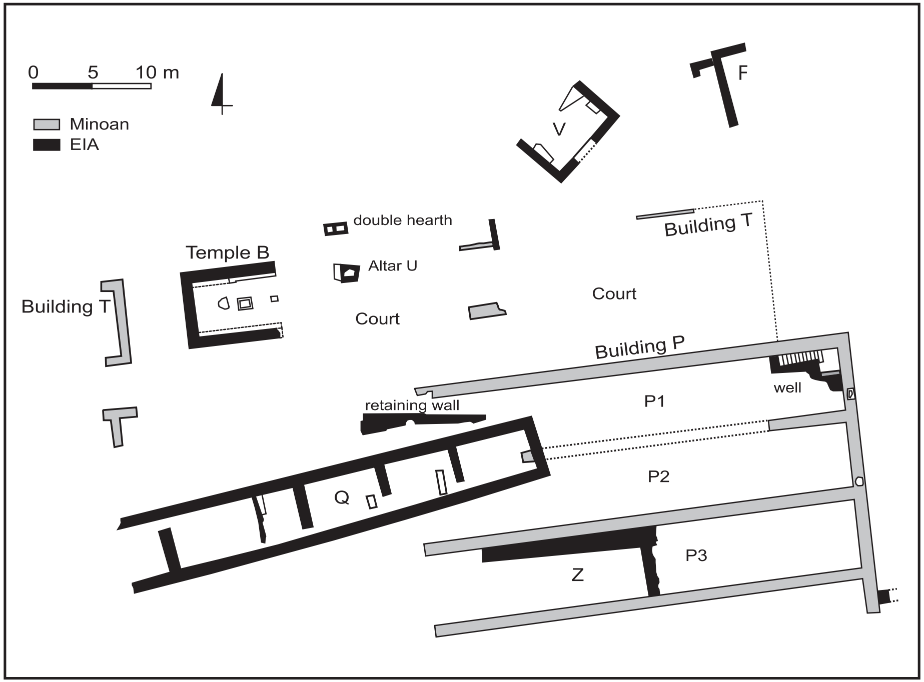
59. The Idaean cave (B.52), fragment of decorated bronze shield; after Kunze 1931, pl. 5:3) (drawing by C. Lamens).



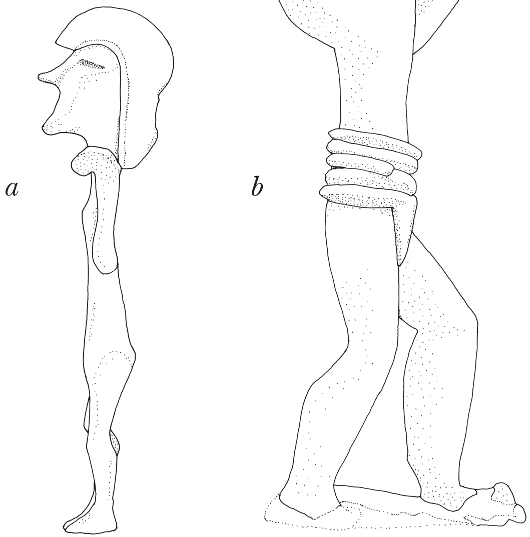
60. The Idaean cave (B.52), fragment of bronze tripod leg (H. *c.* 0.77 m); after Maas 1977, nos.1-2 (drawing by C. Lamens).



61. The Idaean cave (B.52), fragment of bronze tripod handle (H. *c.* 0.26 m); after Boardman 1961, pl. XXVII (no. 377) (drawing by C. Lamens).

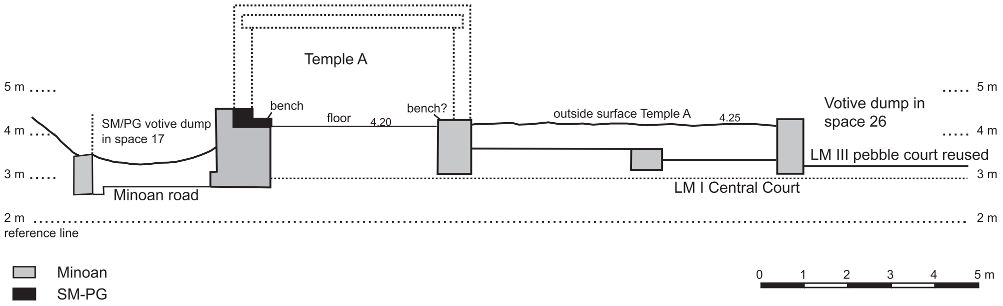

0
5
10 m
Minoan
EIA
F
V
double hearth
Building T
Temple B
Altar U
Building T
Court
Court
Building P
well
P1
retaining wall
P2
Q
P3
Z

63. Kommos (B.57), site plan; after Shaw & Shaw (eds) 2000, pl. F.

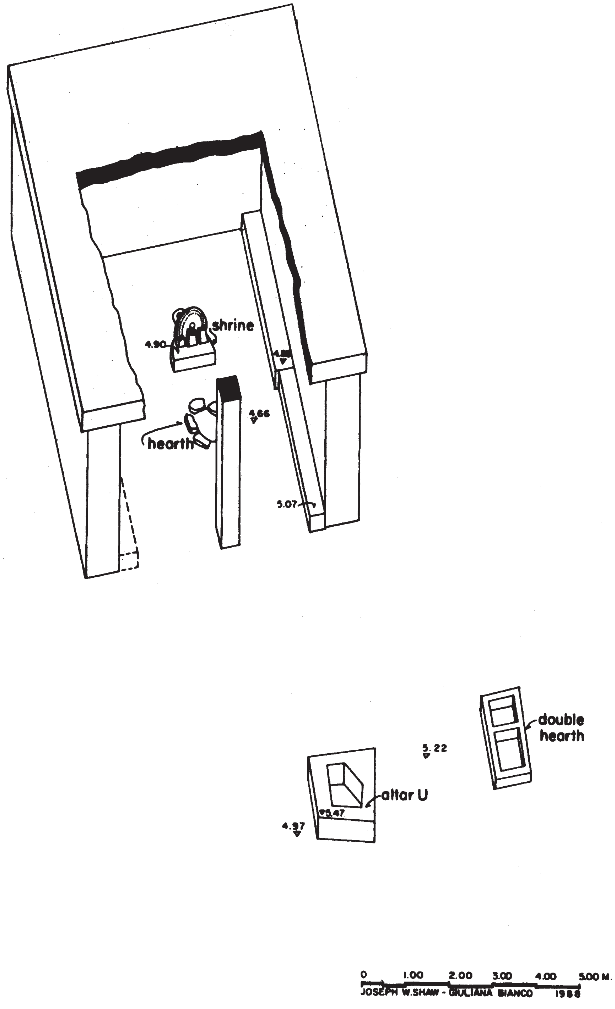


←

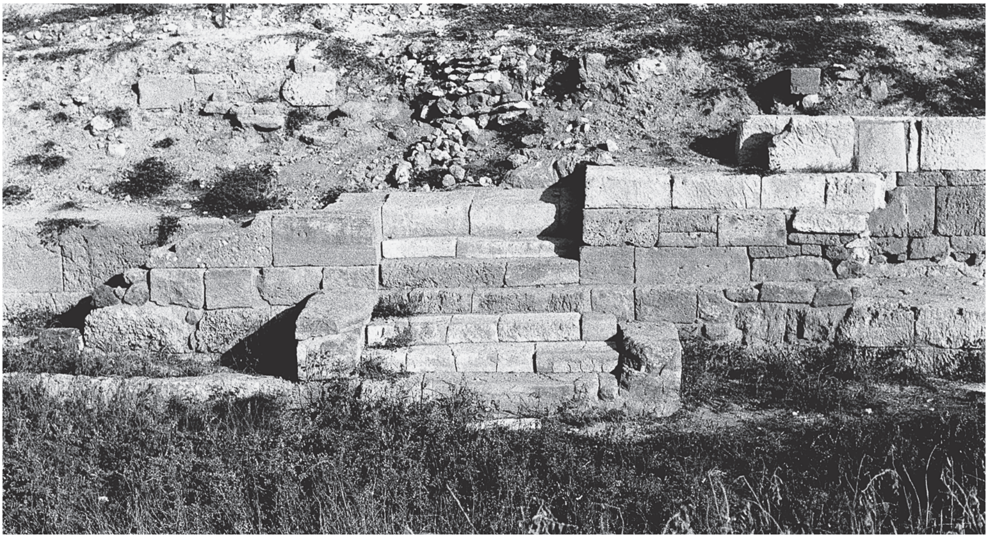
62 a-b. Ayia Triada (B.56), male bronze figurines; after Verlinden 1984, nos. 232, 226 (drawings by the author) (70%).


Temple A
5 m
4 m
3 m
2 m
reference line
bench
floor
4.20
bench?
outside surface Temple A
4.25
SM/PG votive dump
in space 17
Minoan road
Votive dump in
space 26
LM III pebble court reused
LM I Central Court
Minoan
SM-PG
0
1
2
3
4
5 m

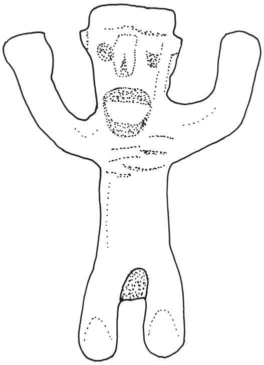
64. Kommos (B.57), Temple A, section looking east; after Shaw & Shaw (eds) 2000, pl. 3.3.


shrine
4.90
4.66
hearth
5.07
double
hearth
5.22
altar U
5.47
4.97
0
1.00
2.00
3.00
4.00
5.00 M.
JOSEPH W.SHAW - GIULIANA BIANCO
1986

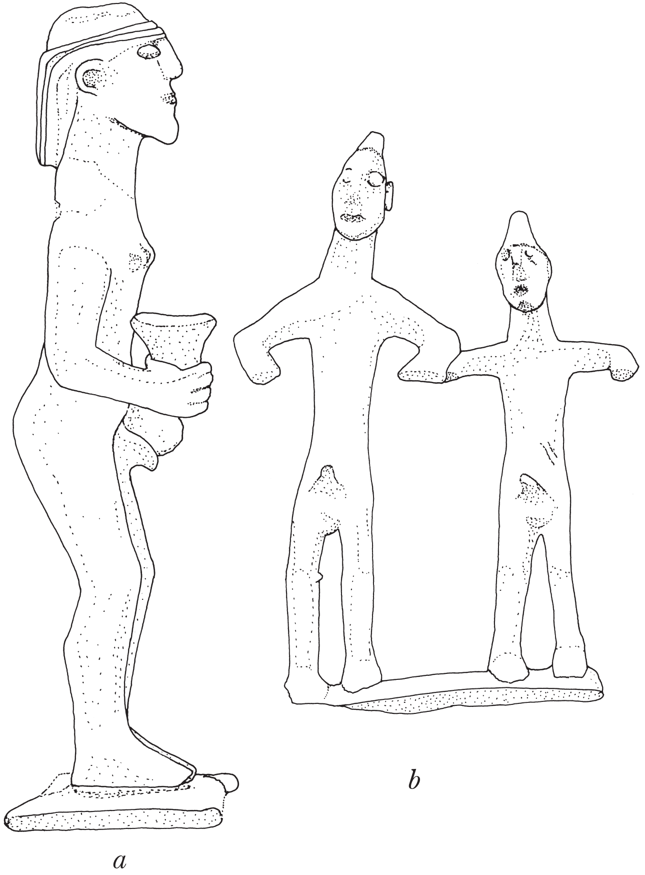
65. Kommos (B.57), isometric reconstruction of Temple B; Shaw & Shaw (eds) 2000, pl. 1.31. Reproduced with permission of Princeton University Press.



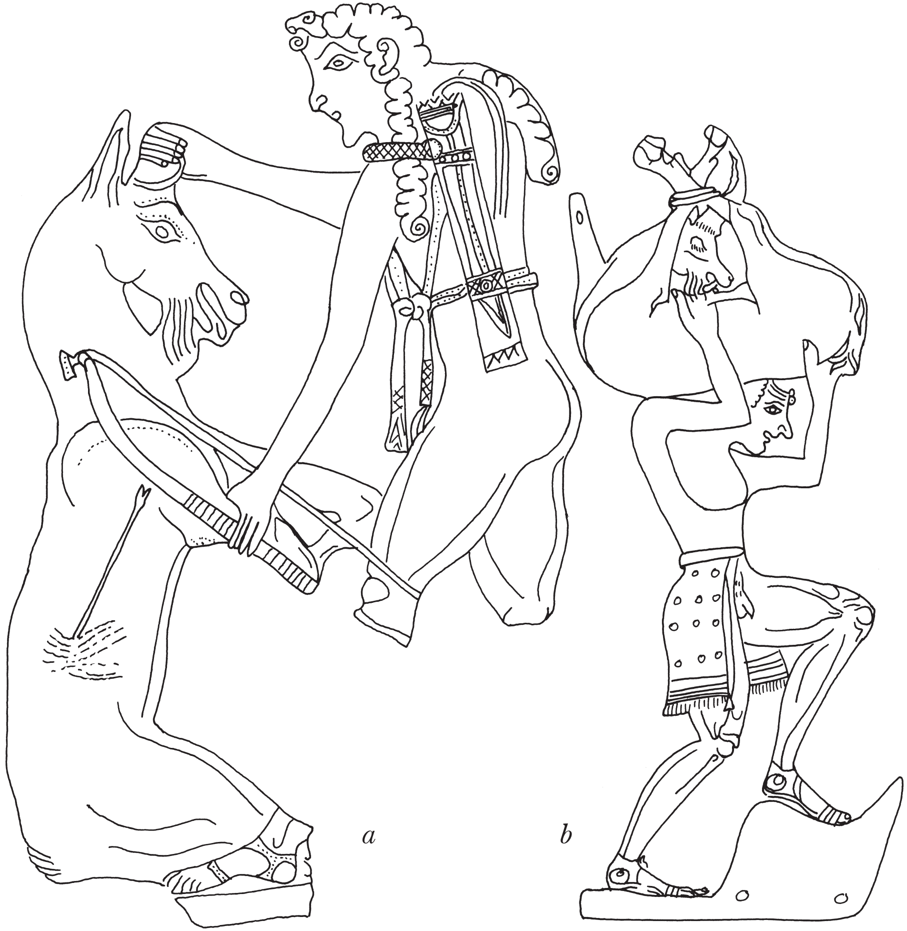
66. Amnisos (B.60), part of the more than 44 m long Minoan ashlar wall, from west (photo by the author).



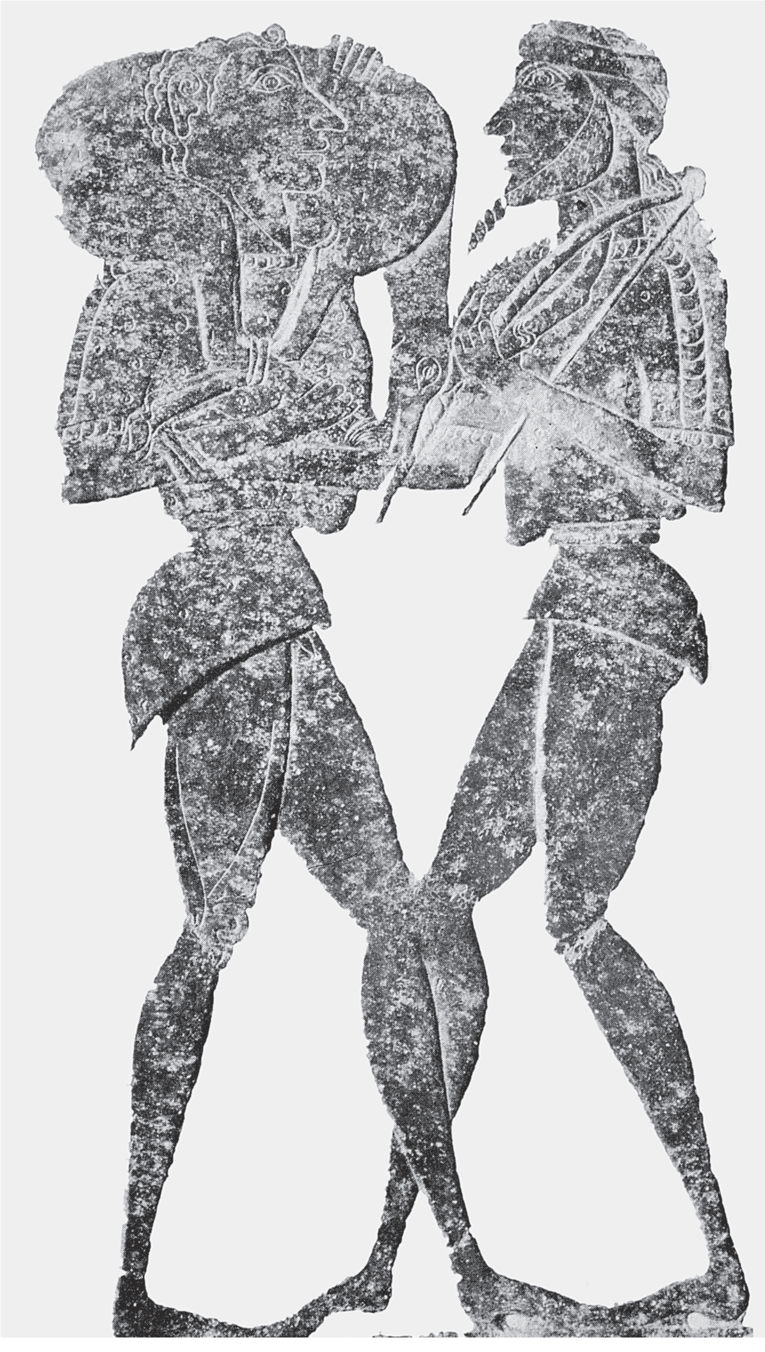
67. Phaneromeni (B.63), bronze figurine; after Verlinden 1984, no. 212 (drawing by C. Lamens) (100%).



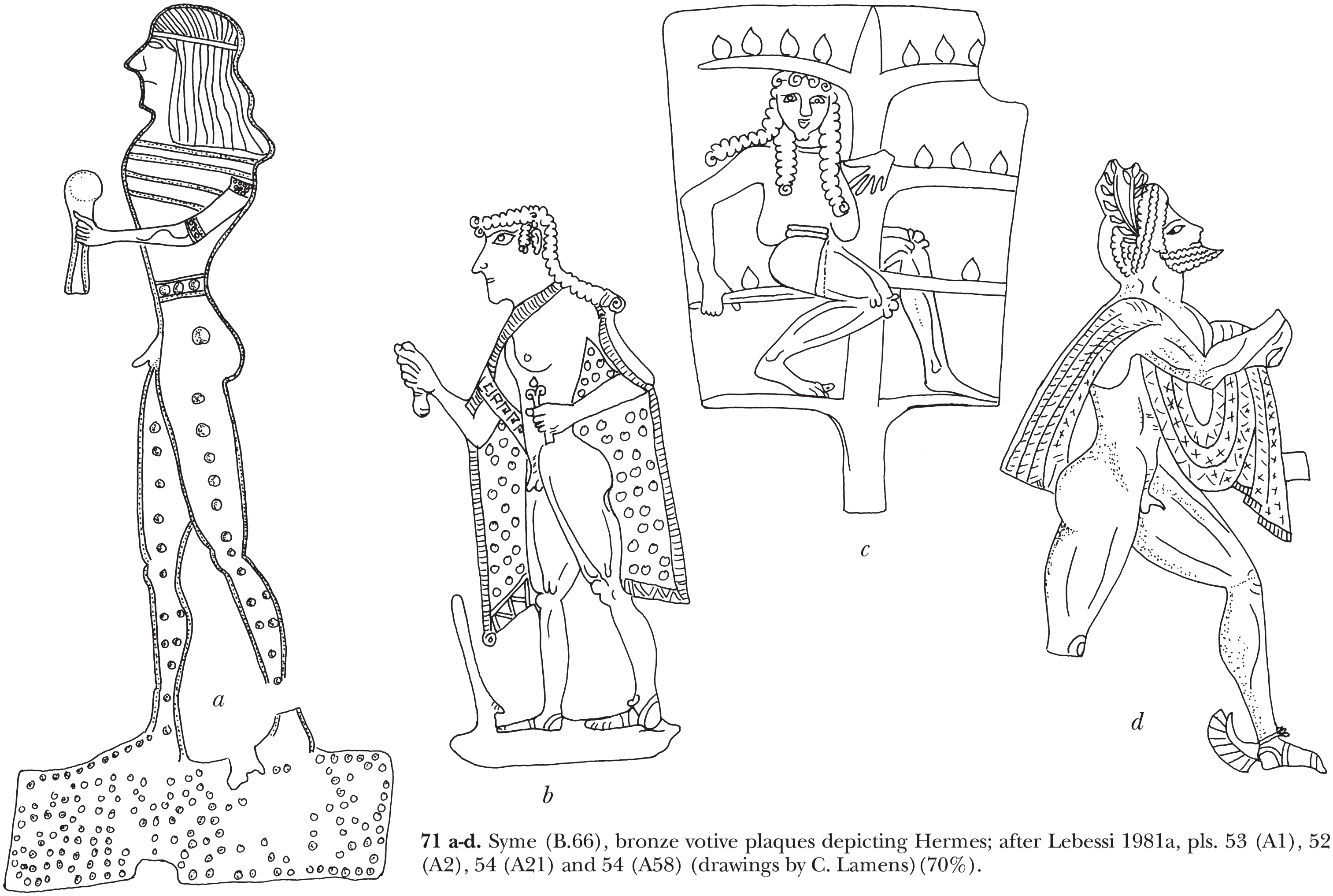
68 a-b. Syme (B.66), male bronze figurines, a) holding a chalice, b) male couple; after Verlinden 1984, nos. 233 and 219 (drawings by the author) (ca. 100%).



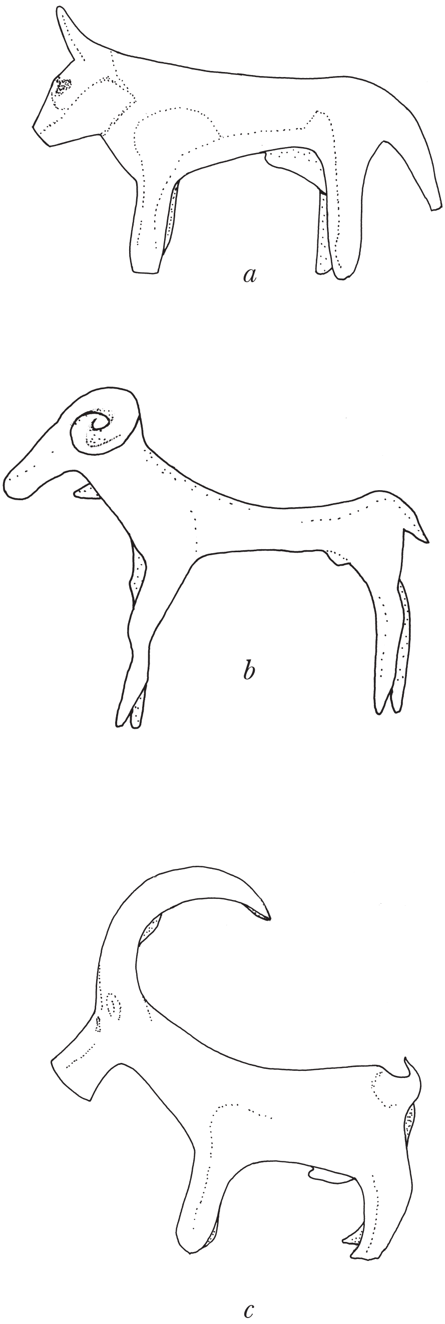
69 a-b. Syme (B.66), bronze votive plaques of hunters; after Lebessi 1981a, pls. 38 (A38) and 39 (A17) (drawings by C. Lamens) (70%).



70. Syme (B.66), bronze votive plaque of male couple (H. 18.5 cm); Lebessi 1981a, pl. 5 (G5). Reproduced with permission of the Archaeological Society at Athens.



71 a-d. Syme (B.66), bronze votive plaques depicting Hermes; after Lebessi 1981a, pls. 53 (A1), 52 (A2), 54 (A21) and 54 (A58) (drawings by C. Lamens) (70%).

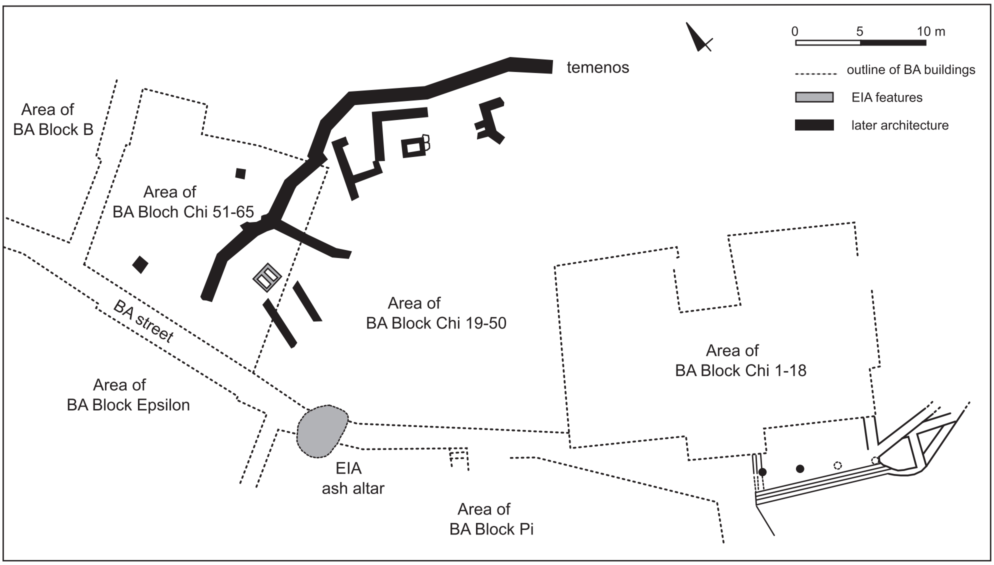


a

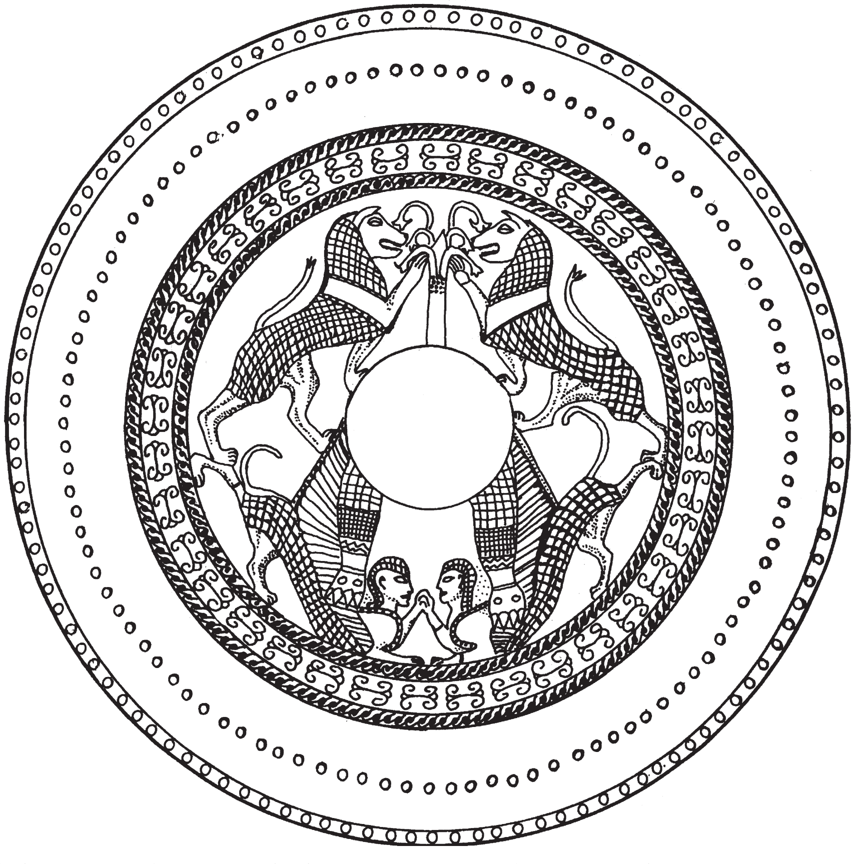
b

c

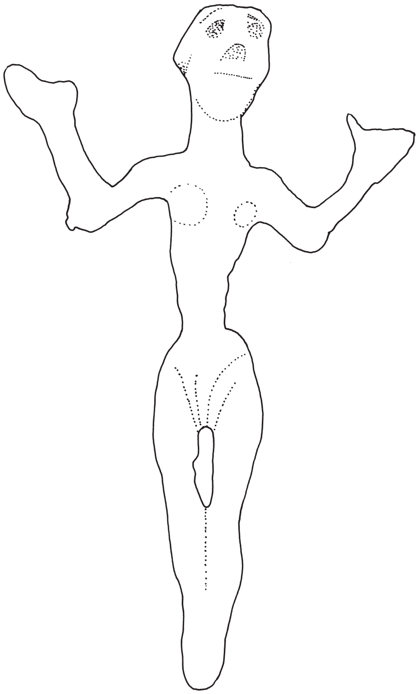
72 a-c. Syme (B.66), bronze animal figurines of a) a bull, b) a ram, c) an agrimi; after Schürmann 1996, nos. 277, 292 and 469 (drawings by C. Lamens) (100%).


0
5
10 m
temenos
outline of BA buildings
EIA features
later architecture
Area of
BA Block B
Area of
BA Bloch Chi 51-65
Area of
BA Block Chi 19-50
BA street
Area of
BA Block Chi 1-18
Area of
BA Block Epsilon
EIA
ash altar
Area of
BA Block Pi

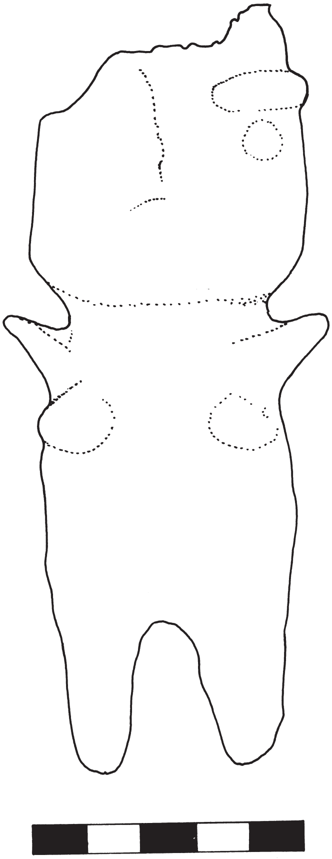
73. Palaikastro (B.69), plan of sanctuary area; after Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904-05, pl. X.



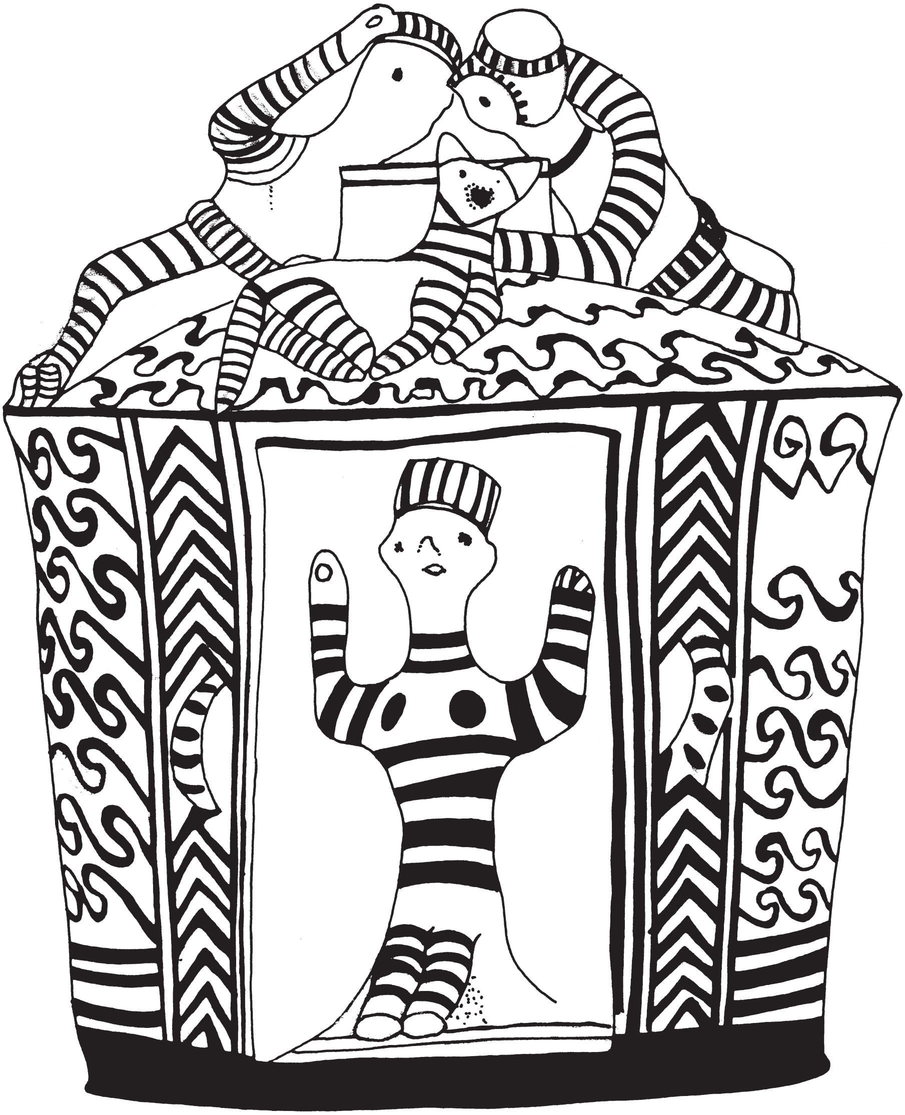
74. Palaikastro (B.69), bronze shield (diam. *c.* 0.49 m); after Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904-05, pl. XVI (drawing by the author).



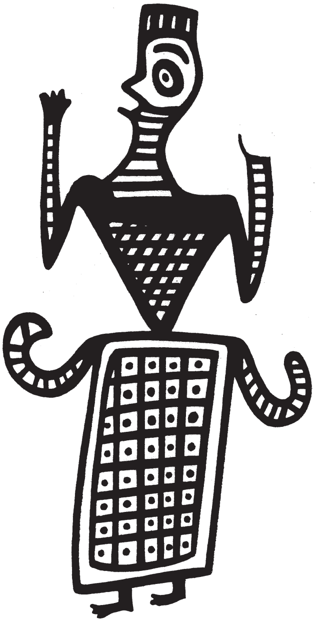
75. Vrokastro, bronze female figurine; after Verlinden 1984 no. 215 (drawing by C. Lamens) (100%).



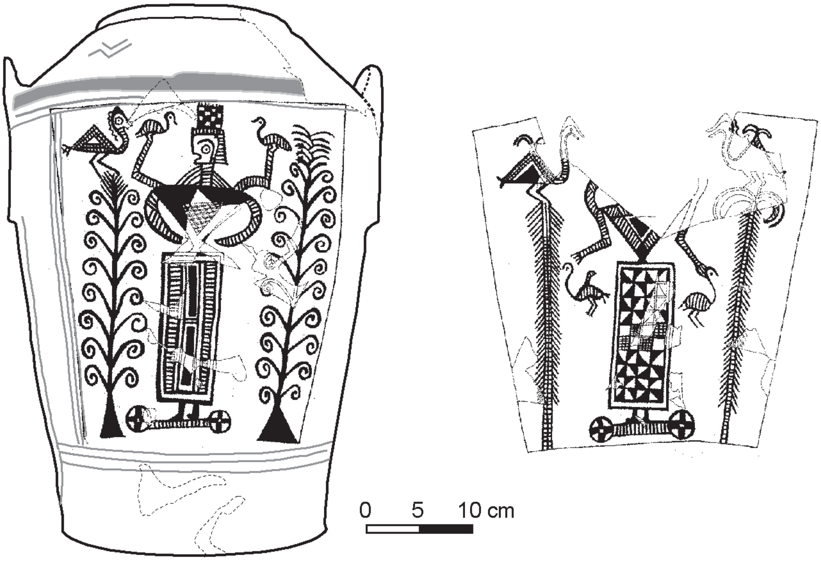
76. Kavousi (B.38), terracotta female figurine; after Gesell, Preston Day & Coulson 1988, pl. 83d (drawing by C. Lamens) (70%).



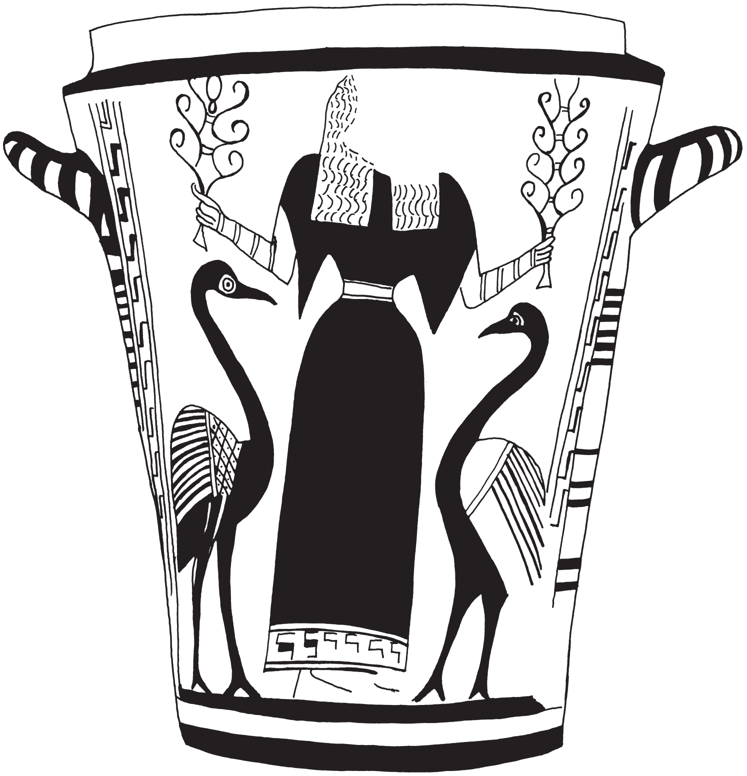
77. Archanes, cylindrical model (H. 22 cm); after Blome 1982, pl. 1:2 (drawing by C. Lamens).



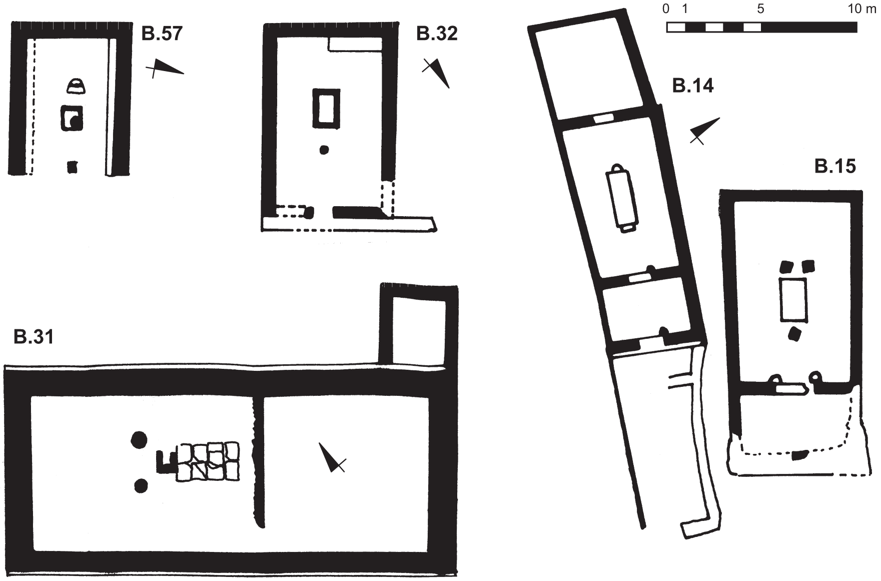
78. Knossos, depiction on Fortetsa Urn 1440; Brock 1957, pl. 163 (no. 1440); Reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens.



79. Knossos, Urn 114 from Tomb 107 in the North Cemetery, with decoration partially indicated; after Coldstream & Catling (eds) 1996, vol. III, fig. 109 and vol. IV, pl. 155 (bottom left, no. 114).



80. Urn from Aphrati; after Blome 1982, pl. 19:1 (drawing by C. Lamens).


B.57
B.32
0 1 5 10 m
B.14
B.15
B.31

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